

THE
SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ
OF
BHATTOJĪ DĪKSITA

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SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ
OF
BHATTOJĪ DĪKṢITA

EDITED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
BY
LATE ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU

VOL. I

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INSCRIBED
TO THE
MEMORY OF MY FATHER
BABU ŚYĀMĀ CHARANA VASU
ONE OF
THE FIRST ORGANISERS OF
EDUCATION IN THE
PANJAB

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THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाष्य च ।
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरचयते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me*.

*Note:—*The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sūtras, the Vārtikas, and the Bhāṣya. The word "Kaumudī" means Light, or the Revealer; and "Siddhanta" (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion. The word "Siddhanta Kaumudī" therefore, means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

^१ अक्षरम् । ^२ ऋलृक् । ^३ एओङ् । ^४ ऐऔच् । ^५ हयवरद । ^६ क्षण् ।
^७ अमङ्गलम् । ^८ कर्मम् । ^९ घटधर्म् । ^{१०} जलराज्यम् । ^{११} अक्षरम् ।
^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शब्दम् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति महेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यनादिसंज्ञार्थानि ॥ एवामन्त्या इतः ॥ सप्तसूत्रेऽकारम् ॥ इकाराविश्वकार
व्यवहारार्थः ॥

^१ a i u (ṇ); ^२ ṛ ! (k); ^३ e o (ñ); ^४ ai au (ch); ^५ ha ya va ra (ṭ);
^६ ja (ṇ) or l (aṇ); ^७ ṇa ma ṇa ṇa (m); ^८ jha bha (ñ); ^९ gha dha dha
(sh); ^{१०} ja ba ga ḍa ḍa (ṣ); ^{११} kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ta ta (v); ^{१२} ka
pa (y); ^{१३} śa sha sa (r); ^{१४} ha (l).

Note:—The letter ह occurs twice in the above aphorisms, first in aphorism five, and then in the last. The object of the first ह is to include that letter in the Pratyāhāras अद्, अद्, हद् and हद्; so that the rules applicable to these Pratyāhāras, should apply to ह also. Thus अह्ने, the न changed to ण though ह intervenes (VIII. 4. 2. S. 197) देवा हसन्ति, here the visarga is elided before ह by VIII. 3. 17, S. 167. वेवा हसति, here the visarga is changed to व by VI. 1. 114, S. 166. लिलिहिद्वे or लिलिहिद्वा, here ध is optionally changed to द after ह by VIII. 3. 79.

S. 2325. The second इ in the last sūtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyāhāras, इत्, रत्, क्षत् and ञत् ॥ As स्वपिदि, इपिदि, here इत् is added before इ by VII. 2. 35. S. 2184. स्निहत्वा or स्नेहत्वा, here the इ is optionally changed into इ by I. 2. 26. S. 2617. अवाम्भात् here स is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281. अलिप्तत् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्त after the root ending in इ, by III. 1. 45. S. 2336.

Note:—The अ in लञ् is made इत्, for the sake of forming the Pratyāhāra इ, so that इ, may denote not only the single letter इ, but the two letters इ and ल ॥ This is useful in sūtra I. 1. 51. S. 70, by which the Guṇa and Vriddhi of ल् becomes अत् and आत् ॥

१ । ह्रस्वन्त्यम् । १ । ३ । ३ ॥

इति सूत्रेऽन्यमित्याह ॥

1. In the (or of the) sūtra ह्रस्व (14th sūtra in the above) let the final letter (i. e. ल्) be इत् ॥

Note:—The sūtra has been explained in two different ways by the author. First: "In the (or of the) sūtra ह्रस्व (14th sūtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (i. e. ल्) is इत् ॥" The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, i. e. "In upadeśa or technical formulæ and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient."

२ । आदिह्रस्वेन सहेता । १ । १ । ७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्ह्रस्वानां स्वस्व च संज्ञा स्यात् । इति ह्रस्वसंज्ञायात् ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sūtra to the technical term ह्रस्व; (i. e. to the word ह्रस्व taken as a संज्ञा or technical term denoting all the consonants beginning with ह्र of sūtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sūtra, and not as the sūtra 14th, of the above alphabets; we come to the second interpretation of the sūtra ह्रस्व अन्त्यम् ॥

२ । ह्रस्वन्त्यम् । १ । ३ । ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्य ह्रस्व इत् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् । ततो अञ् अञ् इत्यादि संज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 a. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इत् ॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of instruction only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñās or terms like अञ्, and अञ् &c.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ञ्; here ञ् is इत् ॥ क् ल क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए

जोह्; here ह् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निरिन्द्रो or सोमश्च, which are complete words.

*Note:—*This sūtra आदिरन्त्येन संज्ञा explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāras अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ् and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the 'final' indicatory letter? Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of इद् and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३। उपदेशोऽनुनासिक इत् । १। ३। २ ॥

उपदेशोऽनुनासिकोऽभिस्त्वन्तः स्यात् ॥ प्रतिशानुनासिक्याः प्राणिनीयाः ॥ लघुलृट्प्रत्ययान्तं लघोऽनुनासिकं रेको रल्लोः संज्ञा । प्रत्याहारविज्ञां न ब्रूयन् ॥ अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । नद्यान ककारे परेऽच्चावे ह्रस्वते । आदिरन्त्येनत्येत्स्वत्वेन कृताः संज्ञाः प्रत्याहारसंज्ञेन व्यवहियन्ते ॥

3. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa. or original enunciation.

The followers (or knowers of) Pāṇini's Grammar say that the Anunāsika words in the sūtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pāṇini. Thus the अ् of the sūtra लच् (6th alphabet sūtra), is considered as anunāsika, and therefore, it is इत्; the result of which is that we can form a Pratyāhāra र् with the र् of the sūtra इत्वरच् and the अ् of the sūtra लच्; and thus this Pratyāhāra र् Ra denotes the two letters र् and ल् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ् of लच् was said to be इत् in the 1st page.)

In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyāhāra the इत् letters should not be counted. Thus अच् denotes all the vowels only; the इत् letters ण् क्, इ and ए, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, इ are not vowels, by Pāṇini himself treating them as consonants; as the word अनुनासिक in this very sūtra shows. For had क् been a vowel, then the र् of anunāsika would have been changed to च् before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pāṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel.

The technical terms formed with the help of the sūtra, आदिरन्त्येन &c. (I. 1. 71 S 2) are called Pratyāhāra.

*Note:—*Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in विद्, विद्, विच्, the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeśa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadeśa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or ganapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c.

Note:—From this sūtra up to sūtra 9 of the third Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya of Pāṇini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत् "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root वृश् 'to increase,' the final ञ् is indicatory, the real root is वृष् ॥ So also the final ञ् of स्वर्ण is इत् ॥

Note:—If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अञ्च ञ् अः ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिच् in sūtra III. 2. 74 S. 3418 (आतो मनिच् ऋमिन् ऋमिपञ्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras VII. 2. 16. S. 3036 (आदिपञ्च &c.).

४। ऊकालोऽङ्गस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । १ । २ । २७ ॥

इञ्च ऊञ्च ऋञ्च ः । वां काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽञ्च क्काल् द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञः स्यात् । स प्रत्येकपुत्राचारिभेदेन विधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+ऋ=वः ; that is, the वः is the plural of उ, (as साधवः is the plural of साधु) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of उ ॥ The genitive plural will be वाञ् meaning "of u's"). Let the vowels whose time is like the three उ s, get respectively the name of *hrasva*, *dirgha* and *pluta*. Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is *udatta*, *anudatta* *svarita*.

The उ *u* having one mātrā or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is *pluta*. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S. 821.

The word *Kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As इधि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here इ is long. देवदत्तः अन्वात् *Devadatta* ! Here अ *a* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47 S. 318. VII. 4. 25. S. 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S. 93.

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २६ ॥

हात्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेष्वर्धभागे निष्पन्नोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञः स्थात् । आ जे ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udātta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as नीः, वैः ॥ Here आ being an indeclinable is udātta by the rule that declares all Nipātas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ वै is the nom. Plural of वत् 'who' वत् is acute on the final, being a substantive; for all किङ् (Prātīpādikas) are antodātta by the rule किङोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit Sūtra I. 1.). वत् + अत् Here अत् being a सुप् termination is anudātta by III. 1. 4 S. 3709. Then त् of वत् is replaced by व; the affix अत् is replaced by णी (VII. I. 17 S. 214.), and we have व + णी = वै, the व the single substitute for व + णी is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udātta or *acute* accent. The udātta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small ३ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

स्वप्न । अर्धह ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अर्धह ॥ This is a compound of the noun अर्धह with the verb अङ्ग (अर्धन्तवर्धति) ॥ The word अर्धह is formed from the root अङ् 'to go' with the affix वनिप्, there is guṇa of अङ् and we have अर्धह ॥ The affix वनिप् is anudātta, being a णिप् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709); and अङ् being a dhātu is udātta (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word **अर्धन्** is also *Adyudatta*. The **अ** of **अर्ध** is also *udatta*, because it is a *dhātu* (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671). Then by II. 2. 19. S. 782 (उपपत्तिङ्) we compound the upapada **अर्धन्** with **अर्धञ्**, and add the affix **क्विन्** by III. 2. 59. S. 373 (क्वलिङ् &c.). Then by *samāsa* accent (VI. 1. 223. and 3734.) or by *krit* accent (VI. 2. 139 S. 3873) the word **अर्धञ्** retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the **न्** of **अर्धन्** is elided, and we have **अर्धे + अर्धञ् = अर्धोङ्**. The loss of accent takes place by VI. 1. 158 S. 3650. The vowel accent known as *grave* or *anudatta* is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the *anudatta* is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the *grave* accent

In pronouncing an *anudatta* vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of *tone*: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

७। समाहारः स्वरितः । १। २। ३१ ॥

उदात्तानुदात्तस्ये वर्णधर्मौ समाहितौ यस्मिन्सोऽथ स्वरितसङ्गः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udatta* and *Anudatta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of I. 2. 28 S. 35 is understood here also. The *svarita* or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. "The affixes having an indicative **त्** have *svarita* accent." As कन्या *kanyā* शिष्यश्च *ṣikhyā*, क्व *kvā*.

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an *udatta* vowel with an *anudatta* vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

८। तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धस्वम् । १। २। ३२ ॥

इत्यग्रहणमन्तन्त्रम् । स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धुदात्तं बोध्यम् । उत्तरार्धं तु परिकेषादनुदात्तम् । तस्य षोडशस्वरितपरस्य श्रवणं स्पष्टम् । अन्यत्र सूक्ष्मश्रुतिः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धा । क्वश्च बोध्या । रथानां न जे १ राः । शतचक्रं श्लो ३ ह्यः ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः । अग्निमलि इत्यादयश्चानुदात्तश्रुतिः । स नवावेषोऽपि प्रत्येक-मनुनासिकाननुनासिकस्वाभ्यां विधा ॥

8. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udatta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sūtra is redundant. In a *Svarita* accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the *udatta* accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be anudātta. If an udātta or another svarita follows it then this anudātta portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to Prātisākhya, the udātta portion is only heard. In the following, the anudātta is heard : क्व॑षोऽव॒त्ताः ; य॒योऽन्तं॑ न॒ वे॒ ॥ ३॥ ; द॒त्त॑च॒क्र॒णो॑ ॥ ४॥ While in the following the udātta is heard : अ॒ग्नि॒र्वा॒ले॒ प॒रो॒क्षि॒तः॑ ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dirgha or pluta, as it is udātta; anudātta or svarita. Every one of these nine, has two more forms: nasal and not nasal: as is taught in the next sūtra.

Note:—According to Siddhānta, the word द्वय is useless. According to Kāśikā, it is important, as given below.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udātta and anudātta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svārita*, its mātrā being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be *svārita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svārita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the udātta portion of a *svārita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शि॒क्यम् *ṣikyam* the *a* is *svārita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in क॒न्दो *kandā*, the long *ā* is *svārita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in मान॑व॒का ॥ *manavakā*, here *a* prolated is *svārita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

In the above examples, क्व॑ ऽ वोऽव॒त्ताः &c., the accents are thus formed. The word क्व is the Locative form of क्तिन्, formed by adding the affix अन् (V. 3. 12. S. 1959) and substituting व (VII. 2. 105. S. 1960). The word क्व is therefore svarita-accented, because formed by the तिन् affix अन् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The word वः becomes anudātta by VIII. 1. 18, S. 403. ओ॒ष्वाः is ādyudātta, because it is derived from the root अश् with the affix क्वनिन्; the affix being तिन् makes the word ādyudātta (VI. 2. 197, S. 3686). Now वः + ओ॒ष्वाः = वोऽव॒त्ताः, the anudātta combining with udātta becomes udātta (VIII. 2. 5, S. 3658): therefore वाँ of वो becomes udātta. The svarita क्व being followed by the udātta वा, causes the latter half i. e. the anudātta half of the svarita to be heard. This is indicated by ॥ namely svarita above and anudātta below. This is a short svarita.

In the example य॒योऽन्तं॑ न॒ वे॒ ॥ ३॥, the svarita is a long vowel. The word वे is udātta by Phiṭ accent, as shown above (S. 5). अ॒र्वाः is also finally udātta by Phiṭ accent. The udātta ए of अ combining with the anudātta व of अ॒र्वाः,

becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659), वे'; this svarita followed by udātta ओ of ओवे', is heard in its anudātta portion वे ५ ॥

In the third example वलचकं ओ ५ ऽवः, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudātta portion of the svarita is heard. The word वः is antodātta by Phiṭ accent (See S. 5); the visarga is changed to व, and व + ऽ = वः by guna, and this वः becomes udātta, the resultant of udātta plus anudātta is udātta. In वलच the final व is svarita, the first व is therefore anudātta. The anudātta व of वलच combining with the udātta ओ of ओ', becomes all svarita (VIII. 2. 6, S. 3659) i. e. ओ' ऽ; this-svarita ओ' is followed by the svarita व of वः, and hence the anudātta portion of svarita ओ' is heard here also. The word वलचः is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the लित् affix प्यत् to the root वल् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The व of वल् does not take Vriddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhāṣā II.—संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term.

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहितं, the ई of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-śruti accent by the rule प्रचयापरपञ्चाभा एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudātta, the udātta half of the svarita is heard.

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

ब्रह्मसहितनासिकबोध्यार्थमाणो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । तदित्यम् । अ इ उ ऋ ए ऋ ऋणां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ ऋचणस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावात् ॥ एचामपि द्वादश । तेषां द्वेषामावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called *anunāsika*.

The result of the six sūtras given above, is this: The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel ए has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

तालव्यविस्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येतद्वयं यस्य येन तुल्ये तन्मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ अकुहविसर्जनीयानां कण्ठः । ह्रस्वयानां तालु । ऋदृषाणां मूर्ध्ना । लृतुलसःनां दन्ताः । तृपृध्मानांयानामाष्ठौ । मयङ्गयानां नासिका च । ऐवैतोः कण्ठतालु । औवैतोः कण्ठाष्ठम् । वकारस्य वन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वामूर्ध्नास्य जिह्वामूलम् ।

नर्तिकास्तु स्वारस्य ॥ इति स्थानानि ॥ यन्त्रो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आभ्यन्तरो यो । स्पृष्टवत्स्पृष्टवि-
तसंवृतमेवाह ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयतनं स्पर्शानाम् । विवृतमुष्मणो स्वरानां च । इत्यस्वीव-
र्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियावशायां तु विवृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called *savarṇa* or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called *savarṇa*, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c., as well as a common *Abhyantara prayatna*. That is, when the place and *prayatna* are the same, then the letters are *savarṇa*.

1. The letters क, ख, ए, ग, घ, ङ, ह, ः have throat as their place and are gutturals or *Kanṭha*.
2. The letters च, छ, ज, झ, ण, य, वा, have the palate and are palatals or *Tālavya*.
3. The letters कू, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष, have the *murdhā*, and are cerebrals or *Murdhanya*.
4. The letters त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, ळ, have the teeth and are dentals or *Dantya*.
5. The letters ब, प, फ, ब, भ, म, × प, have the lips and are labials or *Oshṭhya*.
- a. The letters ङ, झ, ञ, न, ण, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
- b. The letters ह, हे, have the throat and palate, and are *Kanṭha—tālavya* i. e. *gutturo—palatals*.
- c. The letters जो, ञो, have the throat and the lips, and are *Kanṭha-oshṭhya* i. e. *gutturo-labials*.
- d. The letter ष has the teeth and the lips, and is *dant-oshṭhya* i. e. *dento-labial*.
- e. The letter × क is *Jihvā-mulīya* or root of the tongue.
- f. The letter • म *anusvāra* is pure nasal.

The above are the *śindāna* or places of utterance of the letters.

The *Prayatna* is of two sorts, the inner called *Abhyantara*, and the external called *bāhya*. The first or *Abhyantara* is of four kinds, namely, *sprishṭa*, *īśhat sprishṭa*, *vivṛita* and *saṃvṛita*.

1. The *sparsa* letters have *sprishṭa prayatna*.
2. The *antastha* letters have *īśhat-sprishṭa prayatna*.
3. The *ushma* letters and the vowels have *vivṛita prayatna*.

4. The short अ is samvṛita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivṛita. This fact is indicated by Pāṇini himself in the last sūtra of his Grammar, i. e. in the sūtra अञ् (VIII.4. 68 S. 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivṛita, is now made samvṛita. (See the following sūtra)

११ अञ् इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूय संवृतोऽनेन विधीयते । अस्य आष्टाध्यायी संपूर्णोऽप्रत्ययसिद्धत्वाच्छास्त्ररूपेणा विवृतमनूय स्थेयः । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S. 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashtādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अञ्; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne).

The present sūtra occurs in the second division of Ashtādhyāyī, i. e. the last three Padas. The whole Ashtādhyāyī has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set (7½ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. Therefore though the अ is made samvṛita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivṛita throughout the rest of the Grammar. The sūtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripāḍi), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas (7½ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सप्तदशप्राध्यायी प्राप्ते निपात्यसिद्धा निपात्यमनवि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ बाह्यप्रत्ययस्त्वकावशात् ॥ विदारः संवारः आसां नासां घोषोऽघोषोऽल्पप्राणा महाप्राणा उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितमेति ॥ खबो बभौ खबःखःखौ विसर्गः शर एव च । इति आसाऽनुप्राणा अघोषाश्च विवृण्वते ।

कण्ठमध्ये तु घोषाः स्युः संवृता नादभागिनः । अयुग्मा वर्गवमणा यणश्चास्यासवः स्यूताः ॥ वर्गेऽप्याद्यानां
 व्यतुर्णां पञ्चमं परं मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिकर्त्रीः । चखखनतुः ।
 अग्न्यिनः । घृष्टन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कल्पयद्येभ्यः परं तत्सदृशा एव यमाः । तच्च वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः स्वयस्तथा
 तेषामेव यमाः जिह्वामूर्ध्वोपध्मानीयो विसर्गः श्वापसाभ्येतेषां विवारः श्वाप्तोऽघोषश्च । अन्वेषां तु संवारी
 नारां घोषश्च ॥ वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमाः प्रथमतृतीययमा यरुहवाभ्यास्पृष्टाणाः । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः ।
 बाह्यप्रयच्छन् यद्यपि सर्वसंज्ञायामनुपयुक्तास्तथाप्यास्तरसम्यपरिक्षाबाधुपयोऽथ्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कारवो
 नादसानाः स्पर्शाः । यरुहवा अन्तस्थाः । शब्दसहा ऊर्णमात्राः । अञ्चः स्वराः । >क=प्रायति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्थ-
 विसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वामूर्ध्वोपध्मानीयो । अं अः इत्यत्र परावनुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रवक्ष्यविवेकः ॥
 * ऋत्वर्गयोर्मिथः सावर्त्यं वाच्यम्* ॥ अकारहकारयोरिकारशकारयोर्ककारश्चकारयार्त्कारसकारयोश्च मिथः
 सावर्त्यं प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. Therefore the Tripādi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyāyī rules. Even in the Tripādi, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent.

Thus the letter *ṛ* is samvṛita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bāhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivāra, 2 samvāra, 3 svāsa, 4 nāda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prāṇa, 8 mahāprāṇa, 9 udātta, 10 anudātta, 11 svarita.

Verse:—The double of khay (ख, क, छ, ङ, घ, च, ट, त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the >क and >प, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are svāsa, aghosha, and expand the throat, i. e. are of vivāra prayatna. The other letters (i. e. the इङ्, letters, the yamas of इङ् letters and the anusvāra) are ghosha, samvāra, and nāda prayanta. The odd letters of the vargas, the doubles of first and third, and अण् letters are alpa-prāṇa.

Explanation:—The word खन is a Prātisākhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth i. e. by a nasal. Thus पलिकर्त्रीः, चखखनतुः, अग्न्यिनः, घृष्टन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ण् and घ् are yama i. e. only those letters which have the same form i. e. the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The खङ् letters are the first and second letters of the varga: the ten letters क ख, च, छ &c. The yamas of these खङ् letters, so also the Jihvāmūliya, Upadhmaniya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha.

The other letters are samvāra nāda, and ghosha. The first, third and the fifth letters of a varga, the yamas of first and third, and ख, र, ल and ष are alpa-prāṇa. The others i. e. the second and fourth letters of the varga, and श, ष, स, ह are mahā-prāṇa.

Though the Bāhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarna-hood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to ऋ are sparsa. The four letters अ, इ, ए, औ, are antastha. The four letters ञ, ण, त, द are Ushma. The vowels are Svāra. The × क and × व are called Jivamūlhyā and Upadhmanīyā. (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and व varga).

अं म् अः ह् these are anusvāra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthāna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort)

१. *vārt*:—The letters क् and ख् should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sūtras (10 and 12), the letter.

अ becomes homogeneous with इ

इ	"	"	आ
ए	"	"	औ
उ	"	"	ऋ

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sūtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant.

Note:—The following lines summarise the above, the vowels are vivāra, svāra, and aghosha. The इत् letters are samvāra, nāda, and ghosha. The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and अण् letters are alpa-prāna. The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and आण् letters are mahā-prāna.

१३ नाऽऽज्झलौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारसहितोऽच् आच् त च इत् चेत्येतौ त्रिभ्यः सवर्णौ न स्तः । तेन वधीत्यस्य इति धीतलं यत्र सामान्येतेषु परेषु अनावधिकं न । अन्वया दीर्घादीनामिव इकारादीनामिव अक्षरकृताश्चलादृष्टं स्वात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sūtra are न, आच्, इलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants. Therefore in अचि + इरात् the इ of अचि is not changed to ए before इ, nor in अचि + धीतल the इ is lengthened before ध; nor in अचि + वट्, and अचि + साम् any change takes place. But for this sūtra, the letters इ &c. would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४ । अणुदित्सवणस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयते विधीयत इति प्रत्ययः । अविधीयमानाऽणु उच्येच्च सवर्णस्य संज्ञा एवान् । अत्राणु परेण णकारेण ॥ कु चु ड तु पु एत उच्यते ॥ तदेवम् अ इयट्ठादृशानां संज्ञा । तथेकारोकारौ । ककारश्चिञ्चतः । एवं लकारोऽपि । एचौ द्वाद्दशानाम् ॥ एवंतारोवैतोऽथ न नियः सावर्ण्येन । ऐऔजिति सूत्रात्प्रसाम्येन । तेनैव अणुविशतेः संज्ञाः स्मृतिरिति नापारम्भिकम् ॥ नाङ्गुलादिति निषेधा यद्यप्याक्षरसमाख्याधिकानां न तथापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न सवर्णः । तच्चाऽऽकारस्यापि प्रभिलेख्यम् । तेन विश्वपाभिरित्यत्र होह इति दत्त्वं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा । तेनानुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. - The letters of the Pratyāhāra अणु i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having ङ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyāhāra अणु in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अणु pratyāhāra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अणु, and the letters having an indicatory ङ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus क्ङ refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ड, तु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. S. 195. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आदृशणः (VI. 1. 87 S. 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but नरा + ईशः = नरेशः । So also in sūtra अस्य चो (VII. 4. 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S. 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृण + करोति = कृणीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्त्वोति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168. S. 3148. says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsana and bhiksha, there is ङ.' Here ङ is an affix and therefore does not include long ङ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, S. 1379. the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

The word अमल्लयः in the sūtra means "that which is not ordained (pratyate = vidhiyate)." That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sūtra means "The अणु letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so propounded by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory ङ denote their savarna letters also." The अणु here is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण्. The words कु, चु, ड, तु, पु, are formed by ङ and are उच्यन्ते ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters ; so also इ and उ . The ए denotes 30 letters, and so also लृ. The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ औ denote 12 letters.

2. *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and ओ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sūtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately. Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sūtra वाच हलौ (I. 1. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sūtra, to the वाच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, and not to the letter वा which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between वा and इ ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sūtra, the letter वा is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न वाच् हलौ, but as न वा-वाच्, हलौ, and we translate it as “ There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and वा and ach letters.” Therefore in विश्वपामिः the letter वा is not changed to व by VIII. 2. 31 S. 3579. (व is substituted for इ before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samāmnāya means the sūtras teaching the alphabets i. e. the 14 Maheshvara sūtras.

The letters अ, इ, ल are of two kinds. according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therefore, a non nasalised अ, इ, ल will denote also the nasalised letter : i. e. the simple letter अ, इ, ल include the nasalised अँ ईँ लँ ॥

The sense of this sūtra अणुदिन् &c therefore is that the अणु letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Māhesvara sūtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also. But र and इ though included in अणु pratyāhāra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them.

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

तः परी यस्मात्स च तात्पर्यबोधार्थमाणसमकालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् । तेन अन् इन् उन् इत्यादयः षण्णां षण्णां संज्ञा । कश्चित् दादशानाम् ॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time,

By the last sutra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ ; and इ, ई ; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अन् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly इन् means short इ only and not long or protracted इ.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालम्. Taparāḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अन् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अन् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अन् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अन् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 S. 203. अतोभिस एस्. 'After words ending in अन् (i. e. short अ), एस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षेः ॥ But in खड्गा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खड्गाभिः ॥

Therefore अन्, इन्, उन् denote six letters each, namely अ, ई, अं, ईं, उ, ऊ ॥ ऋन् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादैच् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आत् ऐच् वृद्धिसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi,

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, āt and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra aich, and the pratyāhāra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपरः (I. 1. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of वृद्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आत्, as

महा + आवायः = महावायः ॥ Here हा has two matras and not four. So also in लह्वैरकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ए has only two, not four, mât-râs.

१७। अदेङ् गुणः १।१।२ ॥

अत् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called *guna*.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a *guna* letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अस्ति, "he moves"; एति "he comes", गच्छति "he goes" Here the initial vowels of the roots अस्, इ, and उच्छ् have been respectively gunated into अद्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति ॥

The term *Guna* occurs in sūtras like मिद्व्युणः (VII. 3. 82 S. 2346). "Let there be *guna* substitute for the ik of the root मिद् 'to melt.'"

१८। भूवादयो धातवः १।३।१ ॥

क्रियावाचिनो भवत्यो धातुसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called *dhātu* or verbal roots.

This defines the word *dhātu* or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root. According to it the sūtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवौ. भूवौ आदी येषां भूप्रवृत्तयर् वा सद्रूपाः "word Bhû &c., and like वा denoting action are called *Dhātu*." वा "to blow."

१९। प्राग्निश्चराग्निपाताः १।४।५ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhiraśvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of *Nipāta* or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word चा of I. 4. 55 S. 2575; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachnīya take two names, i. e., their own name as well as the name *Nipāta*.

The letter र in प्राप्तीश्रवात् is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I.4. 97 S. 644 should be taken as the limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 S. 3440. which has the word isvare also.

२० । चाव्यो ऽसन्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अङ्गव्याधाभावो निपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अङ्गव्याधाः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. The words pra. &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, सु, उक्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so, however, the cha &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipātas. As परा जयति सेना "the excellent army conquers" Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

२२ । उपसर्गः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रणयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणयकः, परिणयकः ॥

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ प्र परा अप सम् अनु अव निस् निर दुस् दुर वि आङ् नि अधि अपि इति सु उक् अभि प्रति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. The words pra &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.

२४ । न वेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

निषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषा संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ :—prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given; and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two. This sūtra specially applies to the last class.

Thus the root भि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा इवे (V. 1. 30 S. 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa. or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुभाव or शिम्वाय ॥

२५ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं संज्ञि शब्दशास्त्रे या संज्ञा तां विना ॥

25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word'. The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः उबलनः &c.

२६ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषणं तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥ समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः ॥ उगिहूर्ण महणवर्जम् ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842.) declaring "let there be the affix क्त् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चयेयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरञ् (III. 3. 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अञ्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अञ् = अयः, चि + अञ् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, S. 686. declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टे + भित्तः = कष्टभित्तः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टे + परमभित्तः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99, S. 1101, declares "that the words नङ् &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नङ् + फक् = नाङायनः । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूचनङ्, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूचनङ् will be called सौचनङिः and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicatory ङक् (ङ, ञ, ण), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26, S. 3012) has an indicatory ङ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दक्षिः the son of Dakṣha.'

२७ । चिरामो ऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभावोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15, S. 76 &c.

२८ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णानामतिशायितः सान्निधिः संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, (*there being the intervention of half a mātrā or prosodial length between them*) is called contact or sanhitā.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As दृष्टान्न = दृधि + अन्न.

२९ सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अक्षिभिरव्यवहिता हलः संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगेगुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं गुरुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घश्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II

PARIBHĀSHĀS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिवाक्याभ्यां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयते तत्रेक इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदद्वयपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special sthâni, whenever *guna* or *vridddhi* is enjoined about any expression by using the terms *guna* or *vridddhi*, it is to be understood to come in the room of the *ik* vowels only (*i*, *u*, *ri*, and *ā* long and short,) of that expression.

Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, *guna* or *vridddhi* is ordained by employing the terms *guna* or *vridddhi*, there the word " *ikah* " in the genitive case, meaning " in the place of *ik*," is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular sthâni or the letter to be replaced.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares:—" when a sârvadhâtuka or an *Ārdhadhâtuka* affix follows there is *guṇa* of the base." Here the sthâni or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word " *ikah* " must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, " when a S. or an A. affix follows there is *guṇa* of the *ik* vowels of the base." The *guṇa* of *इ* or *ई* is *ए*; of *उ* or *ऊ*, is *ओ*, of *ऋ* or *ॠ* is *अर*, of *ऌ* is *अल्*; and their *Vṛiddhi* is *ऐ*, *औ*, *आर* and *आल्* respectively. Thus *नी* + *अति* = *ने* + *अति* = *नयति* " he leads."

३५ । अक्षश्च । १ । २ । २८ ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतशब्दैर्यत्राजिविधीयते तत्राऽच इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदद्वयपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book ' short ' ' long ' or ' prolated ' is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dīrgha* or *pluta*, there the word *achah*, in the genitive case, meaning " in the place of the vowel " is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. S. 318 "there is the substitution of *harsva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is :— the *harsva* is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form. As *इ* is shortened to *रि* in forming the compound with *अति* in *अतिरि*, नौ to *अतिनु*, गा to *उपगु* ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ ढ्कितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

दिङ्कितौ थल्योक्ता तस्य क्रमाशयन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory *ढ्* or *क्*, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters *ढ्* and *क्*. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is *ढ्* that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is en-joined; while a *क्* augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "Ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except *व*, have *इद्*". The question may arise where is this *इद्* to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the Ārdhadhātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory *ढ्* shows, that it is to be placed before the Ārdhadhātuka affix. Thus the future termination *स्यति*, is an Ārdhadhātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment *इद्*. Thus *भू + इद् + स्यति* = *भविष्यति*, 'he will be.' Similarly *लुप्ति* 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. S. 2595 the root *भी* takes the augment *घृक्* in forming the causative. This having an indicatory *क्* is to be added after the word *भी*, as, *भी + घृक् + णिष् + ते* = *भीषयते* 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिद्धोऽन्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अथ इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । अथां मध्ये योऽन्यस्तस्मात्परस्तस्यैवान्तावयवौ निस्स्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory *म्* comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory *म्*. The augments having an indicatory *म्*, technically called *मिद्* augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called *लृम्*, in which *उ* and *म्* are *इद्*, and the actual augment is *लृ*. When, therefore, it is said "let *हुम्* be added to the word," the letter *लृ* is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of *पयस्* 'milk' is formed in the following way :—*पयस्*

+ तुम् + इ (VII. 1. 72 S. 314) = पयान्सि (VI. 4. 8 S. 250). Here इ is added between व and स् i. e. after the अ of व, which is the final vowel of the word : and before this इ the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly वृद्ध + व + ति (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) = वृद्ध + तुम् + अ + ति (VI. 1. 59 S. 2402) — वृद्धवति । Similarly विरुणजि ।

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 S. 38 and III. 1. 2, S. 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८ । षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या । स्थानं च प्रसङ्गः ॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śaṣṭhī denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 34. the word इक् is in the genitive case ; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence वर्णाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasaṅge i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभ्यः (II. 4. 52 S. 2470), or वृद्धो वचिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and 'brū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of भस् ; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम्, and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वच्.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word shashthī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽश्नो, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound ; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठकालः &c. Or स्थानन योगोऽश्नो अस्ति, the ए in sthāne is anomalous.

३६ । स्थानान्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यत्रानेकविधमान्त्ये तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्ये बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.) ; (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—एङ् + अर्थ = एङ्गाम् ; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* अ and इ and उ have all one mātrā ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, वेता स्तोता.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तेरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77. S. 47) the word यणचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल् (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being :—‘Of इक् there is यण in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उक्कम् = इधुक्कम् ; so माध्विद्म्, पञ्चलोद्गम् ॥

४१ । तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । १ । १ । ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61, S. 118 declares that ‘after उद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter य् must be substituted in the place of sthā, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद् + स्थानम् = उद्य-थानम्.

४२ । अलोन्त्यस्य । १ । १ । ५२ ॥

बर्हीनिर्विहाऽन्यस्यादेशः स्यात् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared लादहीनाम् : “in the place of लद् &c., there is अ.” It does not mean that the whole word लद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of लद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । डिञ्च । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अयमप्यन्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ड (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra I. 1. 55, S. 45. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25, S. 921) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a डिञ् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *vis*, the ऋ of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य यद्विहितं तत्तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42. (अलोऽन्यस्य) To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97, S. 941) by which it is declared: “In the place of अण् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अण् there is ई when अण् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अण् but only one. By sūtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अण्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अण् and we have द्वि + अण् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीपं ‘promontory.’

४५ । अनेकाल शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अलोऽन्यसूत्रापवादः । अष्टाभ्य औशिखावादेः परस्येत्यतएव परत्वावनेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

and a substitute having an indicatory **इ** take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an *ādeśa* or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an *ādeśa* consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an *ādeśa* consists of a single letter, but if it has a **इ** as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra **बुवो वच्** (II. 4. 53, S. 2453) which means 'in the place of **बू** let there be **वच्**'. Here the *ādeśa* **वच्** consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word **बू** and not only the last letter **ऊ**. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb **बू** is replaced by **वच्**. Thus the future tense of **बू** is **वक्ता** 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sūtra **अष्ट औश्** (VII. 1. 21, S. 372) "after the stem of **अष्ट** **औश्** is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute **औश्** is a *शित्* substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes **ष्टस्** and **जस्** not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule **आदेः परस्य**. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes **जस्** and **ष्टस्** would have been replaced by **औ**. This sūtra is in fact an exception to the last sūtra.

४६ । स्वरितेनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वरितस्थयुक्तं शब्दस्वरूपमधिकृतं बोध्यम् ॥ परित्यागतरङ्गापवादानादुत्तरं बलीयः ॥ असिद्धं चक्षुरन्तरङ्गं ॥ अकृतद्युहाः पाणिनीयाः ॥ निमित्तं विनाशोन्मुखं दृष्ट्वा तत्प्रयुक्तं कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an *adhikāra* or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; **प्रत्ययः** (III. 1. 1. S. 180.) **धातोः** (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), **अङ्गत्व** (VI 4. 1 S. 200). **भस्य** (VI. 4. 129 S. 233).

Paribhāṣhā. Of (these four kinds of rules,—*viz*) a subsequent (rule,) a *nitya* (rule) an *antaranga* (rule), and an *apavāda* (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

*Note:—*By I. 4. 2, S. 175. we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व). This Paribhasha further expands the same.

An *anitya* rule is stronger than a Para (पर) rule. As तुवादिभ्यः णः (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुवादिः रुधादिभ्यः णम् (III. 1. 78, S. 2543) as रुणद्धि, Here the *nitya* affixes ण and णम् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86, S. 2189. Similarly चिन्वाव and चिन्वाम Here the augment वाद् by III 4. 92, S. 2204 being a *nitya* rule supersedes even the subsequent (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the उ of चितु before the affixes व and म ॥

Thus तुद् + तिप् VII. I 77 S. 3576. Vikarana ण before Sarvadhātuka; (*nitya*)

VII. 3. 86 S. 2189. Guna for उ (para but *anitya*). III. 1. 77 S. 2534. applies before the substitution of guṇa for उ and it would apply also if guṇa were substituted for उ, and if तुद् were changed to तौद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before ण is added to तुद्, but after the addition of ण to तुद् guṇa could not by VII. 3. 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly III. 1. 77 is *nitya* and VII. 3. 86 is *anitya*; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद् + ति, and subsequently VII. 3. 86 is no longer applicable. A *nitya* is thus defined:—A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nitya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*

An *antaranga* rule possesses greater force than even a *nitya* rule. Antaranga is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule; in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that *antranga* rule is *bahiranga*. In the formation of मानपिनी nom. dual of the neuter noun मानपी, we have two rules, first VII. 1. 73. S. 320. by which न, is added before the dual case affix णी; and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem मानपी to मानपि ॥ Though the न् augment is *nitya*, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the *antaranga* rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न been added first, then मानपीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.

An *apavāda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus दैत्यारिः, श्रीशः ॥ दैत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश, here the antaranga rules अट्ठुणः and इकोवर्णश्च would supersede even the पर rule of savarna-dīrgha, and अ + अ would be अ ई + ई would be यी ॥ But savarna-dīrgha rule being an apavāda rule supersedes the antaranga guṇa and yaṇ-ādesā.

Paribhāṣā. That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्योन, from सिच् + न, ऊ is substituted for the ष् of सिच् by VI. 4. 19 S. 2561. we obtain thus सिऊ + न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, viz. VI. 1. 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of ष् for इ before ऊ and VII. 3. 86 by which guṇa should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect ? The substitution of ष् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of guṇa for इ by न; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of ष् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of guṇa, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of guṇa without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of ष्,—the substitution of ष् for इ and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of guṇa for इ and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhāṣā. The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, ' an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

अचसंधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS.

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण् स्यादचि संहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानत् आन्तर्यामीका-
स्य धकारः । सुध् य उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल्, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus सुधी + उपास्यः Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य् which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthāna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुध् + उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication :—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अचः परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तो न त्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह्), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter य् is doubled, and we have :—

सु ध् ध् य् + उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration ;—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनद्विवधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्यान्न तु स्थान्यलाप्रयविधौ । अनेनेह धकारस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाचत्वमाश्रित्याम-
विधौति द्वित्वनिषेधो न शङ्क्योऽनद्विवधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute **अ** should be considered as **ई** which it has replaced; and as **ई** is a vowel, this **अ** should be considered as a vowel. That being so, **अ** is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so **अनाच्विच** does not apply, and **अ** should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sūtra itself, which says **अनन्विधौ**—"not when a rule of letter is to be applied." The **अ** is like **ई**, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like **अनच्वि च** ॥ The **अ** therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this **अनन्विधि** exception set aside by the following sūtra ?

५० । अच्ः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अन्विध्यर्थमिदम् । परनिमित्तोऽजावेशः स्थानिवत्स्यात् स्थानिभूताश्चः पूर्वत्वेन दृष्टस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानिवद्भावे प्राप्ते ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—**अच्ः** genitive of the pratyāhāra **अच्** meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Therefore **अ** would be **स्थानिवत्** to **ई** because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely **अ** of **अपास्य** and the rule of doubling is to be applied to **अ** a letter which precedes **अ** ॥

To this we answer "No", because of the following sūtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसंघर्षांस्तुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पदस्य चरमावयवे द्विर्वचनादौ च कर्तव्ये परनिमित्तोऽजावेशो न स्थानिवत् । इति स्थानिवद्भावे निषेधः ॥

51. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jas and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthānivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.'
2. द्विवचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of सुधी + उपास्य we have सुध्ध् + उपास्य Here ध् is changed into ध्. If this ध् were sthānivat to ध्, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before ध् would be inapplicable. But ध् is not equivalent to ध्, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form सुध्धुपास्य Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthānī.
3. वेरविधि, 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.'
4. यलोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.'
5. स्वरविधिः 'a rule relating to accent.'
6. सवर्णविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.'
7. अनुस्वारविधिः 'a rule relating to anusvâra.'
8. दीर्घविधिः 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.'
9. जश्चिधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants.'
10. चरविधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर pratyâhara instead of other consonants.'

५२ । कलां जश्चिधिः ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । इति धकारस्य वकारः ॥

52, In the room of जश् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when जश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus सुध्ध् + उपास्य = सुध्ध् + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sūtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ २ । १ । ६० ॥

मसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यणो मयो द्वे धाव्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यण इति षष्ठीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तद्विधु धकारयकारयो-
द्वित्वविकल्पावत्वारि रूपाणि ॥ एकध्वनिकयम् । द्विध्वं द्वियम् । द्विध्वनिकयम् । एकध्वं द्वियम् । सुष्ठुपास्यः ।
मध्वरिः । धाव्यः । लाकृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुध्व्युपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonant, namely the letter य् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter य् is prevented by the following *Vārtika*. यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the य् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vārtika* which requires the doubling of य् also, यणोमयोद्वेधाच्चे "The letters of the यण class are reduplicated after letters of the मय class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of ध्व and य् optionally.

1. One ध्व and one य् as सुध्वुपास्यः ।
2. Two ध्वs and two य्स as सुध्व्युपास्यः ।
3. Two ध्वs and one य् as सुध्व्युपास्यः ।
4. One ध्व and two य्स as सुध्व्युपास्यः ।

So also मधु + ध्वरिः = मध्वरिः ; धाव्यः, लाकृतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे स्त आदिनीशब्दे परे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने । पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे । आक्रोशो किम् । तत्प्रकथने द्विर्वचनं भवत्येव । पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी ॥ तत्परे च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ वा ततजग्धयोः * ॥ पुत्रहती । पुत्रजग्धी । पुत्रजग्धी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādini follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by sūtra 48. Thus पुत्रादिनी

स्वनसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vart :—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वनसि-पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart :—Optionally so when the words इत्त and जम्भ follow. As पुत्रइती or पुत्रइती, पुत्रजम्भी or पुत्रजम्भी ॥

५६ । त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

अत्रिषु वणेषु संयुक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इन्द्रः । इन्द्रः । राष्ट्रम् । राष्ट्रम् ॥

56. According to the option of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इन्द्रः, राष्ट्रम्, राष्ट्रम् ॥

५७ । सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । अर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्वं न । शचम् । पाञ्चम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शचम्, पाञ्चम्,

५९ । अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

अचः पराभ्यां रेकहकाराभ्यां परस्य यतो द्वे वा स्तः । इदृशेभ्यः ॥ न ह्यस्यति ॥

59. There is reduplication of यश्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word अश् of VIII. 4. 45 S. 11 6. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus इदृशेभ्यः, न ह्यस्यति ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोपः स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैकयं रूपं तृत्वम् । लोपारम्भकत्वं तु आदित्यो देवताऽस्येत्यादित्यं हविरित्याहं ॥ यमां यमीति यथासंख्यविज्ञानान्नेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्यं हविः To the word आदित्य is added the affix च (य्यत्) by IV. 1. 85, S. 10 77. and we have आदित्यं; now this च not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules. Hence this lopa-rule. Thus āditya + ya (IV. 1. 85) = āditya + ya (the *a* is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 3 11.) = ādityya. Then by applying the present rule we have āditya with one *y* only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyāhāra, i. e. य, व, र, ल, झ, म, ङ, ञ and न; when यम् follows another यम्; here the substitute and sthāni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathā sankhya I. 3. 10, S. 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on: and not य followed by व, or र etc. Therefore there is no elision of म in माहात्म्यम् though म a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

एचः कमाव्य् अच् आच् आच् एते स्थुराचि ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अच्, आच्, इच् and ईच् when a vowel follows.

Note.—The yathā sankhya rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies here also, and so ए is replaced by अच्, ऐ by आच्, ओ by इच् and औ by ईच् ॥ Or अच् would be the proper substitute of ए, अच् of ओ etc. by the rule of sthāne-antartama I. 1. 50 S. 39. For ए etc. are compound letters or diphthongs, ए = अ + इ, ओ = अ + व etc. and so their most approximate substitutes are अच्, इच् etc. Hence the author of Siddhānta has not read the yathā sankhya rule here, but later on.

Here arises a doubt, are not the final य् and च् in these substitutes, इच् letters? For were we not taught in sūtra हलन्त्यम् I. 3. 3. S. 1. that all final consonants are इच्? If then, these य् and च् be इच्, then they require to be elided by the following rule.

६२ । तस्य लोपः ॥ १ । ३ । ६ ॥

तस्येते लोपः स्यात् । इति यवयोर्लोपो न । उच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । एवं चेत्संज्ञापीड न भवति । हरये । विष्णवे । नायकः । पावकः ॥

62. Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final इ, and ए in अइ, अए, आइ and आए, because these letters are not इत् or indicatory. Why are they not indicatory? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it: otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only: in fact, the इ and ए do not get the designation इत् at all here.

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have: हरे + ए = हरये; विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, नै + अकः = नायकः; पौ + अकः = पावकः ॥

६३ । वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

यकारादौ प्रत्यये परे ओशैतोर्ब्र आइ एतौ स्तः । गोर्धिकारो गव्यम् । गोपयसौर्यविति यत् । नावा तार्ये नाव्यम् । नौवयोधमेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गौर्यतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अर्धवपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्यूतिः । ऊतियूतीत्यादिना यूतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ वान्त इत्यत्र वकाराद्गौर्यताविव्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे लोपोव्योर्वलीति लोपेन वकारः प्रलियते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त वरविशः स्यात् । वकारो न छिन्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अइ and आइ for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in इ viz अइ and आइ. Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in इ (viz. अइ and आइ) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ. Thus गो + य = गव् + य = गव्यं milk By sūtra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification. Similarly नौ + य = नाव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat). Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S. 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c.

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्यूति as भानो मित्रा, वरुणा घृतेर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ गव्यूति meaning क्रोशयुग्मम् ॥ The word यूति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sūtra III. 3. 97. S. 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्यूति; should not the इ be elided by VIII. 3, 22. S. 171 or by VIII. 3. 19. S. 67. No. For the sūtra वान्तोयि प्रत्यये has really a इ in latency before it; the real sūtra being व्रान्तो &c. This इ is invisible by the rule लोपो व्योर्वलि VI. 1. 66 S 873. So also in the vārtika गौर्यतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्, there is this invisible इ before छ ॥ Therefore the ādeṣa is अइ with the इ, that is, the इ is not elided.

Why the व is not liable to elision in गव्ये and नाव्ये by the application of VIII. 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in गव्युति only? The rules VIII. 3. 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now गो before वृत्ति is a Pada; while गो or नौ before वृत् is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I. 4. 18, S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

याहौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेषां ह्यन्तोद्देशास्तर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लब्धम् । अवयवलाभश्च तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ भोयते । भोयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एवः, धातोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य् ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by वृत् (III. 1. 97 S. 284 2.) this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: S. 2168. Thus लू + य = लो + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also वू—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लू + पयत् (III. 1. 125 S. 3304.) = लौ + य = अवय्य लाव्यम् and अवय्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते ॥ Hereby Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15 S. 2409), वे becomes व, as आ + व + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + व = औ VI. 1. 87 S. 69, we have औ + यते = भोयते ॥ Since औ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also औयत, लोयमानि, पौयमानि: (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). The word एव in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ; औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

६५ । क्षय्यज्ययौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तादेशनिपातनार्थमिदम् ॥ क्षेतुं शक्यं शक्यम् । जेतुं शक्यं ज्यम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । क्षेतुं जेतुं बोध्यं क्षेत्यं पापं जेत्यं मतः ॥

65. In क्षय्य and ज्यय there is substitution of अय् for य only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix वृत् (III. 1. 97 S. 2842), assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = शक्यः (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also ज्ययः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेत्यं पापं, जेत्यं मतः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६। क्रय्यस्तर्धे ॥ ६। १। ८२ ॥

तस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थायैव तर्धम् । क्रेतारः क्रीणांयुस्ति बुद्ध्या भाषणे प्रसारितं क्रय्यम् । क्रयमन्यत् ।
क्रयणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to अ ॥ The word तर्धम् means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७। लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८। ३। १९ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्वा लोपोऽपि परे ॥ पूर्वञासिद्धमिति लोपशास्त्रस्यासिद्धत्वात् स्वर-
संधिः । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः । श्रियायुद्यतः । युरा उत्कः । युरावुत्कः ॥
कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यञास्तेरलोपस्य स्थानिवच्चेन यगावादेशौ प्राप्तौ न पदान्तोत्तिसूत्रेण पदान्तविधिं
तन्निषेधात् स्तः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अय् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels; because the rule of पूर्वञासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S. 12. intervenes and makes this *lopa* as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + एहि = हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रियै + उद्यतः = श्रियाउद्यतः or श्रियायुद्यतः; युरौ + उत्कः = युराउत्कः or युरावुत्कः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and कौ + स्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S. 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really असन्ति and स्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An âdeśa is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sutra I. 1. 56 S. 49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्यसन्ति and कास्तः, But this is prevented by Sutra I. 1. 58 S. 51, for an âdeśa is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padânta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sūtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sūtra is a Padânta rule and hence the âdeśa is not equal to a Sthāni.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, दावच or दा अच, असावाहित्यः or असा आहित्यः ॥

६८। एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६। १। ८४ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted"

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. In every *sūtra* upto VI. 1. 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādśa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६६ । आद्गुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णाद्वि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणविशः स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रमेशः । गङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ + a vowel = *guṇa*).

The word अवि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, *guṇa*. Thus उप + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्रः ; रमा + ईशः = रमेशः ; गङ्गा + उदकम् = गङ्गोदकम् ॥

७० । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

क इति त्रिशतः संक्षेप्युक्तम् । तत्स्थानि योऽण् स रपरः सत्रेव प्रवर्तते । तत्राभ्यन्तरस्यात्कृष्णर्षि-
रित्यवाऽर् । तवत्कार इत्यवाऽल् । अथो र्हाभ्यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् *pratyāhāra* comes as a substitute for कृ it is always followed by a र्.

This *sūtra* consists of three words *viś*, उः which is the genitive singular of कृ and means literally 'of कृ' or 'in the place of कृ'; the second word is अण्, a *pratyāhāra* denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This *sūtra* is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of कृ लृ. Thus, there are only three *guṇa* vowels अ, ए and औ. Of these what is the proper *guṇa* for कृ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the *guṇa* of कृ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the *guṇa* of कृ, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a *pratyāhāra* formed by the letter र् and अ of लृ; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल. In that case the *sūtra* would mean, that अण् substitutes of कृ and लृ are always followed by र् and ल respectively. Thus the *guṇa* of णि = अर्, of लि = अल.

It has already been taught that क् is the name of 30 letters. *Viz.*—18 forms of क् and 12 forms of ल्. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a र्. Therefore कृष्ण+कद्विः=कृष्णद्विः. Here अ is followed by र् as the nearest substitute of क्. Similarly तव+लकारः=तवल्लकारः. Here अ is followed by ल् as the nearest substitute of ल्. Similarly there is doubling when the rule अन्तो र्वाभ्याम् (VIII. 4. 46 S. 59) is applied.

७१। शरोश्चरि सवर्णे । ८। ४। ६५ ॥

इलः परस्य शरो लोपो वा स्यात्सवर्णे शरि । द्वित्वाभावे लोपे सत्येकधम् । असति लोपे द्वित्वलोप योर्वा द्विधम् । सति द्वित्वे लोपे चासति विधम् । कृष्णर्धः । कृष्णद्विः । कृष्णद्विः ॥ यण इति पञ्चमी मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम् । लस्य स्वनाच्च चेति । तेन तवल्लकार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम् ॥ Verse: द्वित्वं लस्यैव कस्यैव नोभयोदभयोरपि । तवल्लकाराविषु बुधैर्बोध्यं रूपचतुष्टयम् ॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (भर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one ध्. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two ध्स. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three ध्स. Thus Kṛishṇardhiḥ; or Kṛishṇarddhiḥ or Kṛishṇarddddhiḥ.

By the Vārtika यणो मयो द्वेवाच्ये (See Sutra 54), when यणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case; namely, when the Vārtika is translated as "after a यण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters," in that alternative the क् is also doubled in तवल्लकारः. The ल् here also will be doubled by the rule of अनचिच (VII. 4. 47. S. 48). Therefore तवल्लकारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As Tavalkārah; Tavallkārah; Tavalkkārah; Tavallkkārah.

७२। वृद्धिरेचि । ६। १। ८८ ॥

अविचि परे वृद्धिरेकविशः स्यात् । गुणपवाहः । कृष्णैकत्वम् । गङ्गोचः । देवैश्वर्यम् । कृष्णोत्कण्ठम् ॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-I-diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the sūtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa+Ekavtam=Kṛishṇai katvam; Gaṅgā+oghaḥ=Gaṅgaughah, Deva+aiśvāryam=devaiśvāryam. Kṛishṇa+autkaṇṭhyam=Kṛishṇaut kanthyam.

७३ । एत्येधत्तुदसु । ६ । १ । ८६ ॥

अवर्णादजायोरेत्येधत्तोक्तं च परे वृद्धिरादेशः स्यात् । पररूपसुभाषवाचः । उपेति । उपेधने । प्रद्योहः । एजाद्योः किम् । उपेतः । भा भवान्प्रदिधत् । पुरस्तादपवादस्यायेनेयं वृद्धिरिति पररूपमित्यस्येव बाधिका न स्वामाङ्गोभ्यस्य । तेनावैहीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अक्षावृद्धिन्यासुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥ स्वाहोरेणिः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वेनेरितु शीलमस्येति स्वैरी । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्र वृद्धाहो-
केष्विष्येषु * ॥ प्रौहः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ “ब्रह्मेतिसूत्रे राज्ञेः पृथग् भाजिमहणा-
वज्ञापकात्” । तेन ऊढग्रहणेन क्तान्तमव गृह्यते न तु क्तवत्स्वन्तस्यैकदेशः । प्रौढवान् । प्रौढिः ॥ इष
इच्छायां तुवाविः । इष गतौ विवाविः । इष अभिरुण्य कथयिः । एषां घञि ण्यति च एषः एष्यः इति
रूपे । तच्च पररूपं प्रातिपदनेन वृद्धिः । प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ यस्तु ईष उञ्छ । यश्च ईष गतिहिसापर्शनयो ।
तयोर्धोपधत्तान् ईषः । ईष्यः । तच्चाहुणेः प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ क्तं च नृतियासमासे * ॥ सुखेन क्तः सुखा-
र्तः । तृतिथेति किम् । परमर्तः ॥ प्रवत्सत्तरकम्बलवसनार्णवशामाशृणे * ॥ प्राणम् । वत्सत्तरार्णमिच्छावि ॥
ऋणस्थापनयनाय यदन्यदणं क्रियते तदणार्णम् । दशार्णो वेशः । नक्षी च दशार्णो । ऋणशब्दो दुर्गभूमौ
जले च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-*न*-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-*न*-ऊ of ऊङ् (the substitute of वा in वाङ् by VI. 4. 132 S. 329).

The whole of the last sūtra and आन् are understood here. The एङ् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एङ् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एङ् qualify ऊङ् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपेति, उप + एधते = उपेधते प्रद्योह-ऊङ् = प्रद्योह ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S. 69, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, S. 78 this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् वाधन्ते नान्तरान् “Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules.” Therefore the present rule does not apply here, — उप + आ-*न*-इत् = उप + एत् = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-*न*-इत् = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एषि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vart :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Vart :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिन्, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरी, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घम् added to ईरगतौ : (Ad. 8. स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32, S. 694) Another form is स्वैरी = स्वे गमिप्रायेणैर ते गच्छति with the affix गति (III. 2. 78 S, 2988).

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊहः, ऊहि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौढः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sūtra VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 where the word भ्राज् is taken separately from राज्, the rule applies only to ऊह and not to ऊहवान्. Therefore we have प्रौढवान् and not प्रौढवान्. The word एष is derived from the root इष्ट 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष्ट 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष्ट 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix वञ्, and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यन् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परस्परः ॥ While the roots ईष्ट 'to glean', and ईष्ट 'to go' to injure, 'to show', (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईवः and ईष्यः with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound: as सुलेन क्तः = सुलेनार्थः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word कण follows the following:—प्र, वस्ततर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वस्ततरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vart:—So also when the words कण and दश are followed by कणः—as, कणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word कणार्णम् means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country. The word कण means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt.

७४ । उपसर्गादिति धातौ । ६ । १ । २१ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकारादौ धातौ परे वृद्धिरकारविशः स्यात् । प्रार्च्छति । उपाच्छति ॥

74. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with क्; the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent क् ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. S. 69. Thus उप + कच्छति = उपाच्छति, प्रार्च्छति ॥

७५ । अन्तादिवच्च । ६ । १ । ८५ ॥

योऽयमेकारविशः स पूर्वस्यान्तवत्परस्यदिवस्स्यात् । इति रेफस्य पदान्तस्ये ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S. 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An ādeśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekādeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra.

Therefore the र् is Padanta in अपाच्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies :—

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

खरि अवसाने अ परे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्राप्ते । अन्तवशादेन पदान्त-
रेफस्य न विसर्गः । उभयपक्षं कर्तरि अविदेवतयोरित्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥ अपसर्गेणैव धातोराक्षेपे सिद्धे धाता-
विति योगविभागेन पुनर्वृद्धिविधानार्थम् । तेन ऋत्यक्त इति पाक्षिकोऽपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र् before a खर consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is final in a pada.

The word र् is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of अपाच्छति should be changed into visarga; but this is not so ; because Pāṇini himself in his Sūtras उभयपक्षं (VIII. 3. 8, S. 3630) and कर्तरिचविदेवतयोः (III. 2. 186, S. 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga.

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhātu, as the word father denotes the correlative word son.

The repetition of the word dhātu in the sūtra VI. 1. 91 S. 74 is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129, S. 92 which causes प्रकृतिभाव or non-sandhi of ऋ. The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited with regard to this ऋ.

७७ । वा सुप्यापिशलेः । ९ । १ । ६२ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकारावौ सुप्यापौ परे वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । आपिशलिमहणं पूजार्थम् । प्रार्थनीयति ।
मर्षनीयति । सावर्ण्यात् लवणस्य महणम् ॥ प्रात्कारीयति । प्लत्कारीयति । तपरत्कारीयं न । उपप्लत्कारीयति
उपकारीयति ॥

77. According to the opinion of Āpiśali, the Vri-
ddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or वा of
a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning
with ऋ ॥

Thus प्रार्थनीयति or मर्षनीयति प्रात्कारीयति or प्लत्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and लृ are
considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra
includes लृ also. The name of the Grammarian Āpiśali is mentioned for the
sake of respect ; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short ऋ and short ॠ are only to be taken, because the letter ऋ in the sūtra has a ण after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long ऋ. Therefore we have only one form in उप + ऋकारीयति = उपकारीयति.

७८ । एङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । ९४ ॥

आहुपसर्गादिवाचौ धातौ परे पररूपमेकदेशः स्यात् । प्रजते । उपोषति । इह वा ध्रुपीत्युपसर्गवाक्य-
भेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एकादौ मुञ्चतौ वा ॥ उपेङ्कीयति । उपैङ्कीयति । प्रोषीयति । प्रौषीयति ॥
एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेव भोक्ष्यसे । अतवक्तृतावेवशाब्दः । अनियोगे किम् । तवैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्धातौ are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप) ॥ This debars Vṛddhi taught in VI. 1. 88 S. 72. Thus प्रजतः उपोषति ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, S. 77 according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेङ्कीयति or उपैङ्कीयति, प्रोषीयति or प्रौषीयति,

Vart :—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus कुर्वभोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛddhi takes place : as तवैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्त्यादि वि । १ । १ । ९४ ॥

अच्चां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः स आर्क्ष्यस्य णट्सिन्तं स्यात् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ० तच्च
देः ॥ शकन्धुः ॥ कर्कन्धुः । कुलटा । सीमन्तः केशवैशे । सीमान्तोऽन्त्यः । मनीषा । हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ।
पतञ्जलिः ॥ सारङ्गः पशुपक्षिणोः । साराङ्गोऽन्त्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ मार्तण्डः । भोस्वोष्ठयोः समासे
वा ॥ स्थूलौतुः । स्थूलौतुः । बिम्बोष्ठः । बिम्बोष्ठः । समासे किम् । तवैष्ठः ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि .

This sūtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि ; so also in सौमसुत् the portion सुत् .

The word अच्चः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification ; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

This sūtra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vārtikas*.

Vārti:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of चाकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the हि portion of these words and not merely of the letter च, though the anuvritti of चात् is understood here. Had the Para-rupa been only of च, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्ईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwādī words—1. चाकन्धुः—the well of the Sakās (चाक + कन्धु well). 2. कर्कन्धुः—the well of the Karkās. 3. कुलटा—unchaste woman (कुल + टाटा). 4. सीमन्त—सीम + मन्तः (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5. मनीषा—the lord of the mind. 6. हलीषा—हलि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7. लङ्गलीषा. 8. पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made i.e. an honored man). So also 9. सारङ्गः when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is साराङ्गः—सार + अङ्गः (the chief member of a body).

The Sakandhwadi is an Ākritigaṇa, i.e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rupa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus घृत + अण्डः = घृतण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form मर्तण्डः. We have the regular form मर्तण्डः also.

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलैतुः or स्थूलोतुः, so also बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory: as तवोष्ठः

८० । ओमाङोश्च । इ । १ । ९५ ॥

ओमि आङि चाख्ये पररूपमेकादेशः स्थान् । शिवाद्योनमः ॥ शिव एहि । शिवेहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The चात् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ओम् नमः = शिवाद्यो नमः Similarly शिव + आ + इहि = शिव + एहि = शिवेहि ॥

Question:—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिव + आ + इहि = शिवा + इहि = शिवेहि. Where is then the necessity of this rule?

Answer:—The आ could not combine with शिव, for the rule पूर्व धातु-रपसर्गेण युज्येत the upasarga must first combine with the dhātu and then other Sandhi rules must take place. The combination of अपसर्ग and धातु is an antaranga rule, while Sandhi is merely a bahiranga rule. Therefore आ first combines with the dhātu इहि and forms एहि and then this एहि combines with शिव ॥

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वेनरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ परं पररूपमेकविदाः स्यात् । पदत् इति पठिति ॥ एकाच्चेन ॥ अदिति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त ; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदत् + इति = पठिति ॥

Vart.—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = अदिति ॥

८२ । नाम्नेडितस्यान्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

नाम्नेडितस्य प्रागुक्तं न स्यादन्तस्य तु तकारमात्रस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाचि बहुलं द्वे भवत इति बहुलवचनाद्वित्वम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त् + इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vartik.—There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows.

The doubling takes place by this *Vartika*. The word *āmreḍita* is defined in the next sūtra.

८३ । तस्य परमांनेडितम् । ८ । १ । १०० ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमांनेडितसंज्ञं स्यात् । पदत्पठति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *āmreḍita* (repeated).

Thus पदत् पदत् + इति = पदत्पद + इ + ति = पदत्पठति. Now, this para-rūpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदत् + पदत् + इति = पदत् पठति. The त् is changed to इ by the next sūtra.

८४ । झलां जशाञ्ते । ८ । २ । १०१ ॥

पशन्ते झलां अशः स्युः । पदत्पठति ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अच्, श्वलिङ् अच्, अग्निचिद् अच्, जिह्व अच् ॥

८५। अक् सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६। १। १०१ ॥

अक् सवर्णेऽपि परे दीर्घ एकांशः स्यात् । वैत्यादिः । श्रीयः । विष्णुपदः । अचि किम् । कुमारी श्रोते । नाङ्गलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घशकारयोः । महणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्यविधिविधेयभावां प्रागनिवृत्तेः । अक् किम् । इत्येव ॥ " अकोऽपि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥ " अचि सवर्णे ऋ वा ॥ होतृकारः । होतृकारः ॥ त्वति सवर्णे ल्वा । होस्त्वकारः । पक्षे ऋकारः । सावर्ण्यम् । होतृकारः । अचि ऋ वा त्वति ल् वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेयं वर्णद्वयं द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये हो रेकौ सवरेका मात्रा । अन्तिमोऽञ्भक्तेरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये हो लकारो । शब्दं प्राप्स्यन् । इहोभयत्रापि ऋत्वक इति पाक्षिकः प्रकृतिभावां वक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus वैत्य + अचि = वैत्यादिः; श्री + ईशः = श्रीयः; विष्णु + उवच = विष्णुपदः । Why do we say "when a vowel follows"? Observe कुमारी श्रोते The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी श्रोते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुविसवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69 S. 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाङ्ग ह्रस्वौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाङ्ग ह्रस्वौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9 S. 10) and then comes the महणकशास्त्रं (I. 1. 68 S. 25). Therefore in नाङ्ग ह्रस्वौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which. I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10; the long ई and श would be savarṇa. The sūtra अक् सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोऽपि दीर्घः । Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel?' Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe इधि + अच् = इधयच् ॥

Vārt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with ल् ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or ल्—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c)

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short क् or short ल् (which comes in the place of क् + क् or क् + ल्) is *really* long consisting of two mâtṛas, in this way :—होत् + क्कारः = होत् २ + क्कारः ॥ These two र's are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mâtṛā, for each consonant has half a mâtṛā. Thus one mâtṛā of two र's and one mâtṛā of क् make two mâtṛās really and though apparently short क् is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ल् there are two ल's. In other words, the short क् (that comes in the place of two क्'s) contains latent in it two र's, of one mâtṛā and its own self of one mâtṛā. Similarly the single substitute ल् contains merged in it two ल's (of one mâtṛā) and its own self of one mâtṛā.

Thus होत् + क्कारः = हात्कारः or होत्कारः, so also होत् + ल्कारः ॥ होल्लकारः or होल्लकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ल् is क् ॥

Moreover, by the rule of क्त्वक् VI. 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional,

८६ । एङः पदान्तादिति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादेङोऽति परे पूर्वकपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेऽव । विष्णोऽव ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे + अव = हरेऽव, विष्णो + अव = विष्णोऽव ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

लोकै बवे चैकन्तस्य गोरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्प्रधान्ते । गोअयम् । गोऽअयम् । एङन्तस्य किम् चित्रअयम् । पदान्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After गो (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गाऽअ or गो अयम् ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चित्रय् + अयम् = चित्रअयम्. Here गो does not end in ओ but has assumed the form य् and so the rule does not apply.

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गोः

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचि परे पदान्ते गोरवङ् वा स्यात् । गवायम् । पदान्ते किम् । गावे । अवशिष्टविभाषया गवाक्षः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of ओति ceases, that of आशि manifests itself. Thus गो+अप = गवापम्, so also गवाजितम्, गवौदनम्, गवौल्लम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽपम्, गोऽजितम्, गवौदनम्, गवौल्लम् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhāṣā, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे च । इ । १ । १२५ ॥

गोरेतङ् स्याविन्द्रे । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥

Note:—The Pāṇini reads this sūtra as इन्द्रैश्च नित्यम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sūtra, instead of this.

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV

NON-SANDHI.

९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽपि नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौभरति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता वित्यादावयवैव प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्ण इति ह्रस्वसमुच्चितो मा भूत् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहिकृष्ण ३ अत्र गौभरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords," the present sūtra applies fully; for the long ई of हरी being Pragrihya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarna letter, *i. e.* ई. In चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र "The chakrin is here", the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular. and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sūtra and the subsequent sūtra find scope, and the subsequent sūtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word *nitya* prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

६१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

परान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽपि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । अत्र ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्यादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थश्चकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि अत्र । चक्रेत्यत्र । परान्ता इति किम् । गौर्यौ ॥ न समासि * ॥ वाच्यम् ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्श्वम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र NA 11111

The name of Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahābhāṣya, the च in the sūtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvritti of Prakṛiti-bhāva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakṛiti bhāva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चक्री + बभूव = चक्रिबभूव = चक्रबभूव, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गौर्यौ ॥

Two Vārti :—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicative सू :—Thus बभूव ते योनिःकृत्विः, प्रजो विश्वमकृत्विषात् The word कृत्विष is formed by a सिन् affix, namely by वस् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to कृत्तुः and therefore the व is changed to ब ॥ Before a सिन् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैद्याकरणः, सौवर्चः, व्याकरणः, कुमार्ययम् which are so by II. 2. 18 S. 761. Thus दाप्यभ्यः is an example of compound; and पार्थिवम् formed by the affix णस् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

कृति परेऽकः प्राग्वत् । ब्रह्म कृषिः । ब्रह्मविः । पदान्ता इत्येव । भाष्येऽन्वये प्रकृतिभावः । सप्तकृषीणाम् । सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus ब्रह्मा + कृषि = ब्रह्मकृषि or ब्रह्मविः ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + कृच्छत् = आच्छत् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + कृषीणाम् सप्तकृषीणाम् or सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by कृ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्र ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)” ? Observe वृषावृषाः (वृषो + कृष्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

९३ । चाक्यस्य देः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ८२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

93. Upto the close of this chapter (Second Pada of the Eight Adhyāya), is always to be supplied: “the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i, e, “the last vowel

(रि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (रि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

६४ । प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशूदे । ८ । २ । ८३ ॥

अष्टाद्विषये प्रत्यभिवादे ब्रह्मक्यं तस्य देः प्लुतः स्यात् स ओहासः । अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽशू । ओ आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्तः ॥ स्त्रियां न ॥ अभिवादे गार्ग्यहम् । ओ आयुष्मती भव गार्गी ॥ नाम सोक्तं वा यत्र प्रत्यभिवादाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इत्येत । नेह । आयुष्मानेधि ॥ ओराजन्वविशां वति वाच्यम् ॥ आयुष्मानेधि ओः । आयुष्मनि धीन्द्रवर्म् इन् । आयुष्मनि धीन्द्रपालित ३ ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Sūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Sūdra.

Thus अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् "I do salute you, I am devadatta". is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says ओ आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तौ ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादे गार्ग्यहम् is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies :—ओ आयुष्मती भवगार्गी ! ॥

Ishṭi :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart :—The prolation is optional, when ओ follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As ओ अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ओः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त ओः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादे इन्द्रवर्म्हम् ओः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्न् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्न् ॥ Vaishya: अभिवादे इन्द्रपालितोऽहम् ओः ॥ Guru: आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

९५ । कूरायूते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

कूरायूते च ब्रह्मक्यं तस्य देः प्लुतः स्यात् । सकृन्पिब देवदत्त ३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता ॥ O devadatta! drink the gruel".

६६ । हेहेप्रयोगे हेहयोः । ८ । २ । ८५ ॥

एतयोः प्रयोगे वृत्तयूते यद्वाक्यं तत्र हेहयोरिव प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ राम । राम हे ३ ॥

96. When the words हे and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the हे and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ राम, or राम हे ३ ॥

९७ । गुरोरनृतोनन्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राच्याम् । ८ । २ । ८६ ॥

वृत्तयूते यद्वाक्यं तस्य ऋद्धिन्नस्यान्नस्यानन्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ ववत् । ववत् ३ त । ववत् ३ । गुराः किम् । वक्रारान्परस्याकारस्य मा भूत् । अनृतः किम् । कृष्ण ३ । एकैकमवर्णं पर्याख्यम् । इह प्राच्यामिति यागो विभज्यते । तेन सर्वः प्लुतो विकल्प्यते ॥

97. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sūtras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by the two previous Sūtras. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे ३ ववत् or ववत् ३ त or ववत् ३ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्ण ३ ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time ; not ववत् ३ त ३ ॥

The word प्राच्याम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation at all.

९८ । अप्लुतवद्गुणस्थिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्ष इतिशब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्भवति । अप्लुतकार्यं यणारिकं करोतीत्यर्थः । सुब्लोक इति । सुब्लोकेति । वस्किम् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयते प्लुतश्च निविध्यते । तथा च प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्री इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishī texts ; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुब्लोका इति = सुब्लोकेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् "like as" ; instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluta is treated like apluta" ? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and the same time, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्री, the इ is pragrihya. It may be made pluta also as अग्री इ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्री इति formed by अग्री इ + इति ॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्री इ इति ॥

९९ । ईरे चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

इ इ प्लुतोऽपि परेऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चितुहि इ इति । चितुहीति । चितुहि इ इवम् । चितुहीवम् । उभयत्र विभाषयम् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmana, the pluta ई रे followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चितु हि इ इति = चितुहीति ॥ चितु ही इ इवम् or चितुहीवम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmana is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains prakṛti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛti bhāva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

१०० । ईद्वेद्विच्यनम प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईद्वेद्वन्तं द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यतस्तं स्यात् । हरी एतौ । विष्णू हनौ । गङ्गे अमू । पथेते हनौ । मणीवोद्भव्यति तु इत्यर्थे वशाद्वो वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sūtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus:—हरी एतौ, विष्णू हनौ; गङ्गे अमू. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of हरी and the initial ह् of हनौ ought to have coalesced into an ह्री, but it is not so, because हरी is the nominative dual of हरि ॥

Vart.:—The prohibition of मनाव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems)+एव = मनीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," अम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात्र । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परावीकृतौ प्रगृह्यौ स्तः । अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्णवमू आसाते । मात्किम् । अमुकेऽन । असाति माद्वयहणे एकारोऽप्यनुवर्तते ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म्, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्ण । वमू आसाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म्"? Because in the example अमुके + अव = अमुके च, the ए, preceded not by म् but by the क् of अमुक् (V. 3. 71, S.

2026) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of the last sūtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२ । शे । १ । १ । १३ ॥

अयं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अस्मै इन्द्राद्दृहस्पती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. I. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्मैइन्द्राद्दृहस्पती

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

१०३ । निपात एकाजनाङ् । १ । १ । १४ ॥

एकोऽजिनपात आङ्बर्जः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्के । उ उमेशः । अनाङि-
त्युक्तेरङिङाकारः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एवं तु मन्यसे । आ एवं किल तत् । किञ्च न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णञ्
ओष्णम् । ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाऽभिविधौ च यः । एतमातं कितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

All such particles technically called nipāta which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेश, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:—(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् 'to go आगम्,' 'to come,' आ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मनः "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्यसे. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४ । ओत् । १ । १ । १५ ॥

ओदन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । ओशो ईशाः ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrahya.

As अशोईदाः ॥

१०५ । सम्वुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

संबुद्धिनिमित्तक भोकारो वा प्रशङ्कोऽवैदिके इतौ परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति । अनार्थे इति किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धविष्यब्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrahya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

In Ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धविष्यब्रवीत् ॥

१०६ । उज्जः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उज्ज इतौ वा प्रासुक्तम् उ इति विति ॥

106. The particle उज्ज before इति, according to Śākalya is a Pragrahya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उज्ज meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति ॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उज्ज इतौ द्विर्वोऽनुनासिकः प्रशङ्क्य ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The particle ऊँ replaces उज्ज in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrahya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उज्ज is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal ॥ ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति ॥

१०८ । मय उज्जो वो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः परस्य उज्जो वो वा स्यात्किम् । किमु उक्तम् । वस्यासिद्धत्वात्प्राप्तुत्वारः ॥

108. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and झ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus kimuuktam or kimvuktam. The व् is a Pragrahya and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the व् is not changed to anusvāra in the above example.

When this इ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मञ्च consonant, then by I. 1. 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to इ by यणदेशः (VI. 1. 77 S 47), or to इ by the present sūtra. In the case of यणदेश इ, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3, 23, S 122 as किञ्चित् ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to इ by the present sūtra as किञ्चित् or किञ्च इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the ई will be nasal : as किञ्चित्, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किञ्च ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०६ । इदूतो च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्नरीबुद्धन्तं प्रगृह्यं स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिभितः । मामकी तन् इति । सुपां सुलुगिति सप्तम्या लुक् । अर्थप्रहणं किञ्च । वृत्तावर्पान्तरोपसंक्रान्ते मा भूत् । वाच्यमधो वाच्यश्च ॥

109. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by इ or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or ओ, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच्, or आत् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is इ (इ). In forming the L. S. of तन् "body," we have तन् + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तन् + ऊ = तन् "in the body," as, अग्न्यस्वां मामकीतन् (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिभितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ई and ऊ are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long ई and ऊ which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ढा (ऌ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + ढि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, मिथः सूर्ये मिथो अग्ना भवति इ इन्द्राय सुतोमो वसाशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति ॥

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + दा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here इ is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मतीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vāpī has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्वः "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pūrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like नौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽवसानेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । इधि । इधि । अप्रगृह्यस्व किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrīhya.

अ, इ and ऊ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrīhya. The अण् here is a Pratyāhāra with the first ऋ ॥ Thus इधि or इधि,

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrīhya'? Observe अग्नी,

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः द्युना द्युः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां भोगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिदशेते । रामञ्चिनोति । सञ्चित् ।
शाङ्किञ्जय ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with य and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with शः as, हरिस् + शेते = हरिश्शेते,

2nd. स in contact with युः—as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामञ्चिनोति,

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निञ्चित् + शेते = अग्निञ्चिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with युः—सत् + चित् = सञ्चित्.

5th. चकार followed by सकार; as, यज + न (III. 3. 90 S 3268) = यज + ञ् = यज्ञः, वाच् + न = वाचञ्जा ॥ In fact the instrumental case द्युना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and यु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by द्यु, or द्यु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th. (a) स followed by यु is changed into शः as, भृज् + ति = भृश्ज् + श + ति (III. 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1. 16 S 2412) = भृज्ज + ति = भृश्ज् + ति = (VIII. 4. 53 S 52) = भृज्जति ॥ Similarly मज्ज forms मज्जति, ज्ञश्च forms ज्ञश्चति ॥

The next aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into यु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S 128) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो भोः द्युः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शात् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शास्परस्य तवर्गस्य ऋत्वं न स्यात् । विमः । प्रमः ॥

112. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and शोः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule. Thus विच्छ + न (III. 3. 90. S. 3268) = विक्ष् + न (VI. 4. 19. S. 2561) = विक्षः ॥ Similarly प्रश्नः :

११३ । वृद्धा वृद्धः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्तोः वृद्धा योगे वृद्धः स्यात् । रामव्यष्टः । रामटीकते । पेष्टा । तटीका । चक्रिण्यौकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with वृ and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, रामस् + व्यष्टः = रामव्यष्टः

(2) स with वृ, as, रामस् + टीकते = रामटीकते ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष्ट + तर = पेष्टा ॥ ॥

(4) तु with वृ, as तत् + टीका = तटीका ॥ चक्रिन् + यौकसे = चक्रिण्यौकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्तादोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनामिति लुप्तपञ्चीकं पञ्च । पदान्ताद्वर्गस्वस्यानाम् स्तोः दुर्न स्यात् । षट् सन्तः । षट् ते । पदान्तादिकम् । इहे । दोः क्षिप् । सर्पिष्टमम् ॥ * अनामपत्तिनगरीणामिति वाच्यम् ॥ षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्भः ॥

114. After वृ final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (षु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus षट् + सन्तः = षट् सन्तः ॥ षट् + ते = षट्ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईश् + ते = ईश् + टे = ईश्दे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after वृ'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārtika:—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, षण्णगर्भः six cities'.

११५ । तोः षि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सर्वगस्य षकारे परे न वृत्त्वम् । सम्पद्यः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, सन् + षट् = सम्पद्यः ॥

Here the Sutra **ह्रस्वो जशोन्ते** (S. 84.) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus **वाक् + ईषा = वागीषा**; **चित् + कपम् = चिद्रूपम्** ॥

११६ । यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८ । ४ । ४५ ॥

यः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिको **परोऽनुनासिको वा स्यात्** । **एतद्गुरारिः । एतद्गुरारिः । स्थानमयज्ञा-
भ्यामन्तरतमे स्पर्शे चरितार्थो विधिरयं रेफे न प्रवर्तते । अतुर्मुखः । * प्रत्यये भाषार्थो निव्यम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् ।
चिन्मयम् । कथं तर्हि मदीशमाः ककुब्धन्त इति । यवादिगणे एकारनिपातनात् ॥**

116. In the room of a **य** letter (every consonant except **ह**) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word **पदान्त** is understood here. Thus **एतत् + गुरारिः = एतद्गुरारिः** or **एतद्गुरारिः** । This rule does not apply to **र** as **अतुर् + मुखः = अतुर्मुखः** ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, **वेद् + मि = वोधि** ॥ Here there is no option. So also **क्षुभ्नाति** ॥

Vat:—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus **तत् + गात्रम् = तन्मात्रम्**, similarly **चिन्मयम्** ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes **मय** and **मात्र** that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form **ककुब्धन्तः** in the sentence **मदीशमाः ककुब्धन्तः**? Bec. use the **दृ** is used in **यवादि** class. (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see *Gāṇapāṭha* VIII. 2. 9).

११७ । तोर्लि । ८ । ४ । ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य लकारे परो परसवर्णः स्यात् । तल्लयः । विह्वल्लिखति । नकारस्याऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of **तु** (a dental) when the letter **ल** follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus **तत् + लयः = तल्लयः**; **विह्वान् + लिखति = विह्वल्लिखति** ॥ Here **त** has been changed to pure **ल**, while the dento-nasal **त्** is changed to a nasal **लँ** ॥

११८ । उद्ः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । ६१ ॥

उद्ः परयोः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात् । भाविः परस्य । उत्थानम् । उत्तम्भनम् । भज्जापोषस्य मक्षमाणस्य सस्य तादृश एव यकारः । तस्य क्षरोक्षरीति पाक्षिकां लोपः । लोपाभावपक्षे तु यकारस्यैव श्रवणं न तु खरि चेति चत्वंम् । चत्वं प्रति यकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After **उद्**, in the room of the **स** of *sthā* and *stambha*, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this **स**) ॥

As **उद् + स्थाता = उद् + यथाता = उद् + याता** (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) = **उत् + याता** (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121) = **उत्थाता**, **उत्थातुम्** **उत्थातव्यम्** ॥ So also with **स्तम्भः**, as, **उत्तम्भिता**, **उत्तम्भितुम्** &c. (See I. 1. 67 S. 41 and 54. S. 44)

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Maháprāṇa **म्** is changed to **य्** which is also Aghosha and Maháprāṇa. This then is optionally elided by **सरोक्षरि** (S. 71). But in the alternative when there is no lopa, the **य्** is heard in pronunciation.

By the rule **खरिच** (S. 121), the **य्** is not changed to **चर्** letter, because the rule of **चर्ष** is not applicable to **य्**; for this **य्** is considered as non-existent for the purposes of **चर्** rules.

११६ । श्रयोहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

इयः परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्जो वा स्यात् । घोषवतो नाववतो महाप्राणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्गचतुर्थे एवादेशः । वाग्धरि । वाग्धरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter **ह्**, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra **इय्** includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of **ह्** will be **घ्** by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because **ह्** is a ghosha (sonant); Maháprāṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also **घ्**. Thus **वाक् + हरि = वाग्धरि** or **वाग्धरिः** ।

१२० । शच्छोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

पदान्तात् इयः परस्य वास्व छो वा स्यादटि । वस्य ऋत्वेन अकारे कृते ॥

120. In the room of **श** preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter **छ्** when a vowel or **य्**, **व** or **र** follows such **श** ॥

Though **इय्** means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words **इय्** and **अन्यतरस्यां** are to be read into the sūtra. Thus **तत् + शिव = तद् + शिव** (S. 84) = **तद् + छिव = तच् + छिव = तज् + छिव**. At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

खरि परे ह्रस्वां चरः स्युः । इति अकारस्य चकारः । तच्छिवः । तच्छिवः ॥ छत्वनमीति वाच्यम् * ॥ तच्छ्लोकेन । तच्छ्लोकेन । अमि किम् । वाक् ऋद्योतति ॥

121. In the room of **खल्**, there is the substitute **चर्** when **खर्** follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words **ह्रस्वां** and **चरः** are supplied from the last sūtra. Therefore **ज्** is changed to **च** and we have the form **तच्छिव** or **तच्चिव** :

Vartika:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अन्त्यप्रत्यहारा follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the Vartika adds the letters ण, and the nasals. Thus तत् + अलोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन.

Why do we say when a letter of अन्त्यप्रत्यहारा follows? Observe वाङ् इच्छोतति.

१२२। मोऽनुस्वारः । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याद्धलि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । हरि वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122. The Anusvāra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिवन्दे ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sūtra अलोऽन्त्यस्य (S. 42); therefore not here; गम्यते.

१२३। नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

नस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशांसि । आक्रंस्यते । झलि किम् । मयते ॥

123. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशांसि, आक्रंस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See मयते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पाणि.

१२४। अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८ । ४ । ५८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्कितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्डितः । शान्तः । युष्मितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र ण्ये प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्धत्वात् अनुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वात् णत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्कितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्डितः, शान्तः, युष्मितः These are thus formed:—To the causal *churādi* root अङ्क (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त. Thus अङ्क+क्त. The causal sign इ is elided by the sūtra निष्ठायाश्च सदि (VI. 4. 52. S. 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्कितः. The इ here is the इद् augment. Or it may be from the root अङ्क (meaning lakshana) where the augment नुम् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes ङ्.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pūjā), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4. 30 S. 424.

कुण्ठितः is formed from the root कुठि (meaning pratighāta). The augment लुप् is added to the root before the सेद् participial affix. This ल् is changed into ण्.

शान्तः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasāma) with the affix क्त (See VII. 2. 27. S. 3068). The श् of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2666. The श् is changed to ण् by the present rule.

शुम्भितः is formed from the root शुम्भ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त. In कुर्वन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. S. 197. Because the ण्त्वं is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123, the न is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). That anusvāra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with न्. This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), the ण is never substituted for न.

१२५ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य ययि परे परस्यर्णो वा स्यात् । लृङ्करोषि । लृक् करोषि । सँध्यन्ता । संध्यन्ता । संवत्सरः । यँलोकम् । यँलोकम् । भञ्जानुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवलाः ॥

125. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus लृङ्करोषि or लृक् करोषि ; सँध्यन्ता or सयन्ता ; संवत्सरः or संवत्सरः ; यँलोकम् or यँ लोकम्.

Here the anusvāra has become nasal श् व् ल् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः कौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

क्विबन्ते राजतौ परे समो मस्य न एव स्यात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्तिप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of म् for म् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (VII. 1. 40. S. 3562.). Why do we say 'before राज्' ? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40. S. 2986. Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्' ? Observe किं राट् (V. 4. 70 S. 955). Why do we say 'ending with क्तिप्' ? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्तिप् is added by III. 2. 61 S. 2975 the श् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ह् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by व्यञ्ज् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

१२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

मपरे हकारे परे मस्य न एव स्याद्वा । झल झल चलने । किम् झलयति । किं झलयति ॥ यवलपरे यवला वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. **म्** is optionally substituted for **म्** before that **ह** which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **म्** may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह** ॥ Thus **किं** or **किम्** **हल्लयति**, 'what does he cause to shake' ?

Vart :—Before **ह**, **ह्**, and **ह्र**, the preceding **म्** may be changed to **व**, **व्** or **ल** respectively.

Now, by this *Vartika*, three letters **व**, **व्**, **ल**, are ordained in the room of **व**, **व्**, **ल**. But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sūtra should be remembered :—

१२८ । यथा संख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् । १ । ३ । १० ॥

समसंख्यी विधिर्ययासंख्यं स्यात् । किँव् हः किँहः । किँव् हल्लयति । किँहल्लयति । किँल्लहल्लयति । किँल्लहल्लयति ॥

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, **व** would be replaced by **व**; **व्** by **व्** and **ल** by **ल**. Thus we have **किँव् हः** or **किँ हः**; **किँव् हल्लयति** or **किँ हल्लयति**; **किँल्लहल्लयति** or **किँल्लहल्लयति**.

१२९ । नपरे नः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे नस्य नः स्याद्वा । किँहृते । किँ हृते ॥

129. **न्** is optionally substituted for **म्**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न्** after it.

म् becomes **न्** before a word beginning with **ह**; as **किँन् हृते** or **किँ हृते**.

१३० । कुणोः कुक् टुक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

उकारणकारयोः कुक् टुक्वागमौ वा स्तः शरि । कुक् टुक्कोरसिद्धत्वाज्जदस्य न ॥ चयो द्वितीयः शरि पौस्करसगिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्राङ् वषः प्राङ् वषः । प्राङ् वषः । सुगण् वषः सुगण् वषः । सुगण् वषः ॥

130. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ङ**, and the augment **ट्** to a final **ण**, before a sibilant, optionally.

The **कुक्** and **टुक्** augments being considered as asiddha, there is no **वृश्** change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

The word डम् is in the Ablative singular here ; and इत्वात् qualifies डम् ; and डम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S. 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with डम् ॥ अस्मि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. डम् is a pratyāhāra meaning ड, ण and न ; and so also डबुद् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments डुद्, णुद् and नुद् ॥

In other words ड् is augment after ड्, ण् after ण् and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus डुद् is the augment after a word ending in ड्, as प्रत्यङ्कान्मा ॥ णुद् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as वृगण्णीशः ॥ नुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as समच्युतः

१३५ । समः सुटि । ८ । ३ । ५ ॥

समो हः स्यात् सुटि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. ह् is substituted for the म of सम (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitā.

१३६ । अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । ८ । ३ । २ ॥

अत्र रूपकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which ह् has been ordained."

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which ह् has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where ह् is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of सम्, there is ह् when सुद् augment follows." The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal; as सैस्कर्त्तुम्, सैस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रोः पूर्वसात्परोऽनुस्वारागमः स्यात् । खर्वसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥

137. After what precedes ह्, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is optional by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasa is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be

read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः " a letter other than a nasal ", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5. S. 135 teaches ह substitution of the अ of सम् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥

Some say " the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside ". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकावन्त्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः the ह is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स् .

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात् । एतदपवादं वा शरीति पाक्षिके विसर्गे प्राप्ते ॥ संप्रकार्णां सो वक्तव्यः * ॥ संस्कर्ता ॥ संस्कर्ता ॥ समो वा लोपमेकं इति भाष्यम् * ॥ लोपस्यापि रुप्रकरणस्यत्वादनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेकसकारं रूपद्वयम् । द्विसकारं तूक्तमेव । तत्रानचि चेति सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे त्रिसकारमपि रूपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वाहृनीयोपध्मानीययगानामकारोपरि शर्षु च पाठस्योपसंख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्यन्वत्वात् । अनुनासिकवर्ता त्रयाणां शरः खय इति कद्वित्वे षट् । अनुस्वारवतमानुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एषामष्टादशानां तकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकतं द्वितं त्रितमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अणोऽनुनासिकत्वे ऽष्टोत्तरशतम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule वाशरि VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. Then we have the following Vārtika which ordains स् always, and never visarga.

Vārt.—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स् Thus applying the previous four rules we have सम् + कर्ता = सम् + खुद् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S. 2550) = स् + ह + खुद् + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 2. S. 136) = संस्कर्ता or सैस्कर्ता ॥

According to Mahābhāṣya, there is elision of स् after सम्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्ता ॥ Thus सैस्कर्ता and संस्कर्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सैस्कर्ता, संस्कर्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 S. 48 to this latter, and have three स्, as सैस्स्कर्ता, or संस्स्कर्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सैस्कर्ता, संस्कर्ता and संस्स्कर्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त, two त and three त, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अण् is nasalised.

१३६ । पुमः खय्यस्पर्णे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुमश्चस्व रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्रत्ययस्येति बन्धवर्धनासात् × क × पयोः प्राप्तौ ।
अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु बन्धवप्राप्तौ । संपुंकानामिति सः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुँस्पुनः । पुँस्पुनः । अम्परे
किम् । पुँक्षीरम् । खयि किम् । पुँवाशः । खयामादेशो न पुँख्यानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the स् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

The word पुस is formed by the Unâdi affix इम्पुन added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unâdi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or रुदि words. If the word पुस् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception “apratyaye” of the sūtra VII. 3. 41. S. 155 would apply, and इ would not be changed to ए by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vārtika सं पुकानामिति सः (see the preceding sūtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिलः = पुर् + कोकिलः = पुष् or पु × क + कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 41. S. 155) = पुँ स्कोकिलः or पुँस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S. 135 & 136). Similarly पुँस्पुनः or पुँस्पुनः

Why do we say ‘before a surd mute’? Observe पुँवाशः, पुँगवः (V. 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say ‘followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal’? Observe पुँक्षीरः, पुँक्षुरः ॥

Vārtika:—Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम्, in those cases where खयाम् is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476). As पुँख्यानम् ॥ ख्यान is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष् (III. 3. 115 S. 3290).

१४० । नद्वन्व्यप्रशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे खयि नकारान्तस्य पदस्य रुः स्यात् न तु प्रशान्बाधस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । ऋत्वम् ।
शाङ्गिँश्छिन्धि । शाङ्गिँश्छिन्धि । चकिँश्छायस्व । चकिँश्छायस्व । पदस्य किम् । हन्ति । अम्परे किम् ।
सन्स्वरुः खङ्गुष्टिः । अम्पशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ढ, थ, च, ढ, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semi-vowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अम्पशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive. शाङ्गिँश् + छिन्धि = शाङ्गिँश् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 7. S. 140) = शाङ्गिँश् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 15 S. 76) = शाङ्गिँश् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 34 S. 138) = शाङ्गिँश् + छिन्धिः (III. 4. 40 S. 3361) = शाङ्गिँश्छिन्धि or शाङ्गिँश्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S. 136, S. 137). Similarly चकिँश्छायस्व or चकिँश्छायस्व ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe हन्ति ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to ह before ति, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रद्यान्'? Observe प्रद्यान् तनोति. प्रद्यान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when धम follows छव्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक् (कन् V. 2, 64 S. 1864).

१४१ । नृन्पे । ८ । ३ । १० ॥

नृनिव्यस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before ए ॥

Thus नृन् + पाहि = नृँ + पाहि = नृँः + पाहि (VIII. 3. 15, 8. 76). At this stage applies the following sūtra.

१४२ । कुप्पोः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कवर्णे पवर्णे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्रमाञ्जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयो स्तः । आहिसर्गः । येन नाप्राप्त इतिन्यायेन विसर्जनीयस्य स हलास्थापवादोऽयम् । न तु षपरि विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । तेन वासः क्षौममिव्यादौ विसर्ग एव । नृँ × पाहि । नृँ × पाहि । नृँः पाहि । नृँः पाहि । नृन्पाहि ॥

142. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sūtra debar the sūtra VIII. 3. 34 S. 138 which ordians रु for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमम् &c.

Thus we get नृँ × पाहि or नृँ × पाहि or नृँः पाहि or नृँः पाहि or नृन्पाहि ॥

१४३ । कानाम्नेडिते । ८ । ३ । १२ ॥

कानकारस्य ईः स्यादाम्नेडिते परे संप्रकानामिति सः यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an āmredita.

Here by the vārtika, under S. 138, the रु is changed to रु ॥ Or the next sūtra applies :—

१४४ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एष्विण उत्तरस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यादन्यत्र तु सः । × क × पथोरपवादः । इति सः । कौत्स्कान् । कौत्स्कान् । कस्क् । कौत्स्कुत् । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

144. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क् and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37 S. 142. *वृ* is substituted after *वृ* or *वृ*, and *वृ* everywhere else. Thus कस्काः, 2, कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कृत भागतः). 3. भ्रातृषुवः (VI. 3. 23 S. 981) 4. गुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21 S. 979) 5. सद्यस्काः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्तिप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. सद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of सद्यःभवः कृतः). 8. कांस्काः (the *वृ* is by VIII. 3. 12 S. 143). 9. सर्पिस्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम् 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ No complete list of this class is given anywhere. It is an, ākṛitigaṇa

Thus कांस्काः or काँस्काः ॥

१४५। संहितायाम्। इ। १। ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145. In the sūtras of Pānini beginning with this up to VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. Whatever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice.

१४६। छे च। इ। १। ७३ ॥

इत्स्वस्य छे परे तु गामः स्यात्संहितायाम् । इत्स्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जन्त्येन इः । सतश्चर्त्स्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्पूर्वं इत्स्वेन जः । तस्य चर्त्स्वेन चः । इत्स्वस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कृत्वे न । स्वच्छाया । शिष्यच्छाया ॥

146. The augment *त्* is added to a preceding short vowel also when *छ* follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by *छ*, is added the augment *त्* in Sanhitā. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वभासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form.

Thus स्व + छाया = स्वत् + छाया. Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 requiring the *त्* to be changed to *च*; (2) VIII. 2. 39. S. 84 requiring the *त्* to be changed to *इ*. By the maxim पूर्वभासिद्धम् the *च* will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of अदस्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वत् + छाया (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII. 4. 55. S. 121 by which *इ* required to be changed into a *चइ* letter, and (2) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 by which *इ* required to be changed to *छ*. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वत् + छाया, and then *त्* is changed to *च* — स्वच + छाया (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII. 4. 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII. 2. 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क् ॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया, विवच्छाया ॥

१४७ । आङ्माङोश्च । ६ । १ । ७४ ॥

पुनरोच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । पदान्ताद्वेति विकल्पापवादः ॥ आच्छावयति । माच्छिवत् ॥

147. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sūtra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI. 1. 76 S. 149 It would have been optional. Thus आच्छावयति, माच्छिवत् ॥

१४८ । दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । ७५ ॥

दीर्घोच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य । सेनासुराच्छायेति शापकात् । चेच्छियते ॥

148. The augment त्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pānini himself using it in the sūtra विभाषा सनासुराच्छाया &c. II. 4. 25. S. 828. Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च् by VIII. 4. 55, there would have been two च's, and not the form च्छ as used by Pānini himself in the above sūtra. Or if by applying the maxim संनिपातलक्षणविधिः (See. S. 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of त् and this त् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच and not च्छ ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छियते ॥

१४९ । पदान्ताद्वा । ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

दीर्घोऽपदान्ताच्छे परे तुक्वा स्यात् । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीछाया ॥

149. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी छ्वाया or लक्ष्मी छाया ॥

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI

१४६ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sūtrā has already been taught before. It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi. Thus विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुर् + त्राता = विष्णुः + त्राता = विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स् of the affix ह्र of the nominative singular is changed to ह by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162; and then this ह is changed to Visarga by VIII. 3. 15 S. 76 and then this Visarga is changed to स् by the present rule. This स् is not again changed to ह because with regard to ह this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे खरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न स्वन्यत् । कः स्तहः । घनाघनः क्षोभनः । ११ यथायथं सत्त्वं जिह्वामूलीयश्च न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् । In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus कः स्तहः, घनाघनः क्षोभनः ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmūliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गिः प्लातम्, वासः क्षीमम् ॥

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हरिः शेते । हरिश्शेते । खर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्थाता । हरिस्फुरति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्त्वं च वैकल्प्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरिः शोते or हरिश्शोते,

Vart:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्याता or राम स्यात् हरिस्फुरति or हरिः स्फुरति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स् change. Thus we get three forms रामस्याता or रामः स्याता or रामस्स्याता.

कुप्वोः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क × करोति । कः करोति । क × खनति । कः खनति । क × पचति । कः पचति । क × कलति । कः कलति ॥

151 A. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sūtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus कः + करोति or क × करोति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the *jihvāmūliya* and the *Upadhmanīya*; two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sūtra is an *apvāda* to that. But VIII. 3. 35, S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम् आङ्गिप्सातम् ॥ There is no *vipratishedha* between VIII. 3. 35, and 37, In fact, because of the *asiddhahood* of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कुप्वोः "The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant." (2) × क × पौ च "The *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case."

१५२ । सोऽपदादी । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विस्वर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात्पराधोः कुप्वोः परयोः ॥ पाशकल्पककाम्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्याशम् यशस्कल्पम् । यशस्कम् । यशस्काम्यति ॥ अनव्ययस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये रारेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । गोः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word *अपदानौ* means "when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word," in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vart:—This is possible only before the affixes वाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य
Thus पयस्वाशम् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67 S. 2022);
(V. 3. 70 S. 2025); यशस्कम्, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9 S. 2663).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an
Indeclinable: as, मातः कल्पम् ॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from ह is only changed to स before
काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति; but not here,
जीःकाम्यति ॥

१५३ । हणः षः । ८ । ३ । ३९ ॥

हणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्यात्पूर्वविषये । सर्पिष्वाशम् । सर्पिष्कल्पम् । सर्पिष्कम् ।
सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

153. ह् is the substitute of that visarga, which is
preceded by ह् or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with
a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mention-
ed in the preceding sūtra.

Thus सर्पिष्वाशम् ; सर्पिष्कल्पम् ; सर्पिष्कम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

१५४ । नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः । ८ । ३ । ४० ॥

गतिसंज्ञयोर्नयोर्विसर्गस्य सः ऋज्वोः परयोः । नमस्करोति । साक्षात्प्रभृतित्वात् कृप्ता योगे
विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा । तदभावे नमः करोति । पुरोऽन्वयमिति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञा । पुरस्करोति । अगतित्वान्नैह
पूः पुरो पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः ॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substi-
tuted स् before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words
are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74 S. 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति ॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with
the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c. (see Ganapātha
under I. 4. 74). When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति ॥ पुरस्
is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I. 467. S. 768). Thus पुरस्करोति ॥ But
when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्याः where पुर is a noun and is declined
as पूः (N. S), पुरी (N. D), पुरः (N. Pl)

१५५ । इदुदुपधस्य चाऽप्रत्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४१ ॥

इकारोकारोपधस्याप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यात्कुज्वोः । निष्प्रव्यूहम् । आविष्कृतम् । दुष्कृतम् ।
अप्रत्ययस्य किम् । अग्निः करोति । वायुः करोति । एकविंशशास्त्रनिमित्तकस्य न षस्यम् । कस्काविधु
भातुषुचशब्दस्य पाठात् । तेनेह न । मातुः कृपा । मुहुसः प्रतिषेधः ° ॥ मुहुः कामा ॥

155. ह् is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, हुर्, बहिर, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus निष्प्रसूहम् आविष्कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe आविष्करोति, बाधुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः कृपा? For here in मातुः &c., the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, S. 280, and the र् of मातुर् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृषुत्रः in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48, S. 144), indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādeśa उ obtained by ऋ+अ=उ (VI. 1. 111 S. 279.)

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of शुद्धस्; as शुद्धस्क्रामा or शुद्धः कामा ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुण्वोः । तिरस्कृता । तिरःकर्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial

Thus तिरस्कृता, or तिरःकर्ता ॥

१५७ । द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वर्थे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वर्थे वर्तमानानामेवां विसर्गस्य षकारो वा स्यात् कुण्वोः । द्विष्करोति । द्विः करोतीत्यादि । कृत्वर्थे किम् । चतुष्कपालः ॥

157. ष is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix सुच् (स्) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvāsuch by V. 4. 18, S. 2086,

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvāsuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालः where ष is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41, S. 155.

१५८ । इत्सुतोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य षः स्याद्वा कुण्वोः । सर्पिष्करोति सर्पिः करोति । धनुष्करोति । धनुः करोति । सामर्थ्यमिह व्यपेक्षा । सामर्थ्ये किम् । तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वधुक् ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, धनुः करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, विब त्वद्वक्त्रम् where सर्पिः is not in construction with विब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्यं here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्यं is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound.' But it being a पदविधि the word समर्थ is understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1 S. 647.). The employment of the word सामर्थ्यं here indicates that it is a different sāmārthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्यं which is the sāmārthya of compounds where *two* or *more* words denote *one* object. The sāmārthya here means vyapekshā which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तेत, तयो र्यौ योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

१५९. नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इत्थसोर्विसर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षः स्यात् कुप्योः परयोः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति किम् । परमसर्पिःकुण्डिका । कस्कादिसु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाशब्दोऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि षत्वार्थः । व्यपेक्षार्या नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका. The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

The inclusion of the word सर्पिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्कादि class (VIII. 3. 48, S. 161 A) indicates that the ष change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the ष change is compulsory.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Unādi affix शसि (Un II. 109), and धनुस् by the Unādi affix ञसि (Un II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययमहणे &c, the word इत्थं would denote the mere forms सर्विस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्विस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra.

Ans.—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an Indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्:—प्रत्ययमहणे यस्मात् स षिहित स्तद्विस्तदन्तस्य महणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself.” This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्विष्करोति or परमसर्विः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans.—Because the word सामर्थ्ये there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

१६०। अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारानुत्तरस्यानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे नित्यं सकारादेशः स्यात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न ह्यनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अयःसहिता कुशा अयस्कुशा । अयस्कणी । अतः किम् । गीःकारः । अनव्ययस्य किम् । स्वाकामः । समासे किम् । यद्यः करोति । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य किम् । परमयद्यःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III. 2. 1 S. 2913.) कम्—अयस्कामः, कंस—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कुशा, कर्णी—अयस्कणी ॥

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः ॥

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe ह्यः कामः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यद्यः करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमयद्यःकारः ॥

१६१। अधः शिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य सादेशः स्यात्पदशब्द परे । अधस्त्वम् । शिरस्त्वम् । समास इत्येव । अधः पदम् । शिरः पदम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येत्येव । परमशिरःपदम् ॥

161. For the visarga of अथस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद् in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अथस्पद्, शिरस्पद् ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अथः पद्, शिरः पद् ॥

The word अनुस्तरपदस्थस् is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पद् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ऽ । ३ । ४८ ॥

मास्करः ॥

161 A. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest. This sūtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus माः + कर = मास्करः ॥

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । ससञ्जुषो हः । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

पदान्तस्य सस्य सञ्जुषाब्दस्य च हः स्यात् । जदत्वापवादः ॥

162. For the final **स्** and for the **ष्** of **सञ्जुष्** is substituted **ह**, at the end of a word. This debars **जश्**.

Thus, **शिवस् + अर्च्य**, here **शिवस्** is a word formed with the Nominative Singular case affix **स्**. This **स्** will be changed by the above Sūtra into **ह** and not to a **जश्** letter. Thus, we get **शिवर् + अर्च्य**. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते । ६ । १ । ११३ ॥

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रोहः स्यादप्लुतेऽति । भोभगोऽघो इतिप्राप्तस्य यत्त्वस्याऽपवादः । उत्त्वं प्रति ह्रस्वस्याऽसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति । ह्रस्वमनय उत्त्वविधेः सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The **उ** is the substitute of **ह** (the **ह** substitute of a final **स्** VIII. 2. 66.) when an **अ**, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sūtra debars the **ह** of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167 The **ह** taught in the Tripādi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 2 S. 12. for the purposes of **उ** substitution required by the present sūtra of the 6th Adhyāya. This is because this sūtra specifically mentions the word **ह** and then ordains **उ** in its stead. Had this sūtra not perceived the **ह** of VIII. 2. 66, it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

The phrase **उत्** is understood here, as well as the word **अति** of VI. 1. 109, Therefore **शिवर् + अर्च्यः** = **शिव + उ + अर्च्यः**. At this stage, the next sūtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should **अ** and **उ** of **शिव + उ** become a long **आ** as **शिवा**.

१६४ । प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः । ६ । १ । १०२ ॥

अकः प्रथमाद्वितीययोरपि परे पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे एकादेशः स्यात् । इति प्रति ॥

164. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and दीर्घः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वस्वर or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of शिव उ + भक्ष्यः because of the following *apavāda* rule.

१६५ । नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वस्ववर्णदीर्घः । आहुणः । एङ् पदान्तादिति । शिवोऽर्च्यः । अत इति तपरः किम् । देवा अत्र । अतीति तपरः किम् । अत्रागन्ता । अप्लुतात्किम् । एहि सुस्रोत^१ अत्र आहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वात् पराऽयम् । अप्लुतादिति विशेषणे तु तस्मान्मध्यत्रासिद्धत्वम् । तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घनिवृत्त्या चरितार्थत्वात् । अख्यते इति किम् । तिष्ठतु पय अ^२ मिदन्त । गुरोरनृत इति प्लुतः ॥

165. 'The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore शिव उ + भक्ष्यः = शिवोऽर्च्यः । The अ उ become guna by the आह्गुणः (VI. 1. 87. S. 69) and the subsequent अ of भक्ष्य is elided by एङ् पदान्तादिति (VI. 1. 109. S. 86). Why do we say 'after a short अ' ? Or why have we added a त् to अ ? So that the long आ may be excluded. Observe देवाः + अत्र = देवा अत्र ॥ The word अति is understood here from VI. 1. 109. S. 86. र must be followed by a short अ ; thus अर् + आगन्ता = अत्रागन्ता । Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ' ? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As एहि सुस्रोत^१ अत्र आहि । Though the word is अत् in the sūtra, and it means only short अ and neither long आ nor the pluta अइ, yet the word is repeated in the sūtra for the following reason. In the above example एहि सुस्रोत^१ अत्र आहि, the अ of सुस्रोतस् is prolated by VIII. 2. 84. This prolation being effected by a Tripādi rule, would not be perceived by VI. 1. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non-existent, and the अ is still short. Therefore to make the prolation siddha or effective for the purposes of VI. 1. 113, the word "pluta" is specifically mentioned in the sūtra. The त् of अत् would not have produced this result, because that त् found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the long आ ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ ?" Observe तिष्ठतु पय मिदन्त ! "O Agnidatta ! let the milk remain." Here अइ of Agnidatta is pluta by VIII. 2. 86. and it being asiddha, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । ह्रिचि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रोः स्याद्ध्रिचि । शिवो वन्धः । रोरिस्तुकारादुबन्धमहणामेह । मातरञ्च । आतर्गच्छ । देवास् इह इति स्थिते । इत्यम् ॥

166. The ङ is the substitute of रु (the इ substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The ह्रस्व pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus शिवोवन्धः ।

The ङ substitution takes place in the case of that रु only which is called रु in this Grammar ; i. e. इ with the indicatory letter च ; therefore not in मातरु + अञ्च = मातरञ्च or धातरु + गच्छ = धातर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास् + इह । Here the स् is first changed into रु by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule :—

१६७ । भोगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्द्योदेशः स्यादशि परे । असन्धिः लोपः । लोपः शाकल्यस्य । इवा इह । देवायिह । अशि क्रिप् । देवाः सन्ति । यद्यपीह यत्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वादिसर्गो लभ्यते तथापि विसर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन रुत्वाद्यत्वं स्यात् । न ह्ययमन्विधिः । रोरिति सधुदायकपाश्रयणात् । भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सकारान्ता निपाताः । तेषां रोर्द्योश्च कृते ॥

167. य् is substituted for the रु called रु, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sūtra भगो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास् + इह = देवास् + इह = देवास् + इह = देवा इह or देवा यिह । In one case we elide य् by the rule लोपः शाकल्यस्य (VIII. 3. 19. S. 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra' ? Observe देवाः सन्ति ।

Though in the Sūtra the य् being considered as *asiddha*, the रु will be changed not to च but to *visarga* ; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthānivat* to रु, will be changed to य् । Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthānivat* to रु, because here the whole word-form रु is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sūtra भोस्, भगोस्, अघोस् are three particles ending in स्. The स् will be changed to रु and the रु to य् and thus we have भोय्, भगोय् and अघोय्. Here applies the next sūtra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्तयोर्यकारयकारयोरलघुच्चारणौ वयौ वा स्तोऽक्षि परं । यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वामोपामध्यमूलानां शैथिल्यं जायते स लघुच्चारणः ॥

168. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c. and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śaṅkṛāyana.

The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व and य् in भोय्, भगाय्, भगोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयञ्, भगोयञ्, भगोयञ्, कयास्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादित्यः or आसा आदित्यः, द्वायञ् or द्वायानय, or द्वाभानय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-prayatna-tara. In fact, व् and य् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । ओतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

ओकारात्परस्य पदान्तस्यालघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य नित्यं लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । ओ अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोयच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । तौयम् ॥

169. य् preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अश् letter according to the opinion of Gārgya.

There can be no य् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus ओ अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a *vibhāṣā* rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य् which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As भोयच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe तौयम्.

१७० । उञि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्लोप उञि पदे । स उ एकाग्रिः । पदे किम् । तन्त्रयुतम् । वेमः संप्रसारणे रूपम् । यदि तु प्रतिपद्योक्तो निपात उञिति महीष्येते तद्भ्युत्तरार्थं पदमङ्गम् ॥

170. **व्** and **य्** (preceded by **अ**, or **आ** at the end of a pada), and followed by **उ**, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* **उ** is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word **उम्** and not the **उम्** which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of **वेम्** ॥ Thus **स उ एकामिः** ॥

Why do we use the word **पदे** "उ when it is a pada"? So that the rule may not apply to **उम्** the form assumed by **वेम्** by samprasāraṇa, as **तन्ने उतं = तन्वुतम्** ॥ *Quere*:—**उम्**, could never have meant the form assumed by **वेम्**, for the samprasāraṇa of **वम्**, is **उ**, the **म्** is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this **उम्** resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle **उम्** ॥

The word **पदे** is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional, Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough.

Note:—The maxim above referred to "**लक्षण प्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम्**" means :

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । हलि सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य लघ्वलघूच्चारणस्य यकारस्य लोपः स्याद्वलि सर्वेषां मतेन । भो देवा । भो लक्ष्मि । भो विद्वद्वृन् । भगो नमस्ते । अघो याहि । देवा नम्याः । देवा यान्ति । हलि किम् । देवायिह ॥

171. (The **य** whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by **भो**, **भगो**, **अघो**, or by **अ** or **आ**, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Āchāryas.

Thus **भोदेव** ; **भोलक्ष्मि**; **भोविद्वद्वृन्**, **भगोनमस्ते**; **अघोयाहि**; **देवा नम्याः**, **देवायान्ति** ॥ Why do we say followed by a consonant? Observe **देवायिह** or **देवाइह** ॥

१७२ । रोऽनुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अहो रेफोऽस्यः स्यान्न तु सुपि । रो-रपवात् । अहरहः । अहरर्गणः । अनुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अत्रा-हन्ति रुत्वम् ॥ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरपु रुत्वं वाच्यम् ० ॥ अहोरूपम् । गतमहोरात्रिरेषा । एकदेशविकृत-स्यानन्यत्वाद् अहोरात्रः । अहोरथन्तरम् ॥ अहोरात्रीनां पत्यादिषु वा रेफः * ॥ विसर्गापवात् । अहरपतिः । गीर्पतिः । धूर्पतिः । पक्षे विसर्गापध्मानीया ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

This debars रु. Thus अहरहः । अहरर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् by VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The difference between this रु-called र् and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र् is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, S. 163. the ordinary र is not so changed.

Vart.—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to रु. As अहोरूपम् ; गतमहोरात्रिरेषा. So also अहोरात्र, though the word रात्रि is not रात्रि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् which means :—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Vart.—The words अहर् &c. before पति &c. should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c. are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहर्पति or अहःपति ; गीर्पतिः, गार् पतिः or गीर्पतिः ; धूर्पतिः, धूर्पतिः or धर्पतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final न् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र्.

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफस्य रेफे परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. र् is elided before a र् ॥

Note.—The sūtra is रः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

ढ्रेकौ लोपयतीति तथा तस्मिन्वर्णेऽर्थाद् ढकारेफात्मके परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् पुनः । रमते । हरी रम्यः । शंभुराजते । अणः किम् । तृढः । वृढः । तृह्रु हिंसायम् । वृह्रु उद्यमने । पूर्वग्रहणमनुत्तरपक्षेऽपि पूर्वमात्रस्य दीर्घार्थम् । लीढः । अजघातः । मनस् रथ इत्यत्र रुत्वे कृते ह्रिश्चि चत्पुत्वं रोतिरिति लोपे च प्राप्ते ।

174. When **ह** or **र** is elided, for the preceding **अ**, **इ** and **उ**, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर्+रमते=पुनारमते; हरिर्+रम्यः=हरी रम्यः; शत्रुर्+राजते=शत्रुराजते । Why do we say अणः. Observe वृषः वृद् from the roots वृह् 'to injure' and 'वृह्' 'to exert.' Here the **क्** is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyāhāra.

The word वृढः is thus formed, वृद्+क्त (क्) = वृढ+क्त (होढः VIII. 2. 31. S. 324) = वृढ्+ध् (अथस्तयोद्धोऽधः VIII. 2. 40 S. 2280) = वृढ्+ह् (हुनाहुः VIII. 4. 41) = वृढ्+०+ह् (होढे लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335). Here **ह** is elided, but as the preceding vowel **क्** is not included in अण् pratyāhāra, which includes only **अ**, **इ** and **उ** (the **ण** being the first **ण**), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it; in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजर्षाः, लीढः ॥

The word अजर्षाः is thus formed. To the root शृष 'to covet' we add the intensive affix यङ्लुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजर्षर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्षाः ॥

Note.—The word अजर्षाः is thus formed:—

शृध्+यङ्+सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्) =
 शृध्+०+सि (यङोऽचि च II. 4. 74. S. 2650) =
 शृध् शृध्+सि (सन् यङोः VI. 1. 9. S. 2 395) =
 गर्ध् शृध्+सि = (शृणो यङ् लुकोः VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630) =
 ग शृध्+सि (हलादि षोषः VII. 4. 60. S. 2179) =
 गरशृध्+सि (रुशार्कौचलुकि VII. 4. 91. S. 2652) =
 जर्गृध्+सि (अभ्यासे चर् च VIII. 4. 54. S. 2182) =
 जर्गर्ध्+सि (पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च VII. 3. 86. S. 2189) =
 जर्गर्ध्+स् (इतश्च III. 4. 100 S. 2207) =
 जर्गर्ध्+० (हल्ङ्याप्भ्यो VI. 1. 68. S. 252) =
 जर्षर्ध् (एकाचोवशोभष् VIII. 2. 37 S. 326) =
 जर्षर्ध् (इलां जघोऽन्ते VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) =
 जर्षर्ध् (दश्च VIII. 2. 75 S. 2468) =
 जर्षर्ध्+०+ह् (रो रि VIII. 3. 14 S. 173) =

जर्षा+ह् (the present Sūtra) which with the augment अह् (लुह् लंह् लङ् लु अह् VI. 4. 71 S. 2206), becomes अजर्षाः ॥

The word लीढः is formed from लिह्+क्त. The **ह** is changed to **इ** by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the **क्त** is first changed to **ध** by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2240 and then to **ढ** by VIII. 4. 41, S. 113.

Thus we get लिङ्+ङ्. The first ङ् being elided by VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीङ्: by the present sūtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस्+रयः=मनस्+रयः. Here two sūtras simultaneously apply viz. ह्रस्वाच्च VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of ङ् for र् and the sūtra एते VIII. 3. 14. S. 173. causing the elision of र्. What sūtra are we to apply? Here comes the following Interpretation sūtra.

१७५। विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १।४॥ २॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्ते । पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति रोरीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्तरम् । मनोरयः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of र् of मनस् before रयः. But here we must remember the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of र् (VIII. 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of ङ् required by VI. 1. 14. S. 166. Therefore we have ङ्. Thus we have मनङ्+रयः=मनोरयः ॥

१७६। एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि । ६।१।१३२॥

अककारयोरित्येतदोर्थः सुस्तस्य लोपः स्याद्वलि न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स शंभुः । अकोः किम् ? एषको ह्रः । अनञ्समासे किम् । अतः शिवः । हलि किम् । एषोऽञ् ॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः+विष्णुः=एष विष्णुः ॥ स शंभुः ॥ Why do we say 'without क' ? Observe एषको ह्रः ॥

NOTE:—The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is : तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it.'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle" ? Observe अतःशिवः ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant' ? Observe एषोऽञ् ॥

१७७ । सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य लोलीपः स्यादचि पादश्लोपे सत्येव पूर्यते । सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईशिषे । इह ऋक्पाद एव गृह्यत इति वामनः । आर्वशेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरे सैष वाशरथी रामः । लोपे चिदिति किम् । स इत् क्षेति । स एवमुक्त्वा । सत्येवेत्यवधारणं तु स्यञ्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वसूत्राद्बहुलग्रहणानुवृत्त्या लभ्यते । तेनेह न । सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् ॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईशिषे (Rig. II. 24. 1.) = सः इमाम् अविद्धि (प्राप्नुहि, भवतेः प्राप्त्यर्थस्य लोटि रूपं) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण भूतां स्तुति) यः (हे बृहस्पति यस्त्वं) ईशिषे (सर्वस्य जगत ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good burden (of our praise) He who rulest, "

According to Vāmana the author of Kāśikā, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sūtra we have used the word सत्येव " only then " in order to limit its scope ; and this we get by the force of the word बहुलं in the sūtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Ashtādhyāyī. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् (Raghuvarṇa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेतु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरुत्सृज्यसे (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say ' when by such elision the metre of the line is completed ' ? Observe स इत् क्षेति ; स एवमुक्त्वा ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness ; for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened ; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kāśikā the Pāda must refer to a Pāda of the Rīg-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as ' a foot of a śloka ' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have :—सैष वाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैषकर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातुं प्रत्यये प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The *prātipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated are called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वद् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called *prātipadika*.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वसूत्रेण सिद्धे समासमहर्षे निघनार्थम् । यत्र संघाते पूर्वो भागः पक्षे तस्य चेद्भवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prātipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word *prātipadika*. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, Primary Suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; Secondary Suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. i. 93 S. 374) the latter *Taddhita* (IV. i. 76 S. 530). Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन *jan* by the kṛit suffix अः but जनीन *janīna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन *īna*. The name *prātipadika* would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janīna*, as nominal bases, ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, there are six varieties, *vis.*, Tat-purusha, Karma-dhāraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrīhi, Avyayībhāva and Dvigu.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Kṛt and Taddhita affixes. So also compounds are also called prātipadika. The word Samāsa is used in the sūtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prātipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else; therefore the term *Prātipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

भाष्यञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.

१८१ । परश्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form.

१८२ । उपान्तावन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाश्चेत्यापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारः । प्रातिपदिकप्रकरणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि

प्रवृत्तमित्येव सिद्धे उपान्तावन्तात्तद्विधितोऽपत्तिर्यथा स्यात् उपान्तायां प्राङ् मा भूदित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes ङी or आप्, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base *पङ्क्ति* to which the affixes beginning with *सु* treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with *क्* (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीप्, and ङीत् । The term आप् is the common name

for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप्। These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i.e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word क्वाप् प्रातिपदिकान् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha: Why have we employed the word 'ñy-āp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prātipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhāṣhā:—"A prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender"?

Ans: The words डी and आप् are specifically used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note:—The Kāśikā gives the following answer to the above question.

Not so. The paribhāṣhā you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sūtra itself. In other words, "this paribhāṣhā is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prātipadikas generally (as the word 'prātipadika' does in this sūtra) or denotes a particular prātipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvā, also includes the feminine: but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, डी, आप् have been employed in the Sūtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल,' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला' ॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तरप्': as 'कालितरा,' 'हरणितरा,' 'खट्वातरा,' and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used that word 'ñy-āp' in the Sūtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kālitarā,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितरा ॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ñy-āp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली; and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word *ny-āp*, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says :—The inclusion of ङी and भाप् in this sūtra is useless, for the following reason :—all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as Prātipadikas, on the strength of the maxim Prātipadika grahane linga-vishishtasya &c. For example, भव्यः "mother-in-law," derived from the masculine बह्वृत् with the affix ऊङ् (see Vārtika under IV. 1. 68. S. 523. भव्यस्योकाराकारलोपश्चे). Here the word भव्य must be a pratipadika, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a ङी nor an भाप् ending word. But we see that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as ङी, भाप्, ऊ etc.) are Prātipadikas; hence there is no necessity of using the words ङी and भाप् in the sūtra.

Ans. So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of ङी भाप् as superfluous. But this sūtra not only ordains case-affixes, but Taddhita affixes as well: for the sūtra means "Let *all* the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or Taddhita &c. come after bases ending in ङी—भाप् and after Prātipadikas." So that the Taddhita affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we infer because the words ङी and भाप् are used in the sūtra. Thus we get भार्यका or भार्यिका ॥ If the Taddhita affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form भार्यिका ॥ For the swārthika कन् added by V. 4. 29. S. 2097. to भार्य being most antarang would come first and then the feminine भाप्. Thus भार्य + क + भा = भार्यिका ॥ Consequently the अ of र्य could not be changed to इ by वरीचामातः VII. 3. 46. S. 465.

For the अ here is not that अ which has replaced a long आ ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus :—

भार्या + क + भाप् = भार्यिका, here the long आ of भार्या is shortened by कण VII. 4. 13. S. 834.

And so we can apply the rule वरीचां and get भार्यिका

१८३ स्वौजसमौढ्वाभ्यामिस्ड्वभ्यांभ्यस्ड्वसिभ्यांभ्यस्ड्वसोऽसाम्ङ्योस्त्तु-
प् १४।१।२॥

कृत्वाशाब्जान्तात्मातिपदिकाच्च परे स्वाद्यः प्रत्ययाः स्तुः । ध्रुवस्योष्कारेकारौ जगदङ्गपाभेतः ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termina-

tions **ङ** or **आप्**, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭā (a)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ṛe (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ṛasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	ṛas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ṛi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like **उ इ** in **सु** and **ङासि** are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final **प्** is employed for the sake of forming the *pratyāhāra* **सुप्**, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The letters **ज, घ, ङ, ञ** and **प** are **हन्** or servile letters.

१८४ । विभक्तिश्च । १ । ४ । १०४ ॥

सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिसंज्ञौ स्तः । तत्र सु भौ जस् इत्यादिनां विकारणां प्रथमादयः सप्तम्यन्ताः प्राचा संज्ञास्ताभिर्हिापि व्यवहारः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called *vibhakti* or *Inflective affixes*.

The word *विभक्ति* means a complete triad. Thus *सप्तमी विभक्ति* means the three affixes of the seventh case, *i. e.*, the locative singular, dual, and plural. So *प्रथमा विभक्ति* means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५ । सुपः । १ । ४ । १०३ ॥

सुपक्षीणि त्रीणि वचनान्येकस्य एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

185. Of **सुप्** the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६ । द्वेकयो द्विवचनेकवचने । १ । ४ । २२ ॥

द्विवैकत्वयोरेते स्तः ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७ । बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १ । ४ । २१ ॥

बहुष्वे एतत्स्यात् । हस्वविसर्गौ । रामः ॥

187. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom. Sing. the affix सु is added.

Thus राम + सु = राम + स = राम + इ = रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies.

१८८ । सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नाशिचि ॥ वृद्धिरेचि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम + राम = रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102. S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *vriddhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जस्. Thus राम + जस् ॥ The ज् is indicatory by the following sūtra.

१८९ । जुट् । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रत्ययाद्यौ जुट् इतो स्तः । इति जस्यस्संज्ञायाम् ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

Thus the ज् of जस् would become इत्. So the affix is really भस्. But is not the final स् of जस् also इत् by the sūtra इलस्यम् I. 3. 3. S. 1. ? No, because of the following exceptions :—

१९० । न विभक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिरप्यास्तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न स्तुः । इति सकारस्य नेस्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and ण् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जस् is not इत्. Thus राम + भस्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ + भ to be changed to अ by परस्परमेकार्देशः :

१६१ । अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपदान्तादकाराद्युणे परतः पररूपमेकविधाः स्यादिति प्राप्ते । परस्वात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अन्तं गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्वाधान्ते नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाकः सवर्ण इत्यस्यैवाद्यमपवादो ननु प्रथमयोस्त्वस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guna letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guna.

But this *ekādśa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S. 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel ; while the present sūtra अतो गुणे debars the immediately succeeding sūtra अकःसवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101. S. 85. by the maxim:—

Paribhāṣā:—*Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101. S. 85 is superseded by the present sūtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102. S. 164. Thus राम+अम् = रामाः . The Vocative case is like the nominative ; the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following:—

१६२ । एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम+अ ॥ Here the following sūtra applies.

१६३ । एङ्हस्वात्सुबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एङन्ताद्वस्वान्ताद्याङ्गादल्लुप्यते संबुद्धेर्भट् । संबुद्ध्याभित्तस्याङ्गस्यैङ्हस्वाभ्यां विशेषणार्थे । हे कतरङ्कुलेति । हे राम । हे रामौ । हे रामाः । एकपक्षेण किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अत्र हि परस्वाभिन्नस्यैवाप संबुद्धियुगे कृत इत्वात्परत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to हे कतरङ्कुल !

In हे कतरत् there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of छ; for the affix there is अद् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being द्विन् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर + अत्, here we have not a prâtipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution required by इत्वस्य युणः VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे हरि + छ, the affix is not elided, first, and then guṇa substituted for ह, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे विष्णो. For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI. 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII. 3. 108; and because Guṇa is a nitya rule. Therefore when हरि is gunated to ह्री, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of छ would not have taken place had the word एङ् been not used in the sūtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus: राम + अम्. Here applies the following Sūtra.

१६४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अकोऽभ्यन्त्रि परतः पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामो ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus राम-+अम् = रामम्. So also accusative dual राम + औ = रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus:—राम + ञस् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

१६५ । लशक्तद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशक्तवर्णा इतः स्युः । इति शसः शस्येत्सज्ञा ॥

195. The initial ल and श, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ह्, झ्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore झ् being हत्, the affix is अस्. Thus राम + अस्. At this stage applies the following sūtra:—

१६६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णशीर्षात्परो यः शसः तकारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196. After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus राम- \bar{a} - \bar{a} स् = राम + \bar{a} न् = रामान् ॥ Now, should not the final \bar{a} of रामान् be changed to ञ् by the following sūtra ?

१९७ । अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि । ङ । ४ । २ ॥

अट्कृपवर्गभाङ्नुम् एतेर्व्यस्तेर्यथासंभवं मिलितेष्वव्यधानेऽपि एषाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्थानमानपदे । पव्यवायेऽपीति निषेधं बाधितुमाङ्महणम् । नुमग्रहणमनुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थम् तच्चाकर्तुं शक्यम् । अयोगवाहानामदसूपवशास्योक्तत्वात् । इति णत्वे प्राप्तिः ॥

197. The substitute ण् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvāra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or ष, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अट् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE :—The pratyāhāra अट् stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र and it includes the ayogavāha letters anusvāra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sūtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvāra. Thus करणम् हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्धेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. द्वर्पेण, रर्पेण, यर्धेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणङ्गम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणङ्गम् (of VIII. 4. 14).

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. बृहणम्, बृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root बृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इत्ति (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like बृहणं from बृह स्तृह हिसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvara, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इतिः प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

But the present sūtra is not applicable to रामान् because of the following sūtra.

१९८। पदान्तस्य । ८।४।३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य तस्य णत्वं न स्यात् । रामान् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus रामान् ॥

१९९। यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १।४।१३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात् । भवामि भविष्यामीत्यादौ । विकरणविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिग्रहणम् । विधिरिति किम् । स्त्री इयती । प्रत्यये किम् । वपश्च । प्रत्यय-विशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्यधिकस्य वा मा भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

*Note:—*The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i. e. a rule enjoining an affix; tadādi, that which begins therewith; pratyaye—in a pratyaya i. e. when a pratyaya follows; is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do, हर्ता he will lose. करिष्याति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84): similarly because वपश्च &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhi in औपगदः &c.

The word कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix ता &c. वपश्च + षण् = औपगदः; कापदवः. Here upagu and kapatu are anga with regard to अण्. Similarly कृ + ष्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short ष is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i. e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikaranas like sya &c., or इन् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + गुप् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + i = kuṇḍan + i = kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word "vidhi" "enjoined" in the sūtra? Observe
की इयती ॥

Here the word इयती "this much or as much" is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after strī by any rule, the word strī does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the ई of strī is not elided by यत्येतिच् (VI. 4. 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below :—

इदम् + यत् = इदम् + चत् (किमिदंभ्यां वो च : VI. 2. 40. S. 1841.) the च is changed to य ॥ The affix यत् is added to idam with the force of "measure" by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (च changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. भायेतयी) = ईश् + इयत् (इदम्किम् VI. 3. 90 S. 1018.)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 यत्येतिच्) = इयत् + ङीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the base इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यये "when the affix follows" in the sūtra? For would not the word तदाहि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No. Because without the word प्रत्यये the sūtra would have run thus "after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga." In this view, we could not get the form वज्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिट्) of the root भोज्जदच् 'to cut.'

This is thus formed :—

वज्रच् + णल् = वज्रच् + वज्रच् + अ (VI. 1. 8, S. 2177 लिटिधातोरनभ्यासस्य)

= वृज्रच् + वज्रच् + अ (VI. 1. 17 S. 2408 लिङ्भ्यासस्योभवेषाम्)

= वरज्रच् + वज्रच् + अ (VII. 4. 66 S. 2244 उरत् and उरण् रपरः)

= व + वज्रच् + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 हलादिशेषः) = वज्रदच् ॥

If the word "pratyaye" did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix ई. (वज्रच् + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + वज्रश्च will assume the form of वज्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI. 1. 17. For the अ in the place of ऋ will not be sthānivat by अच्; परिस्मन् पूर्वविधौ; because to be sthānivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णल्, but this अ of णल् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of ऋ in वृ will not be sthānivat; and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasāraṇa vowel. The अ of व not being a Samprasāraṇa, the prohibition of न सम्प्रसारणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to वृ

२०० । अङ्गस्य । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikāra sūtra.

२०१ । टाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्ताङ्गाद्यादीनां कमादिनाम्य आदेशः स्युः । णत्वम् । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इत् for the Instrumental ending आ; आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अम् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यञादेशोऽपि परे भतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or म (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyāhāra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase भतो दीर्घो यञ्जे is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170.

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो भिस ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्ताङ्गाङ्सि ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल्स्वास्त्वर्दिनाः । रामैः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *Adesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकाल्स्वात् सर्वस्य I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामैः ॥

२०४ । ऊर्ध्वः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अताङ्गास्वरस्य ऊर्ध्वस्य आदेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह स्थानिवद्भावेन आदेशस्य सुप्तास्यपि चेति दीर्घः । सन्निपातलक्षणा विधिरनितिते लक्षितस्यति परिभाषा तु नेह प्रवर्तते । कदाचिन्ममणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन तस्या अनित्यत्वज्ञापनात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम + ए = राम + य = रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthānivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII. 3. 102, S. 202. The maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधातव्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pānini himself, by forming the dative of कट् as कटाय in Sūtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The क्तेः is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending क्ते; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28 S. 382. The क्तेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of क्ति the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम + भ्यस्. Here applies the following Sūtra :—

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलादौ बहुवचने झुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । रामः । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । झुपि किम् । पचध्वम् । जइस्वम् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with झ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe रामः; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300). Why a case-affix? Observe पचध्वम्, and not पचेध्वम् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular. राम + ऊसि = राम + आत् (by VII. 1. 12. S. 201). Here the त् of the affix should be changed to ह् by झलां जडाङ्गते and ह् will then optionally be changed to त् by the following Sūtra.

२०६ । वाचसाने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अवसाने झलां चरो वा स्तुः । रामात् । रामाद् । द्वित्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य सस्य द्वित्वपक्षे स्वरि चेति चत्वेऽप्यान्तरतमयास्सस्य स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पप्राणतया प्रयत्नपेक्षात् । अत एव सः सीलि तापेक्ष भारभ्यते ॥

206. The चर is optionally the substitute of a सङ्ग that occurs in a Pause.

The words **अनञि च** is understood in the *sūtra*. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, S. 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus **रामात्** or **रामाद्**. The final **त्** and **द्** may be doubled by **अनञि च** (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as **रामात्** or **रामाच्च** or **रामाद्** or **रामाद्ध** ॥ *N. B.*—This is not approved by *Tatvabodhini*, as the meaning of the *sūtra* **अनञि च** is that after a vowel every consonant except **ह** may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows; for the word **अनञि** 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only. Inferentially there must be a consonant. *Bhattoji* has taken the negation in **अनञि** in the sense of *Prasajya pratishedha*; while the proper view is to take it as a *Paryudāsa pratishedha*.

So also रामाभ्याम् ; रामेभ्यः ; रामस्य ॥ In रामस्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to त by खरिच VIII. 4. 55. S. 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and त as regards effort, the स being वाल्प प्राण. Had त and स been the same, and had त been produced by 'खरिच' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by त in Sûtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७ । ओसि च । ७ । ३ । २०४ ॥

ओसि परे भतोऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रामयोः ॥

207. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As रामे + भोसू = रामयोः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural :—**राम + ज्ञान**. Here comes the next Sūtra.

२०८ । ह्रस्वनद्यापो जुह । ७ । १ । ५४ ॥

ह्रस्वान्ताद्यन्तादाहन्ताद्याङ्गात्परस्यामो नुडागमः स्यात् ॥

208. The augment **न** is added before the Genitive Plural ending **आम्**, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix **आ** ॥

As राम + नृ + धाम् ।।

At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि षेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । सुवि चेति दीर्घो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते । सन्निपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन स्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामे । रामयोः । सुवि एव कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment सुट्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sûtra सुविच (VII. 3. 102, S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhâṣhâ* सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sûtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhâṣhâ*.

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular ;—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + सु = रामे + सु (VII. 3. 103, S 205.) At this stage applies the following sûtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pâda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following : "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इण्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sûtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes."

The word इण् is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र is only efficient : so that only is taken in the translation. कृ means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

सहेः साङः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमनुवर्तते । इणक्यगभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्य-
यावयवश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृताघोषस्य सस्य तादृश एव यः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किम् ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तच्च । एवं कृष्णवृक्ष-
न्वाद्यः ॥

212. *स्* is substituted for that *स्* which is a substi-
tute (of the *स्* of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 224), of being
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as *स*
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the *स* is replaced by *स्* both being *Uvrita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or कृ' ?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute *स* or that which is an affix ?
Observe सुपीः ; सुपिसौ ; सुपिसः the *स* here is part of the Churādi root पिस "to
go," and is neither a substituted *स* nor the *स्* of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada' ? Observe हरिस्तच्च ॥ Similarly should be declined
कृष्ण वृक्षन्द् and all other words ending in *ञ* ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणाम्	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वादीनि शब्दस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्यापीयं संज्ञा । इन्द्रे चेति ज्ञापकान् । तेन
परमसर्वमेति जह । परमभवकानिःशक्यं सिद्धिंति ॥

213. The words *sarva*, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

The words ending in *sarva* &c. are also *sarvanāma*. This we infer
from the Sūtra इन्द्रे च I. 1. 31. S. 224 which prohibits the application of the
term *Sarvanāma* to *Dvanda* compounds. (That is in all other compounds
except *Dvanda*, the words ending in *Sarva* &c. are *sarvanāmas*. For
some other exceptions see I. 1. 29. and 30. S. 222 and 223.) Therefore, we

have the form परमसर्व्व with the affix वल् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix त्रल् is added to it. Similarly परमभवकान्. Here the affix वक्त्रल् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४। जसः शी। ७। १। १७॥

अन्तात्सर्व्वनामः परस्य असः शी स्यात्। अनेकात्स्वात्सर्व्वविशः। तच्चार्षणस्तु इत्यावाविष नाठ-
बन्धकृतमनेकात्स्वमिति वाच्यम्। सर्व्वविशस्वात्प्रगित्संज्ञाया एवाभावात्। सर्व्वे॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like वार्ष्णी, मधुनी. In the case of सर्व्वे and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Sthāni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute हु &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final व् of अर्व्वन् &c, for व् is an affix of which क् is an anubandha, and the following Paribhāṣhā applies to it.

Prātibhāṣhā:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like डा and वा is not put down as an affix in Pāṇini's Grammar and therefore their initials ह् and व् are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the व् cannot be called ह्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its व् becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that श of शी is ह् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायौगक्ष्यमनुवधत्त्वत्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is शित्॥

Thus सर्व्व + जस् = सर्व्व + शी = सर्व्व + ई = सर्व्वे.

२१५। सर्व्वनाम्नः स्मै। ७। १। १४॥

अतः सर्व्वनाम्नो ङे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात्। सर्व्वस्मै॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

Thus सर्व्वस्मै।

२१६ । ङस्तिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनामो ङस्तिङ्योरौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात्सर्वनामो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्वषत्वे । सर्वेषाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेषं रामवत् एवं विश्वाद्योऽप्यङ्गनाः ।

सर्वविद्यश्च पञ्चविंशत् । सर्वे, विश्व, इम, उभय, उत्तर, उत्तम, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, स्वत, स्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावरक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थाप्यामसंज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । अन्तरं बहिर्यो-
गोपसंख्यानयोः ।

इयद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इवम्, अवस्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु, किम्, हस्ति ।

उभयशब्दो द्वित्वविशिष्टस्य वाचकः । अत एव नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः । तस्यैह पाठस्तु उभयक्रा-
त्यन्तर्यः । नच कप्रत्ययेनेष्टसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरत्वाभावेनोभयत उभयवेत्यावाविद्यायश्चमसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥
उभयोऽप्यत्रेति ॥ अन्यत्रेति द्विवचनपरत्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचनं नास्तीति कैयटः । अस्तीति इदं वक्तुः । तस्मादङ्गस्यैव जादेशस्य स्यामि-
वङ्गात्वेन तद्यप्यस्यान्ततया प्रथमचरमेति विकल्पं प्राप्ते विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वाभित्यैव संज्ञा
भवति । उभये ।

उत्तरउत्तमौ प्रत्ययौ । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणे नास्ति । सुमिङ्गन्तमिति
ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह त्वन्तग्रहणम् । केवलयोः संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनमावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावबुत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विवङ्गद्विवचने निर्धारणे वर्तते । तन्वान्यतमशब्दस्य गणे
पाठाभावात् संज्ञा ।

स्व स्व इति ह्रास्व्यन्तावन्यपर्यायौ । एक उशत्तोऽपरोऽनुवात्त इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्थः । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नह गृह्यते । यथासंख्यमनुवृत्तः समानामिति
ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तरं बहिर्योगेति गणसूत्रेऽपुरीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुरि ॥

217. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word आम् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्. (The अ is changed to ए by VII. 3. 103. S. 205 and the स् is changed to ष्) सर्वस्मिन्. The rest of the declension of सर्व is like राम.

Note :—But अवताम् of अवत ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116 S. 270 ;

for that आम्, takes the augments याद्, आद् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुद् or लुद् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. 1. 35 &c.), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanāma; nor the आम् of V. 4. 11., for the same reason. The word आम् is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनामः सुद्), because सर्वनामः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanāmas* ending in अ as विद्वा &c., are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanāmas* are thirty-five in number, namely:—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विद्वा 'all,' 3 उभ 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 स्वत् 'other,' 11 स्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सन 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole.' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अपर 'west or posterior,' 18 क्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior,' 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure, but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma. 24 एव 'he, she, it,' 25 तद् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इदम् 'it,' 29 तद् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवतु 'you,' 35 किम् 'what.'

The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number; as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal; as उभकौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क् by sūtra V. 3. 70. S. 2025 ?

Ans. No. For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तदग्रहणेन गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) inserted in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being inserted in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character. Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अयच् by sūtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes च् and तच् in उभयतः, उभयच्च ॥ Therefore Katyāyana has said,

Vārtika :—The word उभय is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, उभय has no dual number ; but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix जस् (Nom. Pl.), the substitute अयच् (V. 2. 44. S. 1845) being considered as स्थानिबन् to तयप् which it replaces, the word उभय is considered as ending in तयप् and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanāma* by the sūtra I. 1. 3. 3. S. 226. But the affix अयच् being added irrespective of any विभक्ति, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes उभय *always* and not optionally a *sarvanāma*. Thus उभये but never उभया : ॥

The words उत्तर and उत्तम in the above list are affixes ordained by VII. 1. 25. S. 315 and V. 3. 92 S. 2047 &c. By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are सर्वनाम ॥ This is according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself."

Q. If so, then the words ending in तरप् and तमप् should also be called च (I. 1. 22. S. 2003).

Ans. This is not so, according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्रिङ्गन्त 'that which ends with 'Sup or Tin') in I. 4. 14. S. 29. indicates (the existence of) this *Paribhāṣā*; for, if the *Paribhāṣā* did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्रिङ्ग alone would, in accordance with the preceding *Paribhāṣā*, denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tin.'"

Q. But this is also a संज्ञा विधि and therefore the affixes उत्तर, उत्तम should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans. In spite of the above *Paribhāṣā*, the affixes उत्तर, उत्तम denote here the words ending in those affixes. Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nāma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as *Sarva-nāma*.

The words अन्यतर and अन्यतम are not derivative words formed by the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote निर्धारण specifying अन्यतर denoting, निर्धारण of one out of two, and अन्यतम denoting निर्धारण or determination of one out of many. In other words, they do not get the force of निर्धारण by virtue of sūtras V. 3. 92 and 93 S. 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word अन्यतम, however, not being read in the above list of *sarvanāmas* is not a *Sarvanāma*.

There are two अ in the above list, namely स्वत् and स्व, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give स्वत् as a separate word ending in त् and say that both have anudātta accent. The word नेम means "half." The word सम is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10 S. 128. where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम् ॥

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As. अन्तरावां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । १।१। ३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपाठात्सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा स्यात् । पूर्वे पुरीः । स्वामिधेयापेक्षावधिनियमो व्यवस्था । व्यवस्थायां किम् । दक्षिणा गायकाः । कुशला इत्यर्थः । असंज्ञायां किम् । उत्तराः कुरुवः ॥

218. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' utara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanāmas. They are always sarvanāmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i. e., when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthā or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanāmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanama, as, दक्षिणा गायकाः 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरुवः 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanāma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanāmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prāpta-vibhāṣhā.

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । १।१। ३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । स्वे । स्वाः । आत्मीया इत्यर्थः । आत्मान इति वा । ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः । ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा ।

219. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a *sarvanāma*, before the affix *जस्*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanāma*, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus *स्वे पुत्राः* or *स्वाः पुत्राः* 'one's own sons,' *स्वे गावः* or *स्वा गावः* 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' *स्वाः* alone is the nom. pl. As, *स्वा ज्ञातयो* 'these kinsmen' *प्रभुताः स्वा* ॥

२२० । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ । ३६ ॥

बाह्ये परिधानीये चार्थेऽन्तरशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जति वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । बाह्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शाटकाः । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word *antara* being always a *sarvanāma*, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix *जस्*.

The word *अन्तर* when it means *बहिर्योग*, *vis.*, 'outer' is always *sarvanāma*, so also, when it means *उपसंव्यान* or 'a lower garment.' Thus *अन्तरे गृहाः* or *अन्तरा गृहा* 'outer houses, the residence of Chandala, and other low castes.' So *अन्तरे* or *अन्तराः शाटकाः* 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word *अन्तर* when used in the above sense is always *sarvanāma*, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a *sarvanāma*, e. g. *ग्रामयोरन्तरे वसति* 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is *अन्तरे* ॥

२२१ । पूर्वदिभ्यो नवङ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

एभ्यो ङसिङ्योः स्मास्मिनौ वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वात् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एवं परादिनामपि । शेषं सर्ववत् । एकशब्दः संख्यायां नित्यैकवचनान्तः ॥

221. *स्मात्* and *स्मिन्* are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after *पूर्व* and the eight that follow it.

Thus *पूर्वस्मात्* or *पूर्वात्*, *पूर्वस्मिन्* or *पूर्वे*, *परस्मात्* or *परात्*, *परस्मिन्* or *परे*, *अवरस्मात्* or *अवरात्*, *अवरस्मिन्* or *अवरे*, *दक्षिणस्मात्* or *दक्षिणात्*, *दक्षिणस्मिन्* or *दक्षिणे*, *उत्तरस्मात्*, or *उत्तरात्*, *उत्तरस्मिन्*, or *उत्तरे*, *अपरस्मात्*, or *अपरात्*, *अपरस्मिन्*, or *अपरे*, *अधरस्मात्*, or *अधरात्*, *अधरस्मिन्*, or *अधरे*, *स्वस्मात्*, or *स्वात्*, *स्वस्मिन्* or *स्वे*, *अन्तरस्मात्* or *अन्तरात्*, *अन्तरस्मिन्* or *अन्तरे* ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एकै, एकेषाम् ('of some') 'एक' has eight meanings

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २६ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ चिकीर्षिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । स्वर्कं पिता वस्य स स्वर्कपितृकः । अहकं पिता वस्य स मत्कपितृकः । इह समासाध्यायेष प्रक्रियावाक्ये सर्वनामसंज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा नाकं विमहवाक्य इव तत्राप्यकश्च प्रवर्तेत । स च समासेऽपि नृयेत । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभवकानितिषत् । भाष्यकारस्तु स्वर्कपितृको मत्कपितृक इति रूपे इष्टार्पिते कृत्वैतत्सृञ् प्रत्याचक्ष्यौ । । अथात्तरं पुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनभूतास्तु न सर्वोदयः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन तत्पुन्युपनामेष गणे संनिवेशात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्ये च तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चिन्नस्य सर्वोदय इति । अतिक्रान्तः सर्वमति सर्वस्तम्भे अतिसर्वाच्च इति । अतिक्रान्तं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c., are not Sarvanāma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus स्वर्कं पिता वस्य = स्वर्कपितृकः । Similarly, अहकं पिता वस्य = मत्कपितृकः । Here the affix अकच् is added by sūtra V. 3. 71 S. 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvanāma* is prohibited with regard to the words स्वर्कश्च and अहकं other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिभवकान् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word स्वर्क and मत् not being treated as a *sarvanāma* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and not the affix अक. Had they been treated as *sarvanāma* then अकच् would have been inserted before क् by V. 3. 71 S. 2026 giving the forms स्वर्कत् and अहकत् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms स्वर्कपितृकः and मत्कपितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sūtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sūtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vārtika :—The words सर्वे &c. when employed as proper names (यज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanāma*. This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanāma, instead of making a short technical name like द्वि &c. Therefore सर्वे &c are Sarvanāmas when they have the meaning of "all &c." as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c." Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined. Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanāma* संज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्ये do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and VII. 2. 106. S. 381. are rules of अन्तर गण कार्ये, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanama, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिकतरं कुलम्. Here there is not the substitution of अद् as required by sūtra VII. 1. 25. S. 315. For कतर would have formed कतरेत् but अतिकतर does not form अतिकतरेत् but अतिकतरम् because here कतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर गण कार्ये rule VII. 1. 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतितत्. Here VII. 2. 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of अ for the final of तद् and the rule VII. 2. 106. S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final त do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तत् is सः, the compound of तत् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितत्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

अथ सर्वनामता न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थवाक्येऽपि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e. g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै ; ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound ; as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा न । वर्णान्धमेतराणाम् । समुदायस्यायं निषेधो न स्ववयवानाम् । नन्वेवं तदन्त-विधिनामुदप्रसङ्गः सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुद्धिति व्याख्यातत्वात् ।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanāma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sūtra prohibits the designation Sarvanāma with regard to the *whole* compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanāma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not सुद् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् ? We reply, that आम् gets सुद् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanāma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanāma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanāma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment सुद् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of तदन्तविधि. This is not so because in explaining that sūtra, we have used the word विहितस्य *i. e.* सुद् is added only to that आम् which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanāma and not to every आम् in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापरणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

असाधारं यत्कार्यं शीमावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये इच्छे उक्ता संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमेतराः । शीमावं प्रत्येव विभाषेत्युक्तमतो नाकच् । किंतु कमत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma, when the nominative plural termination *jas* follows.

It declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by ञ्), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे; that is, the word may take either जस् or ञि. ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । प्रथमचरमतयाल्लपार्ककतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्ये प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः । प्रथमे । प्रथमाः ॥ शेषं रामवत् । तयः प्रत्ययः तत्तत्तदन्ता आद्याः । द्वितये । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । नेमे । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषामकरणे तीयस्य द्विस्तृतीयस्य चान् ० ॥ द्वितीयस्मै । द्वितीयथेयादि । एवं तृतीयः । अर्थवद्महणांनह । पटुजातीयाय । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words *prathama* 'first'; *charama* 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix *taya* (V. 2. 42); *alpa* 'few', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some,' and *nema* 'half' are optionally *sarvanāma*, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्धे or अर्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, निमे or निमाः, तिसरे or तिसराः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix *ञ्च्* follows" are understood in this sūtra. By the word *तत्र* in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix *तत्र*. The rest are *pratipadikas* or crude bases. The word *जेव* has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called *prāpta-vibhāṣā*, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like *एव*, the rest of its declension is like *sarva*, while in the case of *prathama* &c. the nom. pl. may be like *sarva*, but the rest of their declension must be like that of *एव*. The word *ubhaya*, has been formed by the addition of the affix *तत्र*, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix *kan* or *akach* must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then *akach*, otherwise *kan*.

Vart:—The words formed by the affix *तीय* such as, *द्वितीय* and *तृतीय* are optionally declined as *sarvanāma* before the case-affixes having an indicative *ङ* (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, *द्वितीयस्मै* or *द्वितीयाय*, *तृतीयस्मै* or *तृतीयाय*.

Paribhāṣā.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore *पटुजातीयाय* and not *पटुजातीयस्मै*. Here the affix is *जातीय* and not *तीय*, and in the affix *जातीय*, the portion *तीय* has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of *Sarvanamans*.

सर्व

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वे	सर्वेण	सर्वस्मै	सर्वस्मात्	सर्वस्य	सर्वस्मिन्
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl.	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जरः ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जरः + सु = निजरः ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जरः + औ ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जराशब्दस्य जरस् वा स्वावजायौ विभक्तौ । पञ्चाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च । अनेकास्त्वा-
स्त्वर्थे प्रोक्ते । निर्विद्यमानस्यावेष्टा भवन्ति । एकदेशाविकृतस्यान्यत्वात् जरशब्दस्य जरस् । निर्जरसौ ।
निर्जरतः । इनादीन् बाधित्वा परत्वाज्जरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे हलादौ च रामवत् ।
वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनातोः कृतयोः सन्निपातपरिभाषाया आनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरसि कृते निर्जरसन्
निर्जरसामिति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिद्विस्तुक्तम् । तथा भित्ति निर्जरसैरिति रूपान्तरमुक्तम् ॥
सवदुसारिभ्य षष्ठ्येकवचने निर्जरस्येव रूपं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhāṣā* ;—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद् or शब्द is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sūtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhāṣā ;—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated. Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole. But the rule is “जरा is replaced by जरस्” There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution ? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as निजरा ॥

Thus निर्जर + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरसौ. The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by आ as निर्जरसा. The substitute vibhakti ending इन or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर. Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the Vṛttikāra the affixes इन and आत् will come by the rule of pūrva-vipratishedha, prohibition in anticipation ; and as the सन्निपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जरसिन and निर्जरसात् and not निर्जरस and निर्जरसः The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जरसैः । Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जरस्य ॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative
Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरसम्	निर्जरसा	निर्जरसे	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसि
Dual	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसां	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरसोः	निर्जरसोः
Pl.	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरीः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरसां	निर्जरेषु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निजरम्	निर्जरेण	निर्जराय	निर्जरात्	निर्जरस्य	निर्जरे
Dual	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरयोः	निर्जरयोः
Pl.	निर्जराः	निर्जराः	निर्जरान्	निर्जरीः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जराणाम्	निर्जरेषु

२२८ । पदञ्चोमास्त्विशसन्त्युषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुदञ्चासञ्चस्मृतिषु । ६ ।

१ । ६३ ॥

पाद, वन्त, नासिका, मास, हृदय, निशा, असृज्, श्लष, दोष, यकृन्, शकृन्, उदक, आस्य एषां पदादय आदेशाः स्युः शसावै वा । यत्तु आसनशब्दस्य आसन्नविश इति काशिकायापुनो सत्यमादिकम् । पादः । पादौ । पादाः । पादम् । पादौ । पदः । पादान् । पदा । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted :—पद् for पाद, वत् for वन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृदय, निश् for निशा, मसन् for असृज्, यूषन् for श्लष, दोषन् for दोस्, यकृन् for यकृत्, शकृन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन. This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः; पादम् पादौ, पदः or पादान्, पदा or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुडनपुंसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

सुड प्रत्याहारः स्वादिपञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि स्युस्कीदस्य ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyābhāra sūṭ (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कथ्यत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वे पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with 'स' (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

२३१। यच्चि भम् । १। ४। १८ ॥

यकारादिभ्यश्चादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिभ्यस्सर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanāmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२। आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा । १। ४। १९ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्वं कङ्काराः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन वासावावचि भसंज्ञैव न परत्वम् । अतो अदत्त्वं न । दत्तः । दत्ता । अदत्त्वम् । वद्भ्यामित्यादि । मासः । मासा । भ्यानि हत्वे यत्वे च यलोपः । माभ्याम् । माभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadârâh Karmadhâraye (II.2. 38 S. 751.) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note. What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2. S. 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, S. 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name i. e., 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root लब्ध् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form लब्धतक्षत्. Similarly वररक्षत्. The rule VII. 4. 98 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of pada. The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft. Thus the accusative Plural of दन्त is दन्तः. The Instrumental singular is दन्ता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the अण् rule. But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of Pada and we have the softening of the consonants, as वद्भ्याम् &c. Similarly Ac. Pl. मासः, Ins. Sg. मासि. Before the affix भ्याम् the स of मास् will

be changed to **रु** which will be changed to **ब** which being elided, we have the forms **भाभ्याम्**, **नाभिः** ॥

२३३ । भस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अभिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19 S. 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अल्लोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयज्जिह्वस्वदिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

234. Of a Bha stem ending in **अन्**, the **अ** is elided.

२३५ । रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्याभ्यां रेफधकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । शृङ्गाः शृङ्गा । पूर्वस्मादपि विधौ स्यानिबद्धाव इति पक्षे तु अङ्गवयव इत्येवात्र नत्वम् । * पूर्ववासिद्धीये न स्यानिबधिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेऽपि निषेधात् ॥

235. After **र** and **ष**, the **ण** is the substitute of **न**, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac. Pl of **शृङ्गन्** is formed by eliding the **अ** and changing the **न** into **ण**; as **शृङ्गाः**; Ins. Sg. **शृङ्गा** ॥

If we apply the rule of **स्यानिबद्धाव** by sūtra **अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ** (I. 1. 57 S. 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound **pūrva-vidhau** = **purva-smād vidhau** meaning "when a rule is to be applied on account of or *after* something which precedes the substitute" and consider the **लोप** to be **स्यानिबद्ध** to **अ**, in that case also the **न** will be changed to **ण** by the rule VIII. 4. 2 S. 197. i. e. **न** is changed to **ण** even when a vowel intervenes. But as a matter of fact, the **लोपादेश** is not **स्यानिबद्ध** according to the following *vārtika*.

Vārtika.—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, the rule of **स्यानिबद्ध** will not apply.

२३६ । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

नेति प्रातिपदिकेति च लुप्तपृष्ठीके पदे । प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञकं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वादीर्घत्वमेत्वमैस्त्वं च न । शूषभ्याम् । शूषाभिः । शूषभ्य इत्यादि ॥

236. The **न** at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17 S. 230.), is elided.

The words **न** and **प्रातिपदिक** in the text are to be taken in the genitive case; the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of **न** by this Sūtra being considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the previous Sūtras, there is not the lengthening

of sūtra VII. 3. 102 S. 202. or the ह् substitution of VII. 3. 103. S. 205. or the ऐस् substitution of VII. 1. 9. S 203. Therefore the forms are ब्रह्मभ्याम् and not ब्रूपाभ्याम्; ब्रूयमि and not ब्रूये; ब्रूयभ्यः and not ब्रूयेभ्यः ॥

२३७ । विभाषा द्विद्वयोः । ६ । ४ । १३६ ॥

अङ्गावधयोऽसर्वनामस्थानमजादिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा स्यान् द्विद्वयोः । ब्रूणि । ब्रूयणि । पक्षे रामवन् । पक्षमिति सूत्रेण प्रवृत्तिप्रवृत्ते प्रकारार्थम् । तथा च । औडः भ्यामपि होषमावेक्षो भाष्ये ककुहोषणी इत्युदाहरणम् । तेन 'पक्षद्विभरणोऽस्त्रियां, स्वास्तं ह्यमानसं मन' इति च संगच्छते । भासन्त्यः । होषशब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वमप्यत एव भाष्यात् । तेन वक्षिणे होर्मिवाचर इति संगच्छते । भुजबाहू प्रवेक्षो शोरिति साहचर्यात्पुंस्त्वमपि । दोषं तस्य तयादिभ्यस्त्वमजत इति । इयोरङ्गोर्भयो ब्रह्मः ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending इरी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As ब्रूणि or ब्रूयणि. In all other cases the word ब्रूयन् is declined like राम. The word द्विद्वयोः is a compound of द्वि and द्वौ and not द्वि for the stem is not Bha there.

The word प्रवृत्ति in the sūtra VI. 1. 63 S. 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार i.e. the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only : the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanāmasthāna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix औ is replaced by ई, and it is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix there also that rule VI. 1 63 applies, for we have in the Bhāṣya the example of ककुहोषणी. Similarly also the following are valid : "पक्षद्विभरणोऽस्त्रियाम्" here पाश् is changed before the Nom. Sg सु ; which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तं ह्यमानसं मन" here ह्रस्व is changed to ह्र in the Nom. Sg. These are from Amara-Kośha. and भासन्त्यं प्राणमूत्रुः " They (the Devas) said to the Prāṇa in the mouth " (Bṛihadāraṇyaka I. 3. 7). Here भास्य is changed to भासन् before the affix य । भासन्त्यं means that which is born in the mouth. The word होष् (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhāṣya of Pāṇjali. Therefore the following usage is correct :—समुपाब्रूयन्मुच्यते शक्षिणे वेतिवाचरस्", हो is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहू प्रवेक्षोः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word ब्रह्मः ।

२३८ । संख्याधिसायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनम्यतरस्यां ऊँ । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

संख्याधिसायाहस्याहस्याहनम्यतरस्यां ऊँ । ब्राह्मि । ब्राह्मि । ब्राह्मे । विगतनम्यहः । ब्राह्मि । ब्राह्मे । अहः सायः सायाहः । सायाह्मि । सायाह्मि । सायाह्मे ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्यौरहोर्भवः = ब्रह्मः, ॥ The Locative singular of this is ब्रह्मि or ब्रह्मनि, ॥ So also ब्रह्मे, ॥ With वि—व्यह्नि, व्यहनि, व्यह्ने with साय—सायाह्नि सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकदोषिसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that ब्रह्मन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने or मध्यम हनि, (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51, S. 728., with the force of मन् IV. 3. 11. S. 1381. Thus ह्नि + ब्रह्मन्. Here we add the Samāsanta affix इच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 and the ब्रह्मन् is replaced by ब्रह्म by V. 4. 88. S. 790. While the सञ्ज्ञितार्थ affix डम् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in म्.

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन or पदा	पादाय or पदे ।	पादान् or पदः	पादस्य or पदः	पादे or पदे
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां or पङ्क्याम्	पादाभ्यां or पङ्क्याम् ।	पादाभ्याम् पङ्क्त्यां	पादयोः or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादाः	पादान् or पदः	पादिः पङ्क्तिः	पादिभ्यः or पङ्क्त्यः ।	पादिभ्यः or पङ्क्त्यः	पादानां or पदान्	पादिषु or पदसु

दन्त (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दन्ता	दन्ते	दन्तः	दन्तः	दन्ति
Dual	...	ददभ्याम्	दङ्ग्याम्	दङ्ग्याम्	दन्तोः	दन्तोः
Plural	दन्तः	ददभिः	दङ्ग्यः	दङ्ग्यः	दन्ताम्	ददसु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	मासोः	मासोः
Plural	मासः	माभिः	माभ्यः	माभ्यः	मासाम्	मासु

यूष (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	यूष्णा	यूष्णे	यूष्णः	यूष्णः	यूष्णि
Dual	...	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूष्णोः	यूष्णोः
Plural	यूष्णः	यूषभिः	यूषभ्यः	यूषभ्यः	यूष्णाम्	यूषसु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा.

२३६ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इति च परे प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घः । विश्वपा । वयपीह औङि नभविर्वात्येव सिद्धं असि तु सव्यपि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे अतिर्नीस्ति तथापि गौर्यौ गौर्य इत्याद्यर्थे सूत्रमिहापि न्याय्यत्वादुपपत्त्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपाः ; Nom. Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vriddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and आ.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom. Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165. as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI. 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sūtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sūtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौर्यौ and गौर्यः respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य भस्याऽङ्गास्य लोपः स्यात् । आलोऽन्त्यस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपा । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवं बाह्व्यभ्यास्यः । धातोः क्रिप् । हाहान् । दा सवर्णदीर्घः । हाहा । ङे वृद्धिः । हाहि । ङसिङ्सोदीर्घः । हाहाः । ओसि वृद्धिः । हाहौ । ङौ भावृणः । हाह । हेपे विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागाद्धातोर्ग्याकारलोपः कश्चित् । सवः अः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu. Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing. विश्वपा ; विश्वपाभ्याम् &c.

Like विश्वपा should be declined, बाह्व्यभ्या &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing. will be हाहा + दा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + ङे = हाहि by Vriddhi. Its Abl. and Geni. Sing. will be हाहा + ङसि or ङसु = हाहाः by lengthening. Its Gen. and Loc. dual will be हाहा + ओस् = हाहौः

by Vṛiddhi. Its Loc. Sing. will be दाहा + ङि = दाहे by guṇa. The rest are like विश्वपा.

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगविभागविह सिद्धिः) §. 8. "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sūtra may be divided into two Sūtras eg. (1.) दाहा, the final अ of a Bha stem is always elided; (2.) दाहो, the final अ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed दाहः and दाहः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvā and śnā. For Pāṇini himself has declined दाहः and दाहा by the elision of अ, see VII. 1. 37. S. 3332 (समासेऽनञ्पूर्वोक्त्यम्) and III. 1. 83. S. 2557. (हन्तः हन्तः घानश्चौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long अ.

विश्वपा

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपाः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वपः	विश्वपः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	॥ विश्वपौ	विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाः	विश्वपाः
Plural	विश्वपाः	॥ विश्वपाः	विश्वपाः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाः	विश्वपासु

दाहा

Singular	दाहाः	हे दाहाः	दाहाम्	दाहा	दाहे	दाहाः	दाहाः	दाहे
Dual	दाहौ	॥ दाहौ	दाहौ	दाहाभ्याम्	दाहाभ्याम्	दाहाभ्याम्	दाहौः	दाहौः
Plural	दाहाः	॥ दाहाः	दाहाम्	दाहाभिः	दाहाभ्यः	दाहाभ्यः	दाहाः	दाहासु

Now we take up the declension of the word दाहि. The Nom. sing. will be दाहिः. Nom. Dual will be दाहि + औ = दाहौ by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102. S. 164. The Pl. is दाहि + ऊन् ॥ Here applies the following.

२४१। जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

द्वस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि परे । हरयः ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

Therefore the इ of दाहि is *guṇated* to ए. Thus दाहि + अस् = दाहे + अस् = दाहयः । The Vocative Sing. will be दाहि + हु Here the following rule applies.

२४२। ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्संज्ञौ । एङ्ङस्वादिनि संज्ञौल्लोपः । हे हरे । हरिम् । हरी । हरीन् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the ई of हरि is changed to ह and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus we get हरे.

The Acc. forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरिम्.

The Instr: sing is हरि + रा. Here the following two rules apply.

२४३ । शेषो घ्यसन्नि । १ । ४ । ७ ॥

अनङ्गीसंज्ञी ह्रस्वौ आधिद्वयो नमन्तं सन्निपत्ये पितृसं स्थात् । शेषः किञ् । नन्वे । एकसंज्ञाधिकारः । सन्निपत्ये शेषमहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । ह्रस्वौ किञ् । वातमन्त्रे । इद्वयो किञ् । नान्ने ॥

243. The rest of the words that end in short ई and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word. Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe नन्वे, for नन्वे being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadi*; for otherwise its declension will be नमन्ते, formed by applying the rule VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VII. 3. 111 S. 245 But नमन्ते is of course a wrong form. Though by the rule I. 4. 1. S. 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation *nadi* and *vice versa*, and नान् which is a *nadi* word can never be called *ghi*, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sūtra, there would not have been any fear of नन्वे being confounded with a *ghi* word, still शेष is used in the sūtra for the sake of precision and clearness. Why do we say short ई and उ? Observe वातमन्त्रे ॥ Why do we say ई and उ;? Observe नान्ने ॥

Note.—This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word *hrasva* is understood in this sūtra. The word *shesha* or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short ई or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not *nadi* words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicative *n*, the ghi nouns gunate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + हे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नेहे "to the fire." So also वायु + हे = वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

२४४ । आङ्गो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ७ । ३ । १२० ॥

ये परस्त्राङ्गो ना स्त्रायस्त्रियाम् । आङ्गिति वासंस्त्रा प्राचात् । हरिणा । मन्त्रिणां किम् । मन्त्र्या ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आङ्ग is the ancient name of the affix ना. Thus हरि + ना = हरि + ना = हरिणा. Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe नन्नि + ट् = नन्ना.

Now we form the Dat: Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sūtra.

२४५। घेङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

घिसंज्ञकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणः स्यात् । हरेये । घेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । सुपि किम् । पट् । घेङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the ह and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये. Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्नी &c. ॥

The word पट्नी is formed by adding ङीष् to पट् (IV. 1. 44 S. 502). ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङिन् and is added to पट् which is घि ॥

Thus हरि + ङे = हरे + ए = हरेये.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि + ङसि = हरे + अस् (the ह of हरि is *gunated* by the present Sūtra). At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

२४६। ङसिङसोश्च । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङो ङसिङसोश्च परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेः । हय्योः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), + अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे + अस् = हरेः The genitive dual will be हय्योः The pl. हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc. Sing. हरि + ङि = हरे + इ ॥ (The ह is *gunated* by the preceding sūtra). At this stage applies the following rule.

२४७। अच्घेः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इदुद्भ्याउत्तरस्य डेरौस्स्याद् घेन्तादेशभाकारः । हरो । हय्योः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यग्निरविकृत्या-
वयः ॥

247. After a Ghi I. 4. 7) stem ending in short ह or उ, ओ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि + इ = हर + औ = हरौ ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हय्योः and हरिषु respectively.

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रवि, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Sing.	हरिः	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरेवे	हरेः	हरेः	हरो
Dual.	हरी	॥ हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हयोः	हयोः
Plural.	हरयः	॥ हरयः	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

—:0:—

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८। अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ६३ ॥

सख्युरङ्स्याऽनङ्विशः स्यात्संबुद्धौ सौ परे । ङिभ्यस्तन्तांशः ॥

248. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अनङ् being a ङिन् augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. I. 53 S 43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९। अङ्गोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यादङ्गः पूर्वो वर्ण उपधासङ्गः स्यान् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the न् of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this न्.

२५०। सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नात्स्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यात्संबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the न् is lengthened and we have सखान् + स्. Now the affix स् consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१। अपृक्त एकाक्षरत्वयः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाक्षरत्वयो यः सोऽपृक्तसङ्गः स्यान् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this सू being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule.

२५२ । ह्रस्व्यान्धो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं ह्रस्व । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

इतन्नात्परं दीर्घो ङो ङ्वापो तदन्तात् परं सुतिसत्त्वेनपृक्तं ह्रस्व लुप्यते । ङङ्ङ्वाङ्वा किम् । आगमीः । दीर्घोऽपि । निष्कौशाब्धिः । अतिसदुः । सुतिसीति किम् । अङ्गस्तीत् तिपा सहचरितस्य सियो अङ्गस्तिचो अङ्गं नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । विभर्ति । ह्रस्व किम् । विभेद । प्रथमह्रस्व किम् । राजा । नतोपो न स्वात् संवाप्तस्ततोपस्त्वासिद्धत्वात् । सत्त्वा । हे सत्त्व ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix सू, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of ह्र and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix ऊँ and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix सू ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or ई, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्त ह्रस्व) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe आगमीः, सेवामीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long-vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाब्धिः, अतिसदुः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु ति, and सि"? Observe अङ्गस्तीत् ॥ The ति being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe विभर्ति । Why do we say 'the consonant is elided'? Observe विभेदः ॥ Here the अप्रिकृता affix ङ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word ह्रस्व not been used in the sūtra.

Why do we say 'first consonant'? Observe राजा.

Why has the elision of ह्र (सु), ह्र (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, लक्ष्मा could not be evolved. As राजह्र+स्=राजाह्र+स् (VI. 4. 8. S. 250)=राजाह्रस् and by eliding ह्र by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजाह्र ॥ and the final ह्र could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of ह्र, does not find scope,

since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom. Sg सखा Voc Sg. हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३। सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ। ७। १। ६२॥

सख्युरङ्गात्परं संबुद्धिर्जे सर्वनामस्थानं निष्कार्यकम् स्यात् ॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णिन् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule :—

२५४। अच्चां ङिति। ७। १। ११५॥

मिति णिति च परेऽजन्ताङ्गात्स्य वृद्धिः स्यात्। सखायौ। सखावः। सखायम्। सखायौ। विसंज्ञाऽभावात् तत्कार्यम्। सख्या। सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखे + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखावः, Acc. Sing. सखायम् Acc. dual सखायौ ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix इ; and as the word सखि is not a चि word (See I. 4. 7. S. 243) it does not take न or ण्महा as required by VII. 3. 120. S. 244 or VII. 3. 1. S. 245. Thus we have सखि + आ = सख्या.

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies:—

२५५। ख्यत्यात्परस्य। ६। १। ११२॥

व्रित्तिशब्दाभ्यां खीतीशब्दाभ्यां कृतयणदेशाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङ्सोऽत उन् स्यात्। सख्युः ॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस्र of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङ्सोः and उन् are understood here also. The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and त्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus, सखि + णस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सख्येन धर्तरे = सख्यः, सख्यामच्छति = सख + क्यच् (III. 1. 8.) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्विप् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखी: 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + णस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add. क्विप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also कृन्तुः, the क् of कृन्ती being the substitute of न् of Nishṭhā is considered like न् (VIII. 2. 1) The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and ख्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखः, सेनापते: ॥ The word अतिसखि is खि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim मङ्गलवता अतिपादिकेन तन्निविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to some this rule applies to all स्त्री and स्त्री, such as सुखी: one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय + क्तिप्), and सुती: 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय + क्तिप्) Thus सुख्यः, सख्यः &c.

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुर्वा परस्य डेरौत्स्यात् । उकारावुत्तिरुत्तरार्धा । सख्यो । शेषं हरिवत् । शोभनः सखा । सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखायः । अनङ्गिङ्गावयोराङ्गत्वात्तन्तोऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । सख्यस्य सखिरूपत्वाभावादेतस्मिन् निषेधायवृत्तेर्धिसंज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसख्ये । ङसिङ्सोर्युणे कृते कृतयणोऽप्यभावाभावात् ख्यस्यादित्युच्यते न । सुसखेः । सुसखौ इत्यादि । एवमनिसाधितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यत्थेति विभक्तिः । परमसखा । परमसखायवित्यादि । गौणत्वेऽप्यनङ्गित्वे प्रवर्तते सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखिः । लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठपरिभाषाया गनित्यत्वात् दृष्टम् । हरिवत् । इहानङ्गित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोऽपि त्वत्वेन सखिपतिभ्यां लाक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणप्रतिपक्षयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्त्यैव महजान् ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरे.

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखायः. Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93. S. 248.) and treating the case affixes as णिन् as required by VII. 1. 92. S. 253. are operations which relate to the अङ्, or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I. 4. 7. S. 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is खि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gunated* by VII. 3. 111 S. 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + अस् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि. The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्य.

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of वि words औ preceded by अ substitution of वि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadī and ghī.

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसखा will be सुसखेः, सुसखे and सुसखौ respectively.

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखा masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा. How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णिन् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखायौ &c.

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix टच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated : प्रतिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् i. e. 'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhāṣa to rule V. 4. 9r S. 738 which declares that the affix टच् is added to the words rājan, aban, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhāṣa is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि; and therefore अनङ् and णिन् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S. 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुसखि &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhāṣa applies to this word :—लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः &c. i. e. "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

पतिशब्दः समास एव चिसंज्ञः स्यात् । पर्या । पत्ये । पत्युः । पर्यौ । पर्यौ । षेर्ब इतिवत् । समासे तु भूपतिना । भूपतये । कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sūtra I. 4. 7. S. 243; the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पर्या 'by the lord' but भूपतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and भूपतये; पत्युः and भूपतेः, पर्यौ and भूपतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four डित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well as षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते संख्यासंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (saṅkhyā).

The word कति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Saṅkhyā.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

इत्यन्ता संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

259. And the saṅkhyās ending with the affix dati are called ṣaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sūtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुक्लुपः । १ । १ । ६१ ॥

लुक्लुपलुपाभ्यः कृतं प्रत्ययदर्शनं कमात्प्रत्ययसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

260. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, lu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *slu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *slu* or *lup*.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sûtra.

२६१। षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः परयोर्जडासौर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S. 369).

Therefore कति + जस् or कति + शस् = कति + O or कति + O. Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sûtra

२६२। प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुपेऽपि तदाश्रितं कार्यं स्यात् । इति जसि चेति एणे प्राप्ते ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (*lopa*), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जस् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *guna* of the इ of कति, by VII. 3. 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कति requires to be *guṇated*; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sûtra.

२६३। न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् षलु लुप् एते लुमन्तः । लुमन्ता शब्देन लुप्ते तन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतीनाम् । कतिषु । अस्मद्युष्मत्पदसंज्ञकास्त्रिषु सरूपाः । विशिष्टो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । षयः । शीन् । त्रिभिः त्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (*anga*), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, षलु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

by force of the words लुक् &c. ; and by the word लोप ॥ In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not. Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base ; such as *guna* &c.

Thus we have कति (Nom Pl) कति (Acc. Pl); कतिभिः (Instr. Pl); कतिभ्यः (Dat. Pl); कतिभ्यः (Abl. Pl); कतिनाम् (Gen. Pl) कतिषु (Loc. Pl).

The word अस्मद् (I,) युष्मद् (Thou), and the words called वद् as defined above are alike in the three genders. Therefore the word कति is masculine, feminine and neuter.

The word वि is always used in the Plural. Thus वयः, (Nom. Pl.); वीम् (Acc. Pl.); विभिः (Instr. Pl.) विभ्यः (Dat. Pl.) विभ्यः (Abl. Pl.) But the Genitive Plural is formed in accordance with the following sūtra.

२६४। त्रैलोक्यः। ७। १। ५३ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयदेशः स्यादिति ॥ त्रयाणाम्। परमत्रयाणाम्। गौणस्ये तु नोति केचित्। त्रियत्रीणाम्। वस्तुतस्तु त्रियत्रयाणाम्। त्रिषु। द्विशब्दो नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः ॥

264. त्रय is substituted for वि before the Genitive Plural affix आम् ॥

As त्रयाणाम् (त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda ; as त्रीणामपि सप्तग्राणाम् ॥) When the word वि forms the last member of a compound, even then also its declension is as above ; as परमत्रयाणाम्. But some say that in those compounds where वि is not a principal word, but only a secondary member of a compound, there this substitution will not take place. According to them the form would be त्रियत्रीणाम्. But the proper form is त्रियत्रयाणाम् here also.

The Locative Plural will be त्रिषु.

Now we take up the declension of the word द्वि which is always used in the Dual Number.

The first rule that applies to it is the following.

२६५। त्वदादीनामः। ७। २। १०२ ॥

एषामकारोऽन्तर्दिष्टः स्याद्विभक्तौ। द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टिः। द्वौ २ द्वाभ्याम् ३। द्वयोः २। द्विपर्यन्तानां किम्। भवान्। भवन्तौ। भवन्तः॥ संज्ञायाष्टपसर्जनस्य च नास्त्वम्। सर्वाद्यान्तर्गणकार्यत्वात्। द्विर्नाम कश्चित्। द्विः। द्वौ। द्वावतिक्रान्तोऽतिद्विः। हरिवत्। प्राधान्ये तु परमद्वौ इत्यादि। औद्धुनामिः। औद्धुलोमी। बहुवचने तु उद्धुलोमा। लोभोऽपत्येषु बहुवचकारा वक्तव्यः। वाह्वासीचोऽपवादः। औद्धुलोमिम्। औद्धुलोमी उद्धुलोमान्।

265. For the final of त्वद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Now the question is what are the त्वदादि words. त्वदादि words belong to the class of सर्वनाम and form a sub-division of it and would have been the

following, viz :—स्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदस्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् but the *ishiti* given below excludes the last four words from the list of स्यदादि.

Ishiti :—The स्यदादि sub-division begins with the word स्यद् and ends with the word द्वि (inclusive).

The word द्वि belongs to the class of स्यदादि and therefore its final इ is changed to अ before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of द्वा.

Thus द्वौ (Nom. Dual); द्वौ (Acc. Dual); द्वाभ्याम् (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) द्वयोः (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the स्यदादि words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of भवतु which is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः (Nom. Sing.; Dual and Plural).

When स्यदादि words are used as संज्ञा (appellative), or, उपसर्जन (secondary members of a compound), then their final इ is not replaced by अ. Suppose the word द्वि is the name of a person, then it will be declined as द्विः (Nom, Sing.) द्वौ (Nom. Dual); द्वयः (Nom. Pl.)

Similarly, when the word द्वि is an उपसर्जन as अतिद्वि (he who excels द्वि), it will be declined as अतिद्विः (Nom. Sing.), that is like इति.

But when द्वि is the principal member of a compound, the अ substitution will take place; thus परमद्वौ &c.

The word औदुलोमि is thus declined :—औदुलोमिः (Nom. Sing.) औदुलोमी (Nom. Dual), but the Nom. Pl. will be उदुलोमाः by the following Vartika.

Vartika :—After the word लोमम् the affix अ comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This Vartika debars the इम् affix of IV. 1. 96. S. 1096.

The Accusatives will be औदुलोमिम् (Sing.); औदुलोमी (Dual); उदुलोमाश्च (Plural)

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short इ

—:0:—

Masculine long ई

वातप्रमीरित्युणावेसूचेण माङ् ईप्रत्ययः स च किन् । वातं प्रमिमीते वातप्रमीः । ईर्षाङ्गासि च । वातप्रम्यौ । हे वातप्रमीः ॥ आम् पूर्वः । वातप्रमीम् । वातप्रम्यौ । वातप्रमीन् । वातप्रम्या । वातप्रमीभ्याम् ३ । वातप्रम्ये । वातप्रम्यः २ । वातप्रम्योः २ । वातप्रम्यम् । ईर्षाङ्गात् लुट् । औ तु सवर्णैर्ऋः । वातप्रमी । वातप्रमीषु । एवं यथापप्यावयः । आन्त्यनेनेति यथीमार्गः । पाति लोकमिति पपीः सूर्यः । आपोः किङ् चेति ईप्रत्ययः । किङ्न्तवातप्रमीशब्दस्य तु अमि शसि औ च विशेषः । वातप्रम्यम् । वातप्रम्यः । वातप्रम्यि । एरनेकाश्च इति वक्ष्यमाणो यण् प्रधिवत् । बहुषः श्रयस्योयस्य स बहुश्रयसी । ईर्षाङ्गा स्तस्याङ्गाङ्गाविति सुलापः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word वातप्रमी. This word is

formed by the Unādi affix long ई (See Unādi Sūtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV. 1.) added to the root मा to measure, The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is क्तिप् (Unādi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long मा being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S. 2372.

The Nom. Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI. 1. 102 S. 164. required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI. 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. वातप्रम्यः । The Voc. Sing. हे वातप्रमीः. The Acc. Sing. is thus formed :—वातप्रमी + भम्. The single substitution required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is set aside by VI. 1. 105. S. 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavāda rule VI. 1. 107. (भानि पूर्वः) S. 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the भ of the case ending भम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing. is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst. Sing. is वातप्रम्या. The Ins. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रमीभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभिः. The Dat. forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभिः. The Abl. Sing. is वातप्रम्यः. The Genitive Sing. and Dual are वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्योः. The Genitive Pl. is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment नुट is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing. is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl. is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words ययी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road,") and पपी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Unādi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्तिप् and not क्तिप् ई then in the Acc. Sing. and Pl. and Loc. Sing. the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्यि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्तिप् in this way. वातप्रमी मिव व्याचरति इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of āchāra, formed by the affix क्तिप् (III. 1. 10 and II S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्तिप् is added again in the sense of agent (III. 2. 76 S. 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + भम् = वातप्रम् + य + भम्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S. 272 and the word is declined like प्रमी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुमेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word मेयस् is formed by the affix ईयसुन् added to अ the substitute of प्रशस् (V. 3. 60. S. 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. S. 455 to form the feminine मेयसी.

The Nom. Sing. of बहुश्रेयसी is बहुश्रेयसी + सु = बहुश्रेयसी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl. : are बहुश्रेयसी, बहुश्रेयस्यः

The formation of Voc. Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

*Note :—*The word बहुश्रेयसी is a Bahuvrīhi compound. There is पुंवङ्गाव by the rule VI. 3. 34. S. 831. The Samāsanta affix कप् is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156. S. 894. The long ई required to be shortened by 1. 2. 48. S. 656 is prohibited by the Vārtika under V. 4. 156. S. 894.

२६६ । यू स्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

इद्वन्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गमहणं च । पूर्व स्याख्यस्योपसर्जनत्वेऽपि नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū, being names of females which are always feminine are called Nadi.

The word यू is a compound of ई + ऊ. The word sryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī 'a virgin' यवागृ yavāgṛh 'rice gruel.'

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमारी, the Dative of दुहिन् will be दुहिने .

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी 'leader of a village'; सेनानी 'leader of an army'; खलपूः 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामणे, सेनान्ये खलपूवे.

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामणे स्त्रिये, and खलपूवे स्त्रिये .

*Vartika :—*The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word. Here the original word श्रेयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुश्रेयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadi the whole word बहुश्रेयसी will be treated as Nadi, though श्रेयसी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana)

Therefore बहुश्रेयसी getting the designation of Nadi is affected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७ । अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः । ७ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अम्बार्थानां नद्यन्तानां च ह्रस्वः स्यात् सञ्जुद्धौ । हे बहुभ्येयसि । णसि बहुभ्येयसीन् ।

267. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुभ्येयसि.

The Acc. Sing and Dual are बहुभ्येयसीम्, बहुभ्येयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुभ्येयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms.

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आण नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्परेषां ङितानाङागमः स्यात् ।

268. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आद् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vridhhi Vowel by the following rule.

२६९ । आटञ्च । ६ । १ । ६० ॥

आटोऽचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । बहुभ्येयस्यै । बहुभ्येयस्याः । नद्यन्तात्परस्वाम्बुद् । बहुभ्येयसीनाम् ॥

269. The Vridhhi is the single substitute when the augment आद् is followed by any vowel.

The आद् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + डे = बहुभ्येयस्यै (Dative Singular). (The आद् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेद्), similarly, बहुभ्येयस्याः

The augment नुद् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 208. As बहुभ्येयसीनाम्.

For the formation of the Loc. Sing. the following rule applies.

Note.—The anuvritti of एचि ceases: that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आद्, and the आद् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आद् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent the Vridhhi is the single substitute. The augment आद् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत् औद्भीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षर्षाने (Bhu. 641), उभ उभम् पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उब्ज आर्जवे (Tud. 20).

Note—The च् 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उत्. ओ and आह् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आद् ॥ Thus औनीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ + ऊढा = ओढा, तामैच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

२७० । डेराम् नद्याङ्गीभ्यः । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नद्यान्तावाबन्तानीयाङ्वाच्च डेराम् स्यात् । इह परस्वादाया नुङ् बाध्यते । बहुभ्रयस्याम् । शेषमीम-
त्यन्तवातमनीवत् । अङ्यन्तस्यान् सुलोपः । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेषं बहुभ्रयसीयत् । कुमारीमिच्छत् कुमारीवा-
चरन्वा बाङ्गणः कुमारी । क्यजन्तावाचारविबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि विवप् । हल्ङ्याविति सुलोपः ।

270 For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुद् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural; because नुद् of the Sūtra VII. 154, S. 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आद् of the VII. 3. 112. S. 268.

Thus बहुभ्रयसी + ङि = बहुभ्रयसी + आद् + ङि (VII. 3. 112. S. 268) = बहुभ्रयसी + आद् + आम् = बहुभ्रयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुभ्रयसी are like those of वातमनी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom. Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix सु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'हल्ङ्याप्' (VI. 1. 68. S. 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुभ्रयसी ॥

Note.—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sūtra III. 160 लक्षेर्मुदच्, as लक्ष् + मुद् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III. 2. 76. S. 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यच् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664), with the affix क्तिप् of III. 2. 76.

Note—As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुताजायाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-मान्ध्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by क्तिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the ण is changed to ण by अत्र ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the यप् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

Thus कुमारी + सु = कुमारी ॥ सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि शुभ्रातुभ्रवां व्योरियङ्कुवङ्को । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

इतुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोर्भ्रइत्यस्य आङ्गस्ययङ्कुवङ्को स्तांऽआवौ प्रत्यये परे । द्विषेत्यन्ता-
देशः । आन्तरन्त्याहोरियङ् भोरयङ् इतीत्यङि प्राप्तिः ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of लु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उय् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उयङ् have indicatory ङ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उयङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारि + औ = कुमारौ । इव + औ . But this is prevented by the next Sūtra.

Note.—Similarly आनुवन्ति, राधुवन्ति, शकुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class, चित्तिवतुः, लुलुवतुः, लुलुङ्, नित्यौ, नित्यः, लुवौ, लुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

२७२ । परनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यान्तेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यावजावौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यण् । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्यः । हे कुमारि । अमि शसि च । कुमार्यम् । कुमार्यः । कुमार्यैः । कुमा-
र्याः २ । कुमारीणाम् । कुमार्याम् । प्रधीः । प्रध्यौ । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्यः । उन्नयतीत्युन्नीः । धातुना संयो-
गस्य विशेषणादिह स्यादेव यण् । उन्न्यौ । उन्न्यः । हे उन्नीः । उन्न्यम् । ऊन्नाम् । उन्न्याम् । एवं ग्रामणीः ।
अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । नित्यौ । नित्यः । अमि शसि च परस्वादियङ् । नित्यम् । नित्यः । ऊन्नाम् । नित्याम् ।
असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुप्रियौ । यवक्रियौ । गतिकारकतरपूर्वपवस्य यण् नव्यते । शुद्धिधियो । परमधियो
कथं तर्हि दुर्धियो वृश्चिकभित्त्यादि । उच्यते । दुःस्थिता धीर्येषामिति विग्रहे दुरित्यस्य धीराब्दे प्रति गतिस्व-
मेव नास्ति । यात्कियाद्युक्ताः प्राद्वयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः । वृश्चिकशस्वस्य बुद्धिकृममपाशानस्य मेह धिव-
क्षितम् । वृश्चिकसंज्ञन्धिनी भीवृश्चिकभीरित्युत्तरपदलोपो वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यण् âdeśa, therefore कुमारि + औ = कुमार्यौ; कुमारी + अस् = कुमार्यः ।

The Voc. Sing is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc. Sing, Dual and Pl. are कुमार्यम्, कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing is कुमार्यैः । The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुमार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl. is कुमारीणाम् ॥ The Loc. Sing. is कुमार्याम् ॥

The word प्रधी is thus declined :—प्रधाः, प्रध्यौ, प्रध्यः, प्रध्यम्, प्रध्यः &c. This word is derived from the root ध्या with the prefix प्र. The य is changed to इ by Unādi IV. 115. Thus प्रध्य + क्तिप् = प्रधि. The short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. So we have प्रधा.

The declension of the word उन्नी । It is formed by adding the prefix उत् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sūtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sūtra applies to उन्नी which is declined as उन्नीः, उन्न्यौ; उन्न्यः; हे उन्नीः; Acc. Sing. उन्न्यम्, Loc. Sing. उन्न्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word ग्रामणी, the Nom. Sing. of which is ग्रामणीः ॥

How do you explain the forms दुर्धियः where there is not यण् though दुर् is a Gati, and the word वृश्चिकमियः where the word वृश्चिक is a Kāraka? We reply that the preposition दुर् is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as दुःस्थिता धीर्येषां, a Bahuvrīhi compound, in which दुर् is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vārtika प्राविश्यो धातुजस्य &c. (II. 2. 24. S. 830.) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word दुर्. In fact, the word Gati is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly वृश्चिकमीः should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (पश्यमी तस्युष्य सनात्) formed by I. 4. 25. S. 588, as वृश्चिका 'हृनेति = वृश्चिकमीः but as वृश्चिक-सम्बन्धिनीः मीः ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion'; in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case वृश्चिक is not a Kāraka with regard to मी. Therefore the vārtika applies to it

२७३ । न भूसुधियोः । ६ । ४ । ८५ ॥

एतयोर्यण् न स्याद्वि सुधि सुधियौ । सुधिय इत्यादि । सखायमिच्छति । सखीयति । ततः क्विप् । अलोपयोगोप । अलोपस्य स्थानिवच्चाद्याणि प्राप्ते । क्वौ लुप्तं न स्थानिवत् । एकदेशविकृतस्यातन्मयताऽनङ्गित्वे । सखा । सखायौ । सखायः । हे सखीः । अमि पूर्वरूपात्परस्वाद्याणि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परस्वात्सख्युरसंबुद्धाविति प्रवर्तते । सखायम् । सखायौ । ससि यण् । सख्यः । सह खेन वर्तत इति सखः । तमिच्छतीति सखीः । सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सख्यौ । सुख्यौ । सुख्यौ । खयत्यारिति वीर्यस्यापि महणादुकारः । सख्युः । सुख्युः । सुख्युः । लूनमिच्छतीति लूनीः । क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः । प्रस्तीममिच्छतीति प्रस्तीमीः । एषां ङिति ङसोर्बन् । तस्वमस्वयोरसिद्धत्वात् खयत्यादिस्तुस्वम् । लून्युः । क्षाम्युः प्रस्तीम्युः । शुष्कीयतेः क्विप् । शुष्कीः । शुष्क्यः । शुष्क्यौ । शुष्क्यः । ङसिङ्सोः शुष्क्य इत्यादि ॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयति (i.e. he who desires a friend). Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्तिप् and the letters झ and ञ् are both elided. Here the elision of झ being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sûtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following.

Vartika:—when there is elision before the affix क्तिप् the elision is not considered as *sthānivat*.

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारि as explained under VII. 3. 116. S. 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI. 1. 68 and VII. 2. 115. S. 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गित्वे ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा; सखायो; सखाय; Voc. हे सखीः. The Acc. Sing is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखी + भम्. Here VI. 1. 107. S. 194 requires Pûrva-rûpa, that is सखीम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI. 4. 82. S. 272. requiring ञप् which would have given the form सख्यम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII. 1. 92. S. 253. Hence the form सखे + भम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायो. The Acc. Pl. is सख्यः for the Acc. Pl. not being a, Sarvanâmasthâna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन वर्तते इति सखिः. It is a Bahu-vrîhi compound formed by II. 2. 28. S. 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3. 82 S. 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्यच् by III. 1. 8. S. 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII. 4. 33 S. 2658. and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्तिप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness'; and सुती meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows :—Nom. Sing. सखीः ; सुखीः ; सुतीः. The dual is सख्यो ; सुख्यो ; सुत्यो, The Abl. and Gen. Singular forms are सख्युः ; सुख्युः ; सुत्युः ; by applying the sutra VI. 1. 112. S. 255.

Similarly the words ह्वीः ; क्षामीः ; प्रस्तीमीः meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e. g. flowers &c; 'one who desires Vishnu'; and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined.

Note.—The word लून is the past participle of the root लू to cut; the *nishithā* त is changed to न by VIII. 2. 44. S. 3018. क्षाम is the past participle of the root क्षे to wane, the त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 53. S. 3032. Similarly प्रस्तीन is the past participle of the root हृन् to make noise, preceded by the preposition प्र The *nishithā* त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 54. S. 3034. The *Samprasāraṇa* takes place by VI. 1. 23.

The Nom. Sing. forms are लूनाः; क्षामीः; प्रस्तीमीः. In other cases their declension is like the word लुती &c., except the Abl. and Gen.; Sing. Here in these cases the words do not really end in खी and ती and therefore the rule VI. I. 112 S. 255. is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of लून and the म of क्षाम and प्रस्तीन are substitutes of त and as these are taught in the *Triṣaḍi*, namely the last three chapters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, therefore the न and म substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ adhyāyas. In other words these words are considered as लूती; क्षाती; प्रस्तीनी; and the rule VI. I. 112. S. 255 applying to them; we have the Abl.; and Genitive Sing. forms as लुन्तुः; क्षाम्तुः; प्रस्तीन्तुः ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word शुष्की, derived from the noun शुष्क through the derivative verb शुष्कीय with the affix क्तिप् is different. शुष्क is the past participle of the root शुष् where the *nishithā* त is changed to क by VIII. 2. 51. S. 3030. Thus the Nom. Sing. is शुष्कीः. The Nom. Dual and Pl. are शुष्कियाः; and शुष्कियः with the affix इयङ् by VI. 4. 77. S. 271 and not with यण् because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl. and Geni.; singular is शुष्कियः &c.,

Similarly पक्की is formed from the past participle पक्क where the *Nishithā* त is changed to क by VIII. 2. 52. S. 3031 after the root पच् 'to cook.'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

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संभुर्हरिवत् । एवं विष्णु वायु भान्वाहयः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in उ ॥ The declension of the word शम्भु is like that of हरि ॥ So also of विष्णु; वायु, भानु ॥

The declension of the word क्रौष्टु is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply.

२७४ । तृज्वत्क्रौष्टुः । ७ । १ । ६५ ॥

क्रौष्टुशब्दस्तृजन्तेन तुल्यं वर्तते असंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रौष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रौष्टुशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274. The word क्रौष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

Note.—The word क्रीड् is declined like क्रोष्ट् in the strong cases. As क्रोष्टी, क्रोष्टारौ, क्रोष्टारः, क्रोष्टारम्, क्रोष्टारौ ॥ But क्रीडन् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टी in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the कृच् affix, i. e. acute on the final. The word क्रीड् is formed by the affix कृन् (Un सितनिगमि &c, 1. 69).

The word क्रोष्ट् is treated as क्रोष्ट् and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in कृच् apply to it, viz, the following Sūtras.

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

ङौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे ऋन्ताङ्गस्य गुणः स्यात् । इति प्राति ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires क्रोष्ट् to be changed to क्रोष्टः, but this is prevented by the following.

२७६ । ऋदुशनस्पुसदंसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । ९४ ॥

ऋदन्तानादुशनसादीनां चानङ् स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anaṇ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, puru-dāśas, and aneḥas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अण्त्तुच्स्वसुनप्तुनेष्ट्वष्टृक्षत्तुहोत्पोत्प्रशास्तृणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । नप्चादिग्रहणं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेन पितृभ्रातृपञ्चतीतां न । उद्गातृशब्दश्चातु भवत्येव । समर्थसूत्रे उद्गातार इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । क्रोष्टा । क्रोष्टारौ । क्रोष्टारः । क्रोष्टारम् । क्रोष्टारौ । क्रोष्टारः ॥

277. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by कृन् and कृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होत्, पोत् and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नप्तृ &c., in this sūtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नप्तृ &c. be taken as derivative words formed with the affix कृन् or कृच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sūtra, because the word कृन् and कृच् of the sūtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unādi affixes कृन् and कृच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words पितृ भ्रातृ &c. But the word उद्गातृ is governed by this rule, because we find the उद्गातारः in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus we get the forms क्रोष्टा ; क्रोष्टारः ; क्रोष्टारम् ; क्रोष्टारौ ; क्रोष्टारः ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply:—

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वधि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा कृञ्चत् । क्रोष्टा । क्रोष्टे ॥

278. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्टौ or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टे, क्रोष्टेति or क्रोष्टे, क्रोष्ट्रेः or क्रोष्ट्रेः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes.

In forming the Abl. and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । ऋत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

ऋन्तात् ऋसिङ्सोरति परे उकार एकारेभ्यः स्यात् । एपरत्त्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Note:—Thus होतु + अस् = होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by र I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ+अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces two, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वप् ॥

१८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफासंयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । क्रोष्टुः । भामि परत्वाचूञ्चञ्चवे प्राप्ते ।
उभचिरचूञ्चञ्चवेभ्यो नुद् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । क्रोष्टुनाम् । क्रोष्टेति । क्रोष्ट्रेः । पक्षे हलादौ च शंभुवत् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus क्रोष्टु + अस् = क्रोष्टुस् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र is changed to visarga. Thus we get क्रोष्टुः Before the Gen. Pl. भाम्, क्रोष्टु requires to be treated as क्रोष्टु by VII. 1. 97. S. 278 but this is prevented by the following Vārt:—नुम् and नुद् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

मियक्रोष्टु will be मियक्रोष्टुने ऽप्याय, हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'क्रोष्टे ॥ Similarly with वुद्, as क्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टा; क्रोष्टाः &c.

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form.

Note:—The word क्रोष्टु is formed from the root कुश् 'to cry' or 'to call' with the affix तुन् by the Unādi I. 69. Similarly the word क्रोष्टृ is formed from the same root with the affix वृच् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i. e. 'a jackal'. But the word क्रोष्टु is defective in the first five cases, where क्रोष्टृ supplies the want.

. Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

—————:O:—————

हूहूः हूहौ । हूहः । हूहम् । हूहौ । हूहूनित्यादि । अतिचमृशब्दे तु नदीकार्ये विशेषः । हे अतिचमृ । अतिचम्वै । अतिचम्वः । अतिचम्वाम् । अतिचम्वाम् । खलपूः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long ऊ ॥ As हूहू (name of a celestial songster). The Nom. and Acc. forms are हूहूः ; हूहौ ; हूहः । हूहम् ; हूहौ ; हूहन् &c.

In declining the word अतिचमृ, the Nādi rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3, S, 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc. Sing. is therefore. हे अतिचमृ ॥ The Dat. Sing. is अतिचम्वै ; Abl. and Gen. singular अतिचम्वः ; Gens. Pl. अतिचम्वाम् ; Loc. Sing. अतिचम्वाम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खलपू ॥ The Nom. Sing. is खलपूः ।

In forming the Nom. Dual the following rule applies

२८१ । ओः सुपि । ६ । ४ । ८३ ॥

आत्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकावः ऽङ्गस्य यष् स्यादङ्गादौ सुपि । गतिकारकेतुर्वपदस्य यष् नेत्यते । खलप्यौ । खलप्य इत्यादि । एवं सुप्ताद्यः । अनेकावः किम् । हूः । लुवौ । लुवः । आत्ववयवेति किम् । उल्लूः । उल्लू । उल्लूः । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कदमुवौ । कदमुवः । गतीत्यादि किम् । परमलुवौ । सुपि किम् । लुलुवतु । स्वभूः । न भूभूमिभ्याम् ॥ स्वभुवौ । स्वभुवः ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper' :—d. खलप्यौ, pl. खलप्यः ; so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः, and सकृल्लूः dual सकृल्ल्यौ and सकृल्ल्यः ॥ But लुलुवतु and लुलुवः before tense-affixes (non—सुप्) ; लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उल्लूः ; उल्लूवौ ; लुवः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उत + लू = उल्लू ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कटभूः, कटभुवौ, कटभुवः । Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Kāraka? Observe. परमलूः, परमलुवौ ; परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a case-affix follows? Observe लुलुवतुः ॥

But the declension of the word स्वभू is not governed by this rule but by VI. 4 85. S. 273. Thus Nom: forms are स्वभूः ; स्वभुवौ ; स्वभुवः ॥ So also स्वयंभूः ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule.

२८२ । वर्षाभूश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्योवर्णस्य यण् स्यादचि सुप्ति । वर्षाभूवौ । वर्षाभूवः । दम्भवतीति दम्भूः । अन्वूदम्भूजम्भूकफेलूक-
कर्मभूविधिभूरिष्टुणादिसूत्रेण व्युत्पादितः । दम्भूवौ । दम्भवः । दम्भूम् । दम्भवौ । दम्भून् । शेषं ह्रस्वत् । दन्ति-
नान्ते हितार्थेऽयमे भुवः क्तिप् । दम्भूः । दन्कारपुनःपूर्वस्य भुवो यण् वत्तव्यः । दन्वौ । दन्व इत्यादि खल-
पूवत् । कारभौ । कारभवः । दीर्घपाठे तु कर एव कारः । स्वार्थिकः प्रज्ञाद्यण् । कारभौ । कारभवः । पुनर्भूयौ-
शिकः पुत्ति । पुनर्भावित्यादि । दम्भूकाराभूराभौ स्वयंभूवत् ॥

282. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभूवौ, वर्षाभवः ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273.

The words अन्वू, दम्भू, जम्भू, कफेलू, कर्मभू, विधिभू are Unādi formed words under Unādi sūtras I. 96. Thus कर्मभू: "an author" or "a reciter"; दम्भूः ; दम्भवः ; दम्भूम् ; दम्भवौ ; दम्भून्, The rest of the declensions is like those of ह्रस्व ॥ The word दम्भू is formed from the root दम्भ् with the affix ऊ (technically क्तु) ॥ But there is another word दन्भू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word दन् to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vārt:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when दन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू, as दन्वौ, दन्वः, पुनर्वौ, पुनर्वः काराभौ (काराभौ), काराभवः (काराभवः) ॥

In this vārtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करभू or कारभू (the meaning of both is the same, because कार is formed by the affix अण् without changing the sense, under sūtra V. 4. 38, S. 2106).

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns दम्भू and काराभू are declined like स्वयंभू ॥

Note:—According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in क्.

धाता । हे धातः । धातारौ । धातारः ॥ ऋवणन्नित्य णत्वे वाच्यम् * ॥ धातूणामित्यादि । एवं नञ्चादयः । उदात्तारौ । पितरौ । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नञ्चादिग्रहणस्य नियमार्यस्यान्न दीर्घः । पितरौ । पितरः पितरम् । पितरौ । शेषं धातुवत् : एवं ज्ञानातृभ्रात्रादयः । ना । नरौ । नरः । हे नः ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातृ. It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3. 110. S. 275 ; VII. 1. 94. S. 276., VI. 1. 111. S. 279. and VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus धाता; धातारौ; धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vartika :—After words ending in क्, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl : is धातूणां ॥

The declension of नञ्त् &c mentioned in VI. 4. 11. S. 277. is like धातृ ॥ So also that of उदात्त ॥

But the declension of पितृ is not like this. पितृ is a Uṇādi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Uṇādi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Uṇādi words, as रुद्धि words. Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of पितृ is governed by VII. 3. 110. S. 275, and the क् of पितृ is gupted. Thus Nom. Dual and Pl : are पितरौ; पितरः.

According to the second view, the word पितृ is considered to be formed with the affix कृन् and नृच् added to the root पा 'to protect' by Uṇādi sūtra II. 94. Then the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word नञ्त् as restricting the rule only to नञ्त् &c and not to पितृ. Therefore, we never have पितारौ but always पितरौ. Thus पितार, पितरौ, पितरः ; पितरम्, पितरौ. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातृ. The words ज्ञानातृ, भ्रातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	Nom	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धात्रा	धात्रे	धातुः	धातुः	धातरि
Dual	धातारौ	धातारौ	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धात्राः	धात्रोः
Plural	धातारः	धातून्	धातृभिः	धातृभ्यः	धातृभ्यः	धातूणाम्	धातृषु

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Sing	पिता	पितरं	पित्रा	पित्रे	पितुः	पितुः	पितरि
Dual	पितरौ	पतरौ	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पित्रोः	पित्रोः
Plural	पितरः	पितून्	पितृभिः	पितृभ्यः	पितृभ्यः	पितृणां	पितृषु

The declension of the Noun नृ is ना, नरौ, नरः The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following rule.

२८३। नृ च । ६। ४। ६ ॥

नृ इत्येतस्य नामि वा दीर्घः स्यात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As एवं नृणां नृपते, and एवं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short ऋ ॥

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Declension of masculines ending in long कृ ॥

कृ नृ अनयोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिवदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादित्ये रपरस्वम् । कीः । किरौ । किरः । तीः । तिरौ । तिरः इत्यादि गीर्वत् । इत्वाभावपक्षे तु ऋदुशान इति ऋतो ङीति च तपरकरणा-
दनङ्गुणौ न । कृः । क्रौ । क्रः । कृम् । क्रौ । कृन् । का । क्र इत्यादि ॥

कृ and नृ are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कृ and नृ ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कृ and नृ on the following maxim. *Paribhāṣā*:—"An imitative name is like original." Therefore the rule VII. 1. 100 S. 2390. read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words. Thus we have किर् and निर् as bases. Therefore the Nom. forms are कीः ; किरौ, किरः ; तीः, तिरौ, तिरः ; These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as गिर् ॥

The above *Paribhāṣā* is, however, optional and the इर् substitution may not take place. In that case, the rules VII. 3. 110 S. 275 and VII. 1. 95. S. 276 requiring the guṇation and अनङ्ग substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short ऋ as the word ऋत् in those sūtras shows, for the indicatory नृ shows that the short ऋ is to be taken (see I. 1. 70 S. 15). Therefore, the declension of these words is कृः, क्रौ, क्रः ; कृम्, क्रौ ; कृन् ; का, क्रे etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long कृ ॥

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Declension of Nouns ending in लृ ॥

गम्ल् शक्ल अनयोरनुकरणेऽनङ् । गमा । शका गुणविषये तु लपरस्वम् । गमलौ । गमलः । गमलम् । गमलौ । गमलून् । गम्ला । गम्ले । ङसिङ्सोऽस्तु ऋत उदिद्युष्वे लपरस्वे संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । गम्लृ । शक्लृ । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्ल् and शक्ल् the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्ल् 'to go' and शक्ल् 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have अनङ् by VII. 1. 94. S. 276, as गमा, शका ॥ In the other strong cases, we have guṇa by VII. 3. 110 S. 275, as गमलौ ; गमलः ; गमलम्, गमलौ, गमलून् ; गम्ला ; गम्ले ॥

In Abl. and Gen: singular, the sūtra VI. 1. 111. S. 279 and I. 1. 51. S. 70 will apply. Therefore, the लृ+अ of the affix will be changed to इ followed by लृ॥ Thus we have गम्हृ+अल्=गम्हृलृ+स्॥ The स् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have गम्हृलृ॥ So also गम्हृलृ &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in लृ॥

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सेः । सयौ । सयः । स्मृतेः । स्मृतयौ । स्मृतयः ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से॥ This word is thus formed; स+इ=सेः or स+ई=सेः॥ The short इ is the name of Kāma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word अ meaning Vishnu with the अवस्य affix इ meaning the son of अ॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of अ, namely the wife of Vishnu. से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kāma' or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi.' Therefore, the word से is declined as से, सयौ सयः॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kāma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nishthā* is placed first in this Bahu-vr̥thi compound by II. 2. 36 S. 89). Thus we get स्मृतेः, स्मृतयौ, स्मृतयः॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए॥

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । गोतो जित् । ७ । १ । ६० ॥

गोसङ्गात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं जित्वा स्यात् । गोः । गावौ । गावः ॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are शिव after गो॥

That is, these affixes produce all the जित् operations: such as Vridhhi &c. As गोः, गावौ, गावः॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in शिवगुः, शिवलगुः॥

Note:—How do you explain the forms हे शिवगो, हे शिवलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनरवृत्तावधि निहितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angādhikāra VI, 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Gūpa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3, 108-109, the जित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakshanā Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation); and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow'" While in चित्रगु, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another object, namely to a 'person' who possesses brindled cows. तू in गातू in this view is for specification only.

२८५ । औतोऽमशसोः । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

आ औत इति छेदः । ओकारादम्शसोरादि परं आकार एकादेशः स्यात् । शसो साहचर्यात्सुबिधम् गृह्यते । नेह । अचिनवम् । असुनवम् । गाम् । गावौ । गाः । गवा । गवे । गोः । इत्यादि । औतो णिदिति वाच्यम् । विहिनविशेषणं च । तन । सुद्यौः । सुद्यावौ । सुद्यावः । ओकारान्ताद्विहितं सर्वनामस्थानमिति व्याख्यानान्नह । हे भानो । हे भानवः । उः शंसुः स्मृतो येन सः, स्मृतौ । स्मृतावौ । स्मृतावः । स्मृताम् । स्मृतावौ । स्मृताः । इत्यादि ॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word औतः is a compound of आ+औतः ॥ Thus गा+अम्,=गाम्, गो+अस्=गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्यः ॥ This debars the Vṛddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also द्यौं or द्याः पश्य; as the word द्यौ is also a nominal stem ending in औ ॥ The Sārvanāmsthāna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस् and as the word सुप् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गावौ; गाः; गवा; गवे; गोः etc.

Vārtika:—The sūtra VII. 1. 90 S. 284 should be read as औतोऽणित् meaning the ending of strong cases are णित् after bases ending in औ ॥

Vārtika:—And the endings are णित् after those bases only which have औ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यौ is declined as सुद्यौः; सुद्यावौ, सुद्यावः ॥

Some read the sūtra as औतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यौ also: as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः ॥ If the reading be taken औतः, then we extend this rule to द्यौ also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in औ; and this is done by the letter त् in औतः, for the सपर rule applies to letters, and not to words, so that औतः means and includes words ending in औ ॥

The Sarva-nāma sthāna affixes are णित् only after original bases ending in औ and not after a derivative base ending in औ ॥ Therefore the Sarvanama sthāna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णित्, because the औ here is derivative. Therefore हे भानो, हे भानवः ॥

Similarly, the word स्मृतौ formed from स्मृत+उ meaning 'he wh

remembers उ or संभु', is declined as स्मृतौ, स्मृतावौ, स्मृतावः; स्मृतान्, स्मृतावौ; स्मृताः etc.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

—:O:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ.

We take the word रै (wealth).

२८६ । रायौ हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

रैशब्दस्याकारान्तादेशः स्याद्दलि विभक्तौ । अयि आयादेशः । राः । रायौ । रायः । रायम् । रायौ । रायः । राया । राभ्यामित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the ऐ of रै is changed to आय् by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus राः, रायौ, रायः; रायम्, रायौ, रायः; राया, राभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

—:O:—

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौ । ग्लावौ ग्लावः । ग्लावम् । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । इत्यादि । औतोऽम्बासोरितीह न प्रवर्तते । ऐऔजिति सूत्रेण औवौतोः सावर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word ग्लौ. It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः, ग्लावम्, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः etc.

The sutra VI. 1. 93. S. 285 applied only to bases ending in ओ and not to those which end in औ. Because ओ and औ are not savarna letters, a fact which we learn from Panini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sūtras ए ओङ् and ऐ औच्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

—:O:—

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायं	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखायौ	सखायौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखायौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=सुसखा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सुसखा	सुसखायं	सुसखिना	सुसख्ये	सुसखेः	सुसखेः	सुसखौ	सुसखे
Dual	सुसखायौ	सुसखायौ	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखयोः	सुसखयोः	सुसखायौ
Plural	सुसखायः	सुसखीन्	सुसखिभिः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखीनाम्	सुसखिषु	सुसखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्या	पत्ये	पत्युः	पत्युः	पत्यौ	हे पते
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	पतिभ्याम्	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्योः	पती
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभिः	पतिभ्यः	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Ab.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपतिम्	भूपतिना	भूपत्ये	भूपतेः	भूपतेः	भूपती	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपत्योः	भूपत्योः	भूपती
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतीन्	भूपतिभिः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपतिषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्यः	कतीनाम्	कतिषु ॥

त्रि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीम्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वभ्याम्	द्वो	द्वो	द्वयोः	द्वयोः

अतिद्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विना	अतिद्व्ये	अतिद्वेः	अतिद्वेः	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्व्योः	अतिद्व्योः
Plural	अतिद्वयः	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभिः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Si	औडुलोमिः	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमये	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमे
D.	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोम्योः	औडुलोम्योः	औडुलोमी
P.	उडुलोमाः	उडुलोमान्	उडुलोमैः	उडुलोम्येभ्यः	उडुलोम्येभ्यः	उडुलोमानाम्	उडुलोमेषु	उडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	वातप्रमीः	वातप्रमीम्	वातप्रम्या	वातप्रम्ये	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमी	हे वातप्रमीः
		or					or	
		वातप्रम्यम् ;					वातप्रम्यम् ;	
Dual	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्योः	"
Plural	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रम्यैः	वातप्रमीभिः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रम्याम्	वातप्रम्येषु	"
		or						
		वातप्रम्यः						

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Si.	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसि	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्याम्
D.	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यां	"	"	बहुश्रेयस्योः	"
P.	बहुश्रेयस्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	अतिलक्ष्मीः	हे अनिलक्ष्मि	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्याम्
D	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	"	"	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यः	"	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nomi	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	"	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्योः	"	"
Plural	कुमार्यः	"	कुमारीभ्यः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीनाम्	कुमारीषु	"	"

प्रधी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	प्रधीः	प्रध्यम्	प्रध्या	प्रध्ये	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीः
Dual	प्रध्यौ	प्रध्यौ	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रध्योः	प्रध्या	प्रध्यौ
Plural	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीषु	प्रध्यः

उन्नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	उन्नीः	उन्न्यम्	उन्नया	उन्नये	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीः
Dual	उन्न्यौ	उन्न्यौ	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्न्योः	उन्नयोः	उन्न्यौ
Plural	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्नीभिः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीषु	उन्न्यः

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीः
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्याः	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्यौ
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्यः

नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	नियः	नियः	नियाम्	नीः
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्यां	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियोः	नियोः	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	नियः

Sing	सुत्नीः	सुत्न्यम्	सुत्नया					
Dual	सुत्न्यौ	सुत्न्यौ						
Plural	सुत्न्यः	सुत्न्यः	like	प्रधीः				

शंभु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	शंभुः	शंभुम्	शंभुना	शंभवे	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभो
Dual	शंभू	शंभू	शंभुभ्याम्	शंभुभ्यां	शंभुभ्यां	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभू
Plural	शंभवः	शंभूम्	शंभुभिः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभूनाम्	शंभुषु	शंभवः

क्रोष्टु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टाम्	क्रोष्टा क्रोष्टुना	क्रोष्टे क्रोष्टवे	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टरि क्रोष्टौ
Dual	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्ट्राः	क्रोष्ट्राः
Plural	क्रोष्टारः	क्रोष्टूम्	क्रोष्टुभिः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टूनां	क्रोष्टुषु

हृहृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हृहृः	हृहृम्	हृह्रा	हृह्रे	हृह्रः	हृह्रः	हृह्रः
Dual	हृह्रौ	हृह्रौ	हृह्र्याम्	हृह्र्यां	हृह्र्यां	हृह्राः	हृह्राः
Plural	हृह्रः	हृह्रः	हृह्रभिः	हृह्रभ्यः	हृह्रभ्यः	हृह्र्याम्	हृह्रषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Singular	खलपूः	खलप्यम्	खलप्या	खलप्ये	खलप्यः	खलप्यः	खलप्यि
Dual	खलप्यौ	खलप्यौ	खलप्यभ्यां	खलप्यभ्यां	खलप्यभ्याम्	खलप्योः	खलप्यौ
Plural	खलप्यः	खलप्यः	खलप्यभिः	खलप्यभ्यः	खलप्यभ्यः	खलप्यां	खलप्युः

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	स्वभूः	स्वभुपम्	स्वभुवा	स्वभुवे	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवि
Dual	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुवभ्यां	स्वभुवभ्यां	स्वभुवभ्याम्	स्वभुवोः	स्वभुवौ
Plural	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवः	स्वभुभिः	स्वभुभ्यः	स्वभुभ्यः	स्वभुवां	स्वभुवुः
Singular	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वा	वर्षाभ्वे	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वि
Dual	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वोः	वर्षाभ्वौ
Plural	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वभिः	वर्षाभ्वभ्यः	वर्षाभ्वभ्यः	वर्षाभ्वान्	वर्षाभ्वुः

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	नरा	नरम्	नरा	नरे	नरः	नरः	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नरभ्यां	नरभ्यां	नरभ्याम्	नरोः	नरौ
Plural	नरा	नरम्	नरभिः	नरभ्यः	नरभ्यः	„	नरुः

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कीः	किरम्	किरा	किरे	किरः	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीर्याभ्याम्	कीर्याभ्याम्	कीर्याभ्याम्	किरोः	किरौ
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीर्यभिः	कीर्यभ्यः	कीर्यभ्यः	किरान्	कीर्युः

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृः	कृम्	का	के	कः	कः	कि
Dual	क्रौ	क्रौ	कृभ्यां	कृभ्यां	कृभ्याम्	क्रौः	क्रौः
Plural	कः	कृम्	कृभिः	कृभ्यः	कृभ्यः	क्राम्	कृषु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गमा	गमलम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गम्लृ	गम्लृ	गमलि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गम्लभ्याम्	„	गम्लोः	गम्लोः	गमलौ
Plural	गमलः	गम्लम्	गम्लभिः	गम्लभ्यः	„	गम्लान् or गम्लभ्याम्	गम्लुः

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सयम्	सया	सये	सयः	सयः	सयि
Dual	सयौ	सयौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सयोः	सयोः
Plural	सयः	सयः	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सयाम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गौः	गाय्	गवा	गवे	गोः	गोः	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाः	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गावु व ग्

स्मृतो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	स्मृतोः	स्मृताय्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतागौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृतयोः	स्मृतयोः
Plural	स्मृतावः	स्मृताः	स्मृताभिः	स्मृताभ्यः	स्मृताभ्यः	स्मृतवाम्	स्मृतोषु

रे

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	राः	रायम्	राया	राये	रायः	रायः	रायि
Dual	रायौ	रायौ	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	रायोः	रायोः
Plural	रायः	रायः	राभिः	राभ्यः	राभ्यः	रायाम्	रायु

ग्लौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	ग्लौः	ग्लाव्	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लायः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावोः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लौषु

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX.

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS.

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा. (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix ङाप्) The Nom. Sing is रमा The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In forming the Nom : and Acc : Dual the following rule applies:—

२८७ । औङ् आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

भावन्तादङ्गात्परस्यौङः स्त्री स्यात् । औङिख्यौकारविभक्तेः संज्ञा । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix ङा, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

The इ in औङ् is for the purpose of including औङ् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pāṇini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + स्त्री = रमे ॥

The Pl : will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sūtra.

२८८ । संखुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

भाष एकारः स्यात्संखुद्धौ । एङ्ङस्त्वावेति संखुद्धिलोपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमा । रमाय । रमे । रमाः । स्त्रीस्वात्त्रयाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + सु = रमे + सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus Voc : Sing. Dual and Pl : are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively.

The Acc : forms are रमाय ; रमे ; रमाः ॥ The न is not added in the Acc : Pl : because it is feminine. The rule VI. 1. 193. S. 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns.

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies.

२८९ । आङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि धीति च परे भावन्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमया । रमाभ्याम् । रमाभिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings ओस् and before ङा of

the Instrumental, **ए** is substituted for the final **आ** of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix **ङ**, the Ins. Sing. by the ancient grammarians.

Thus **रमा + टा = रमे + आ = रमया** ॥ The Instr. dual and Pl. forms are **रमाभ्याम् रमाभिः** ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sūtra applies :—

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

आपः परस्य ङिङ्चनस्य याडागमः स्यात् । ङङिरेषि । रमाये । सर्वर्षदीधिः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमासु । एव दुर्गादयः ॥

290. The augment **याद्** is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in **आ** ॥

Thus **रमा + ङे = रमायाद् + ङे = रमाया + ए = रमाये** according to VI. 1. 88. S. 72.

The Abl. and Gen. Singulars are thus formed :—**रमा + ङसि = रमा + याद् + ङसि = रमाया + अस = रमायाः** ॥

The Gen. and Loc. dual **रमयोः** is formed as follows **रमा + ओस् = रमे + ओस्** (VII. 3. 105 S. 289) = **रमयोः** ॥

The Gen. Pl. is **रमाणाम्** (**न्** being added by VII. 1. 54. S. 208).

The Loc. Sing. **रमायाम्** is formed according to VII. 3. 116. S. 270. Thus **रमा + याद् + ङि = रमा + याद् + आम् = रमायाम्** ॥

The Loc. dual and Pl. are **रमयोः** and **रमासु** ॥ The Feminine Nouns **हुंगा** &c. are to be similarly declined.

—————:o:—————

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun **सर्वा** ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like **रमा** ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply :—

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्ङस्वश्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आबन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य ङितः स्याद् स्यादापश्च ङस्वः । याटोऽपवावः । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः २ । एकविंशस्य पूर्वान्तत्वेन षष्ठ्यादामि सर्वनाम्न इति छुद् । सर्वासाम् । सर्वस्याम् । सवयोः । सर्वासु । एवं विश्वाद्य आचन्तः ॥

291. After a Pronominal stem ending in long **आ** of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. receive the augment **स्याद्** and the **आ** of the stem is shortened.

As **सर्वस्यै**. **विश्वस्यै**. **यस्यै** **तस्यै**, **कस्यै**, **भवत्यै** **भवत्याः**, **सर्वस्याः**, **विश्वस्याः**, **यस्याः** **तस्याः**, **कस्या**, **अन्यस्यै** **अन्यस्याः** ॥

But अमुष्ये where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine

This debars the augment दाद् Thus Dat: Sing is formed as follows.
सर्वा + स्याद् + डे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्ये ॥

Similarly the Abl: and Gen: Singular सर्वस्याः is formed.

in Gen: Pl: सुद् is added by VII. 8. 52 S. 217. Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वानाम्, for the ekâdes'a आ of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S. 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen: Pl: सर्वाणाम् ॥

The Loc: Sing is thus formed सर्वा + डि = सर्व + स्या + ञाम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc: Dual and Pl: forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in आ like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्समासे बह्व्रीहो । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनामना वा स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । विज्ञानान्यन्तराले इति प्रतिपयोक्तस्य दिक्समासस्य महान्नेह । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्या उन्मुखायास्तस्यै उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । बह्व्रीहिमहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै शालाये । बाह्याये इत्यर्थः । अपुरस्तिक्तोर्नेह । अन्तराये नगरे ॥

292. The Sarvanâma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥ The Bahuvrîhi compound specifically taught in II. 2. 26. S. 845 and not every other bahuvrîhi. Therefore when the word उत्तरा or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrîhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanâma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वस्यै and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बह्व्रीहि is used in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra would have referred to Bahuvrîhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrîhi in it.

The word अन्तरा is a Sarvanâma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै शालाये meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes a city' it is not a sarvanâma and therefore its declension will be अन्तराये नगरे (See Vārtika under sūtra VII. 1. 52 S. 217).

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the द्विन् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । विभाषा द्वितीया तृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां द्वित् स्याद् स्यादापच द्वस्वः । इदं सूत्रं स्वस्तु वाच्यम् । तृतीयस्य द्वित्वपसंख्यानान् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयाय । द्वितीयायाः । द्वितीयायाम् । द्वितीयायां वाचं रमावत् । एवं तृतीया ॥ अम्भार्थनद्योर्द्वस्वः ॥ हे अम्ब । हे अक्क । हे अल्ल ॥ असंयुक्ता ये डलकात्तद्वातां द्वस्वो न ॥ हे अम्बाडि । हे अम्बालि । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । श्रीभावात्परत्वाज्जरस् । आनि नुटः परत्वाज्जरस् । जरसामित्यादि । पक्षे हलाक्षे च रमावत् । इह पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन श्रीभावं कृत्वा संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यतां चाश्रित्य जरसी इति केचिद्विशुद्धास्त्रिमूलम् । यद्यपि जरसविशेषस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाबन्ततामाश्रित्य । औङ् भापः । आङि च्यापः । याङापः । ह्रस्वनद्यापः । ङेराप् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एवं नस्निष्पृष्टु । तथाप्यनस्विधाविशुद्धिर्न भवन्ति । आ आबिति प्रभिलक्ष्य आकाररूपस्यैवाऽऽपः सर्वत्र ग्रहणात् । एवं ह्रस्वपादिसूत्रेऽपि आ आप् ङी ई इति प्रभेदावतिष्ठद्भुः निष्कौशाश्रित्यादिसिद्धेर्धर्मग्रहणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नक्षेत्रमप्यतिथ्यद्वायत्यत्र स्वाश्रयमाकारत्वं स्थानिवद्भावेनाप्ये चाश्रित्य याद् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आबन्तं यदङ्गं ततः परस्य याङ् विधानात् । उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्यये तद्वदिनियमात् । पङ्ग इति नासिकाया नस् । नसः । नसा । नोभ्यामित्यादि । पक्षे छुटि च रमावत् । निशाया निष् । निशः । निशा ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयाय; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः द्वितीयस्याम् or द्वितीयायाम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्बा ॥

According to VII, 3, 103, S. 267, the Voc. Sing is हे अम्ब ॥ So also हे अल्ल ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ड, ल and क is not shortened. Thus हे अम्बाडि; हे अम्बालि; हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar. Thus Nom. Sg. जरा + सु = जरा; Nom. Dual. जरा + औ = जरसौ; जरा is replaced by जरस् (VII. 2. 101 S. 227) before the sūtra स्त्री (VII. 1. 18. S. 287) could be applied. In Gen. : Pl: जरस् substitution takes place before the augment नुट् could be added; hence जरताम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसी; their reason is that स्त्री will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhāṣhā is as follows :—

संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य i. e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

argument however is incorrect for the form जरसी is nowhere to be found. Ques. जरस् replacing जर may be considered as like जर by the rule of स्थानिवश्चेष्टा (I. 1. 56. S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18. S. 287. VII. 3. 105. S. 289. VII. 3. 113. S. 290; VII. S. 208; VII. 3. 116 S. 270. apply to जर ॥ Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका; निश् the substitute of निशा, वृत् the substitute of वृत्तना 'an army'. (See VI. 1. 64 S. 2264).

Answer. No, for the स्थानिवत् rule does not apply in cases of आस्विधि ॥ For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आप्, डी should be construed as compounded of आ + आप् = आप् and डी + ई = डी; that is those Feminine words in आप् and डी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई ॥ For the same reason, the forms अतिखट् and निष्काशाम्ब are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ ॥ Similarly the Dative of अतिखट् will be अतिखट्वाय ॥ Here also the augment याद् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नसः; Instr: Sg. नसा &c. when this substitution does not take place नासिका is declined like रमा ॥ Similarly निश् is declined. But before the affixes भ्याम् &c. the न् is changed to ह् by the following rule.

२९४ । ब्रश्चभ्रस्जस्जम्जयजराजभ्राजच्छशौ षः । ८ । २ । ३६ ॥

ब्रभावीनां सप्तानां छशान्तयोश्च षकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याज्जाले पशान्ते च । अस्य जदत्वेन ङकारः । निङ्भ्याम् । निङ्भिः । सुपि ङः सीति षेष्ठे धुद् । चर्षम् । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चया द्वितीया इति दत्तमाष्टमौ न । न पशान्ताहोतिरिति दुष्वं न । निद्वि । निद्वि ॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, spij mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष before jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus ब्रद्वः—ब्रष्टा, ब्रष्टुम्, ब्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानावृद् । सूज् । जहा । जह्वुम् । रज्जुवृद् । यज । यार्हा । मार्षुम् । मार्षव्यम् । कंसवरिवृद् । यज । यष्टा । यष्टुम् । षष्टव्यम् । उपयद् । राश् । सम्राट् । स्वराट्, विराट्, विभ्राट् ॥

Thus निश् + भ्याम् = निष् + भ्याम् = निङ्भ्याम्, निङ्भिः ॥ By VIII. 3. 29. S. 131, there is an optional augment ह् before the Loc. Pl: सुप्; then this ह् is changed to द् and ध् to त् ॥ This last substitution being considered as *asiddha* because it is a चिपादि rule, the द् and त् are not changed to द् and थ as will be required by *Vārtika* under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4. 42. S. 114. apply. Thus we get, निद्वि or निद्वि ॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षढोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१ ॥

षस्य ढस्य च कः स्यात्सकारे परे। इति तु न भवति। जडत्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु ब्रह्मा-
विस्तुने शविर्धातोरिति सूत्राद्धातोर्दित्यनुवर्तयन्ति। तन्मते जडत्वेन जकारि। निङ्भ्याम्। निङिभः। जडत्व-
म्। इत्तुत्वम्। चर्त्त्वम्। निचु। चोः कुरिति कुत्वं तु न भवति। जडत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् ॥ मांसपूतनासाचूनां
मांसपूतनो वाच्याः सासादा वा * ॥ पूतः। पूता। पूज्याम्। पक्षे सुदि च समावत्। गोपा विश्वपावत्।
मतिः प्रायेण हरिवत्। स्त्रीस्वान्नत्वाभावः। मतीः ॥ नात्यं न मत्या ॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Therefore निङ्+सु (Loc. Pl.)=निष्+सु=निङ्+सु=निक्+सु=But the application of this rule would be wrong, for the जश् rule is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sûtra by confining it to roots only, they read the anuvritti of धातोः in that Sûtra from the previous Sûtra, VIII. 2. 32 S. 325. According to them, there will be ज. when जश् rule is applied. Thus निङ्भ्याम्; निङिभः। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of ष and so निङ्+भ्याम् is changed to निङ्+भ्याम्, Therefore, according to them, the Loc. Pl. will be निङ्+सु=निङ्+सु=निङ्+सु=निच्+सु, The ष is not changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30 S. 378, because the जश् substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vārṇika. Before the affixes of the Acc. Pl. and the rest the words मांस, पूतना and सातु are optionally replaced by मांस, पूत and स्तु.

Therefore Acc. Pl. of पूत will be पूतः; Instr: Sg. पूता; Instr - Dual पूद्भ्याम्. In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflectional cases पूतना is declined like रमा The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपाः ॥

The Feminine मतिः is declined like हरि except in the following cases :— The Acc. Pl. is मतीः; there is no न because it is Feminine. Similarly the Instr: Sg. is मत्या and not मतिना because VII. 3 120. S. 244. does not apply to Feminine nouns.

Before the डित् affixes, मात is governed by the following rule.

२९६। डिति ह्रस्वश्च। १। ४। ६ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दमित्रौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीवृत्तौ ह्रस्वौ च इउवर्णौ स्त्रियां वा नरी संज्ञौ स्तौ डिति परे ॥ भाण् नद्याः ॥ मत्यै। मतये। मत्याः। मतेः। नदीस्त्वपक्ष औहिति डेरौस्त्वे प्राप्ते ॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ण (ṇit) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long ण् and ण् which admit of iyaṇ and uvaṇ; but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long ण् and ण् have been defined as nadi, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take iyañ and uvañ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory in are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मत्वे or मत्वे, धनवे or धनै, श्रिये or श्रियै ; Ablative and Genitive मते or मत्वाः, धेनो, or धेन्वाः, श्रियः or श्रियाः ; Locative मतो or मत्वाम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां, श्रिये or श्रियां ॥ So also भुवे or भुवे &c. But stri is always स्त्रियै &c.

When the word नति is treated as a Nadi word, then the Loc. Sg. requires नौ by VII. 3. 118, S. 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुङ्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

नवीसंज्ञकाभ्यामिदुङ्भ्यां परस्य डेराम् स्यात् । पक्षे भव्ये । मत्वाम् । मतो । एवं भुतिस्त्व्यादयः ॥

297. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a वि word and rule VII. 3. 19 S. 247 applies. Thus Loc. Sg. is मत्वाम् or मतो.

The words भुति, स्थिति &c. are declined like नति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in क् like तिसृ, and चतसृ the feminine of त्रि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sūtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ । ७ । २ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतावादेशौ स्तो विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिसृचतसृ एतयोर्ककारस्य रेफादेशः स्यादचि । गुणदीर्घोऽनानामपवादः । तिस्रः २ । णामि प्रवर्चिरेति उद् ।

299. र् is substituted for the क् of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

In the Genitive there is the augment इद् under Vārtika VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिसृ + इद् + आम् = तिसृ + नाम्. Here the Sūtra VI. 4. 3. S. 209. requires the lengthening of the क् but it is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयानामि द्वीर्घो न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति त्रिचतुरोर्विशेषणाज्ज्ञे । प्रियास्त्रि-
यस्त्रीणि वा यस्याः सा प्रियत्रिः मतिवत् । आमि तु प्रियत्रयाणामिति विशेषः । प्रियास्त्रिसौ यस्य स इति
विभक्ते तु प्रियनिसा । प्रियतिसौ । प्रियतिस्रः । प्रियतिस्रमित्यादि । प्रियास्त्रिसौ यस्य तत्कुल प्रियत्रि । स्वमो-
लुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावात् तिस्रदिशः । न लुप्ततेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेष्टात्
पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियतिसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु वक्ष्यमाणपुंवङ्गाविकल्पात्पर्यायेण नुम्भावौ ।
प्रियतिस्रा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । द्वेस्त्वे सत्यात् ॥ २ ॥ द्व्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । गौरी । गौर्यौ । गौर्यः ।
नदीकार्थम् । हे गौरि । गौर्ये इत्यादि । एवं वाणीनद्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणादनाङ्
णिङ्कार्थे च प्रति ॥ निभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यः इत्यादि गौरिवत् । भक्ष्यन्तस्यान
सुन्नेपः । लक्ष्मीः । शयं गौरीवत् । एवं तरीतन्त्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc. Pl. is तिसृषु.

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्रयास्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brāhmaṇi to whom three are beloved,' dual. प्रियत्राः, Pl. प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः ॥ The word प्रियत्रि will be declined like मति. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will प्रियत्रियाणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्त्रिसौ ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियतिसौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥

If the compound is analysed as प्रिया तिस्रौ यस्य तत्कुलं, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be प्रियत्रि. Here the Nom. and Acc. case endings सु and अम् are elided by VII. 1. 23 S. 319 by using the word लुक्. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षणं (See I. 1. 63. S. 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom. and Acc. Singular will be प्रियतिसृ. The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following Vārtika:—

Vārtika:—The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 S. 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment नुम् by VII. 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are प्रियतिसृणी and प्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally नुम् or the र् substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus प्रियतिस्रा or प्रियतिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun द्वि. The इ of द्वि is replaced by ञ according to Sūtra VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it assumes the form ञ्. To this is added the Feminine affix ञाप् and thus we get the form द्वि. It is always Dual and is declined as द्वे; द्वे; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वयोः; द्वयोः।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun गौरी. Its Nominative: forms are गौरी; गौर्यौ; गौर्यः। Its Voc. is हे गौरी according to VII. 3. 107 S. 267. Its Dat: will be गौर्ये by VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VI. 1. 90 S. 269.

The Feminine Nouns बाणी and नदा &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of the Fem: Noun सखी. There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix ञानङ् under Sūtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as ञित् by VII. 1. 92. S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prātipadika form सखी, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun सखी when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a Vibhakti is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following.

Paribhāṣā :—"A Prātipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika before a case-termination after the Prātipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prātipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom. forms of सखी are सखी; सख्यौ; सख्यः. The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

—o—

Now we take up the declension of लक्ष्मी. As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix ई, therefore the Nom: Singular affix सु will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI. 1. 68 S. 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix ई. The word लक्ष्मी is an Unādi formed word. The long ई is not a Feminine affix. Thus Nom. Sing. is लक्ष्मीः॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

So are the words त्वरी, त्वन्नी &c. declined.

Note :—Some consider the लक्ष्मी to be formed by the *Vartika* कृदिकारावन्तिनः under IV. 1. 45. S. 503, the affix डीप् is added to every कृदन्त word ending in इ or ई with the exception of the affix क्ति. According to this view, लक्ष्मी, त्वरी &c. are डीप् formed, and so the Nom: Sing affix will be elided after them.

—o—

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun : स्त्री. Its Nom Sg. is स्त्री. Its Vocative Sg. is हे स्त्री.

In forming the Nom : Dual and Pl : the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् स्याद्भावे प्रत्यये पर । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः ॥

In the Acc : Dual and Pl : the following rule gives options as regard the इयङ् *ādesa*.

३०२ । वाग्शसोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अभि शसि च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । स्त्रियः । स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परत्वान्तुद् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियमनिक्रान्तः अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

गुणनाभावौत्वनुद्भिः परत्वात्पुंसि बाध्यते । क्लीबे तुमा च स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् इत्यवधार्यताम् ॥

जसि च ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । ह अतिस्त्रे । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रियः ॥ वाग्शसोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रिम् । अतिस्त्रियौ । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीन् । अतिस्त्रिणा ॥ घेर्ङिति ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अद्य घेः ॥ अतिस्त्री अतिस्त्रियोः ॥

भोस्यौकारे च नित्यं स्याद्वाग्शसोस्तु विभाषया । इयङ्शोऽपि नान्यत्र स्त्रियाः पुंस्युपसर्जने ॥

क्लीबे तु तुम् । अतिस्त्रि । अतिस्त्रिणी । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । उपभृतावभावे वक्ष्यमाणपुंवङ्गावाप्तये प्राप्त्वहूपम् । अतिस्त्रये or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिणः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रिणो २ । अतिस्त्रियोरित्यादि । स्त्रियां तु प्रायेण पुंवत् । शसि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । डिति ह्रस्वभेति ह्रस्वान्तत्वम्युक्तो विकल्पः । अस्त्रीति तु इयङ् इत्यानामित्यस्यैव पर्युदासः । तत्संबद्धस्यैवानुवृत्तेर्द्विर्घस्यायं निषेधो नतु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् । अतिस्त्री । श्रीः । भ्रियौ । भ्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम् ; स्त्रियः or स्त्रीः

The Instr: Sing is स्त्रिया; Dat: Sing स्त्रियै. Abl: and Gen: Sing: स्त्रिया; ; Gen: Dual स्त्रियोः Gen: Pl. is formed by the addition of नुद् to the exclusion of इयङ्, because नद् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम्. The Loc. forms are स्त्रियाम्; स्त्रियोः; स्त्रीषु.

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom. Sing. is अतिस्त्रि; Dual अतिस्त्रियौ.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII. 3. 109, S. 241; VII. 3. 111 S. 245.); the ना substitution in the Instr: (VII. 3. 120, S. 244); the औ substitution (VII. 3. 119 S. 247)

and the **नुम्** augment (VII. 1. 54. S. 208) In the Neuter the **नुम्** being subsequent replaces the **इयङ्**.

Thus the rule 'असिच' gives us the form **अतिस्त्रियः**. The Voc forms are **हे अतिस्त्रिये**; **हे अतिस्त्रियौ**; **हे अतिस्त्रियः**. The Acc. forms are **अतिस्त्रियम्** or **अतिस्त्रियः**; **अतिस्त्रियौ**; **अतिस्त्रियः** or **अतिस्त्रीन्**. The Instr. Sing is **अतिस्त्रिणा**. The Dat. Sing is **अतिस्त्रये** (with the **गुण**, according to VII. 3. 111. S. 245). The Abl. Sing. is **अतिस्त्रे**; The genitive forms are **अतिस्त्रे**; **अतिस्त्रियोः**; **अतिस्त्रिणाम्**. The Loc. Sing. is **अतिस्त्रौ** formed by **अश्च वे**: (VII. 3. 119. S. 247) The Loc. Dual is **अतिस्त्रियोः**.

Verse :—The **इयङ्** substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen. and Loc. Duals (Viz. **औस्**) also the Nom. and Acc. Duals (**भौ**) and optionally before the Acc. Sing. and Pl. **भम्** and **भस्** and nowhere else when the **स्त्री** becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound **अतिस्त्रि** denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows :—Nom. and Acc. forms are **अतिस्त्रि**; **अतिस्त्रिणी**; **अतिस्त्रीणि**. The augment **नुम्** is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S. 314 and 320 The Instr. Sing : is **अतिस्त्रिणा**; VII. 1. 73. In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1. 74 S. 321. Thus the Dat : Sing : is **अतिस्त्रये** or **अतिस्त्रिणे**. The Abl : Sing : is **अतिस्त्रे**; or **अतिस्त्रिण**. and so also is Gen : Sing. The Gen : and Loc : Dual **अतिस्त्रियोः** or **अतिस्त्रिणोः** &c.

When the word **अतिस्त्रि** is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine **अतिस्त्रि** with the following exceptions :—The Acc. Pl : is **अतिस्त्रीः**; Instr : Sing : **अतिस्त्रिया**. Before the **ङिन्** case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option. The word **अस्त्री** of the Sūtra I. 4. 4. S. 303 which is read by *anuvritti* in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 is confined to that form of **स्त्री** which takes the substitution **इयङ्**. Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word **स्त्री** in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 refers to that form of **स्त्री** which ends in long **ई** and not to short **ई** as in **अतिस्त्रि**. The result is that the rule I. 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word **अतिस्त्रि** and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat : Sing : is either **अतिस्त्रियै** (as a *Nadi*) or **अतिस्त्रिये** (as a *ghi*) The Abl : and Genitive Sing : forms are either **अतिस्त्रियाः** (as a *Nadi*) or **अतिस्त्रे** (as a *ghi*) The Genitive Pl : is **अतिस्त्रिणाम्**. The Loc : Sing : forms are either **अतिस्त्रियाम्** or **अतिस्त्रौ** ॥

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **श्री**. Its Nom ; forms are **श्री**; **श्रियौ**, **श्रियः**

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयडुवड्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयड्बङोः स्थितिर्योस्तावीदूतौ नरीसंतौ न स्तो नतु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रिये । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रियः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयड्) *iyañ* and (उवड्) *uvan* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadî* ; except the word *strî*, (which is called *nadî* notwithstanding its substituting *iyañ*)

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रिये or श्रिये ; Abl : Sing is श्रियाः or श्रियः by I. 4. 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen ; Pl : the following Sûtra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयड्बङ्स्थानौ स्त्र्याख्यौ द्वे वामि वा नरीसंतौ स्तो नतु स्त्री । श्रीणाम् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रधीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्रूपम् । परान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियां वर्तमानत्वं नित्यस्त्रीत्व-पि न स्वीकारात् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधायकत्वं सति च कैयटमते तु पुंवद्रूपम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मी-वत् । अमि वासि च प्रध्यं प्रध्य इति विशेषः । सुष्ठु धीर्यस्याः सुष्ठु ध्यायति वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रीवत् । मतान्तरं पुंवत् । सुष्ठु धीरिति विग्रहे तु श्रीवदेव । मामणीः पुंवत् । मामनयनस्योत्सर्गतः पुंभर्मतया परान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियामप्रवृत्तेः ॥ एवं खलपवनादेरापि पुंभर्मत्वमौत्सर्गिकं बोध्यम् । धेनुर्मतिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û*, though admitting *iyañ* and *uvan* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadî*, when the affix *âm* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strî*, which is always *Nadî*.

श्री + वाम् = अ इयड् + वाम् = श्रियाम् ; or श्री + वाम् = श्री + लुट् + वाम् (VII. I. 54.) = श्रीणाम् ;

The Loc. Sing. is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word *प्रधी* is declined like *लक्ष्मी* according to the author of *वृत्तिकार* and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine ; and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word. But according to *Kaiyata* it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as *प्रकृष्टा धीः* then it is to be declined like *लक्ष्मी* The only peculiarities being in the Acc : Sing and Plural, where the forms are *प्रध्यम्* and *प्रध्यः* ।

The word *सुधी* when analysed as, *सुष्ठुधीर्यस्याः* : " that woman whose under- standing is good " or when analysed as *सुष्ठुध्यायति या* ' She who meditates well ', then it is declined as *श्री* according to *वृत्ति* author. According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुबु धी: 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामणी 'a female head of a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामणी; because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word खलन् 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.

Declension of Feminines ending in च,

The Feminine Noun धेनु is declined like मति. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun क्रोडु. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३०५। स्त्रियां च। ७। १। ६६॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोडुशब्दस्तु जन्तुवहूपं लभते ॥

305. The word क्रोडु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because क्रोडु is treated as if it was क्रोडू, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीप् by IV. 1. 5. as given below:—

३०६। ऋन्नेऽयो डीप्। ४। १। ५॥

ऋन्नेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । क्रोष्ट्री । क्रोष्ट्र्यौ । क्रोष्ट्र्या । वधूगौरिवत् । भूः श्रीवत् । हे सुभूः । कथं तर्हि शपितः क्वासि हे सुभू इति भट्टिः । प्रमाद एवायमिति बहवः । खलपूः पुंवत् । पुनर्द्धः । दन्कोरिति यणा उवडो बाधनत्रियद्ववडिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्द्धु । पुनर्भवम् । पुनर्भवौ । पुनर्भवः ॥

306. The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in नृ ।

Thus क्रोडु becomes क्रोष्ट्री and is declined as Nom : क्रोष्ट्री ; क्रोष्ट्र्यौ ; क्रोष्ट्र्या ।

Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like गौरी; भू is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing is हे सुभूः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as सुभू in the following passage हा पितः क्वासि हे सुभू ? The Bhatti has misapplied Sūtra I. 2. 48 S. 656 which is not applicable because भू is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix डु added to the root भ्रम (See Unādi II. 68). If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sūtra VII. 3. 107. S. 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But सुधू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4. S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kalidāsa of the form सुधु in the sentence विमाने सुधु पितृगृहे कुतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलू ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्भू. By the *Vārtika*, under VI. 4. 84. S. 282, the ऊ is replaced by व् and thus the अवङ्, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sūtra* I. 4. 4. S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे पुनर्भू. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भवः; पुनर्भौ; पुनर्भः.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन् समासि पूर्वपदस्यान्निमित्तात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तित्पदस्य नस्य निर्वचं जत्वं स्यात् । आरम्भसामर्थ्यान्नित्यस्ये सिद्धे पुनर्णमहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । वणं बाधित्वा परस्यानुद् । पुनर्भूणाम् । वर्षाभूः । भेकजातौ नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात् । हे वर्षाभूः केयदमेन । मतान्तरे तु हे वर्षाभु । पुनर्नवायां तु हे वर्षाभु । भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वर्षाभूरुदरे पुमानिति यावत् । वर्षाभौ । वर्षाभिवः । स्वयंभूः पुंत्वम् ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text:—The ण is repeated in this sūtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sūtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the *Kāśikā*). Because the sūtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sūtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sūtras VIII. 4. 10 and II. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुद् is added, because it is subsequently taught and supersedes the अण of the *Vārtika* under VI. 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्भूणाम् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू ॥ When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभूः ॥ According to others, the Voc. Sing. is हे वर्षाभु ॥

According to the Lexicographer Yādava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavā; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are वर्षा-वौ ; वर्षा-भ्यः ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वयंभू is like that of the Masc : Noun.

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Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वसृ &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies.

३०८ । न षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः । १ । १ । १० ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च ङीष्दावौ न स्तः ।

स्वसा तिस्रस्तस्रश्च ननान्ता दुहिता तथा । याता मातेति सप्तिते स्वसादय उदाहृताः ॥

अप्तुमिति त्रिर्व्यः । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । माता पितृवत् । त्रिसि मातुः । अतस्रवत् । पुंवत् ॥ नौर्लौवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and वाप् are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वसृ' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrâdi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्ता 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three', अतस्र 'four'.

There is lengthening of the perultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277. in the case of स्वसृ ॥ Thus the Nom : forms are स्वसा ; स्वसारौ ; स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc : Pl : the form is मातुः ॥

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Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun ऐ is declined like the Masc : Noun ऐ ॥

—————:0:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

The feminine Noun ओ is declined like the Masculine Noun ओ ॥

—————:0:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun औ is declined like the Masculine Noun औ ॥

—————:0:—————

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels.

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाम्	रमया	रमायै	रमायाः	रमायाः	रमायाम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमाभ्याम्	॥	॥	रमयोः	॥	हे रमे
Plural	रमाः	रमाः	रमाभिः	रमाभ्यः	॥	रमाणाम्	रमासु	हे रमाः

सर्वा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वया	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्याः	"	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	सर्वयोः	"
Plural	सर्वाः	"	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	"	सर्वासाम्	सर्वासु

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वया	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै	उत्तरपूर्वस्याः or उत्तरपूर्वायाः	"	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम् or उत्तरपूर्वायाम्
Dual	उत्तरपूर्व	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	"
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वा	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	"	उत्तरपूर्वासाम्	उत्तरपूर्वासु or उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरायै	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरौ	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जरासाम्	जरासु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरायै	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरौ	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जराणाम्	जरासु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिका	नासिकाम्	नासा	नासे	नासः	नासः	नासि
Dual	नासिके	"	नासाभ्याम्	"	"	नासोः	"
Plural	नासिकाः	नासः	नासिभिः	नासाभ्यः	"	नासाम्	नासु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशे	निशाः	निशाः	निशि
Dual	निशे	"	निशाभ्याम् or निशुभ्याम्	"	निशोः	"	"
Plural	निशाः	निशाः	निशुभिः or निशिभिः	निशुभ्यः or निशुभ्यः	"	निशाम्	निशु or निदु or निशु

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात् स्त्रीवास्त्वमोरश्च स्यात् ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ एङ्हस्वादिनि हस्मान्तलोपः ।
हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom : Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान ; i. e. the म् of अम् is elided and not the अ.

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

स्त्रीवास्त्वमोरश्चः स्त्री स्यात् । असंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha*.

Note :—By Sûtra I. 1. 43. S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vâma Sthâna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel. स्त्री is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

अस्येवर्णावर्णमेलोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औङः इयां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a *bha* stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान + स्त्री = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी. But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vârtika*, :—

Vart. :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने ॥ It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra.

In forming the Nom : and Acc : Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जइशसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

क्रीबादनयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or शस् = ज्ञान + शि. Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanāma Sthāna* as taught in the next Sūtra and being so called, the Sūtra after that applies to it ; by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called *sarvanāma-sthāna*.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलचः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याऽजन्तस्य च क्लीबस्य तुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । ज्ञानानि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं रामवत् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment तुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + तुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. 8. S. 250.

The Acc : forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३१५। अद्ङ् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७ । १ । २५ ॥

एभ्यः क्लीबेभ्यः स्वमोर्द्धादेशः स्यात् ॥

315. अद्ङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note :—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27, S. 213)—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्ङ् = कतरत् (the अ of katarā elided by ङ्) : as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ङ in the affix अद्ङ् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sūtra.

३१६। टेः । ६ । ४ । १४३ ॥

इति परे भस्य टेलोपः स्यात् ॥ वाचसनि ॥ कतरत् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । भस्येति किम् । पञ्चमः । टेलोपस्वात्प्रथमयोरिति पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः एङ्ङ्स्वादिति संबुद्धिलोपश्च न भवति । हे कतरत् । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं पुनत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमशब्दस्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतरात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोऽमादेशे कृते संनिपातपरिभाषया न जरस् । अजरम् । अजरीति अजरे । परस्याङ् जरसि कृते झलन्तस्त्वानुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicatory ङ्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a bha Stem.

Thus कतर + सु or अम् = कतर + अद्ङ् = कतर + अद् = कतरद् or कतरत् (ङ् is optionally changed to त् by VIII. 4. 56, S. 206.)

The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे ; कतराणि.

Why have we read the anuvritti of bha in this Sūtra? Observe पञ्चमः

Note :—The anuvritti of bha is read into this Sūtra from VI. 4. 129, S. 233. the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix ङ्ङ् to the word पञ्चन् with the augment मद् (V. 2. 48 & 49, S. 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चन् + ङ्ङ् The affix ङ्ङ् does not cause the elision of the अन् of पञ्चन् but the न् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII. 2. 7, S. 286).

Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ङ्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + अत् = कतरात् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अम् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without

इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely क् and not क्त्वं; it would give क्त्वं &c. without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple क् would not give us the Vocative हे क्त्वं. The final व् would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprkta. See however VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛitti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अप् (i. e. the vocative of members in अप् will not be elided, हे कुण्डप् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvṛitti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns क्त्वं &c (i. e. we shall not have the form व क्त्वं but हे क्त्वं). Therefore, by reading the affix क्त्वं with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as क्त्वं we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of क्त्वं in क्त्वं &c in the vocative, nor is there lengthening of the vowel (क्त्वं, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

Thus the Voc : Sing. is हे क्त्वं.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of क्त्वं, इत्तर, अन्य and अन्यत्तर is like that of क्त्वं. Thus क्त्वं, इत्तर, अन्य and अन्यत्तर ॥ The word अन्यत्त्वं forms its Nom : and Acc : Sing अन्यत्त्वं and not अन्यत्त्वं ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say क्षान्द्वारि-अन्यत्त्वंत्त्वं ॥

Vārtika :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकत्तर although it is formed with the affix इत्तर. Thus its Nom : Sing is एकत्तर and not एकत्तरत्त्वं.

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Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजर meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य). The अ of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजर. Thus अजर + हु = अजर + अम् (VII. 1. 24. S. 309). At this stage Sūtra VII. 2. 101. S. 227 requires the substitution of जरस् in the place of जरा, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनित्तं सन्निपातस्य that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजर as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर ॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is-अजरात् or अजरे,

In the case of Nom Plural there is affix शि, and when जरस् is substituted, then we have the augment जुम् (VII. 1. 72. S. 314) because शि is Sarvanamastīāna. This जुम् must be added after the जरस् substitution has taken

place, because जरस् substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101 S. 227. which is latter in order of the Ashtādhyāyī than लुक् augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus अजर + सि = अजरस् + लुक् + इ = अजरस् + इ ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sūtra,

३१७ । सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य । ६ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महत्तम यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया रीर्धः स्यात्संबुद्धौ तर्धनामस्थाने परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अमि लुकोपवादमम्भावं बाधित्वा परस्वाङ्जरस् । ततः संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरसम् । अजरम् । अजरसी । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेषं पुंवत् । पद्म इति ह्रदयोरकास्यानां ह्रद् उवन् भासन् । ह्रन् । ह्रस् । ह्रदयामित्यादि । उवानि । उगा । उदयामित्यादि । भासानि । भासी । भासामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्यामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रश्नतिमहर्ण प्रकारार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मांसपचन्या उखाया इत्युदाहृतम् । अयस्मयादिस्त्वेन भत्वास्तयोगात्तलोपो न । पद्म इत्यत्र हि छन्दसीत्यनुवर्तिनं वृत्तौ तथाप्यपोभीत्यत्र मासदछन्दसीति वार्तिके छन्दोमहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकस्य कश्चिदिति कैयटोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगमनुसृत्य पदादयः प्रयोक्तव्या इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When जरस् substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing.; we have अजर + अम्.

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1, 23, (2) then the अम् substitution n by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by VII. 2. 101 Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of VII. 2. 101 जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity; and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरसं ॥

When there is no जरस् substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजरम्. ॥

The Acc: Dual will be अजरांसि or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥ The rest of the declensions is like those of the Masculine.

Note:—The form अजरांसि is thus evolved अजर + इ ॥ Here if the लुक् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the anga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the anga. But this augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because

of this लुक् intervention. And though tadantavidhi applies in these chapters (पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदिषा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जरा which forms only a portion of a full word भजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the लुक् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the लुक् should be added after-wards under VII. 1. 72.

The form भजरस् is thus evolved. We have भजर + भम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकोऽविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23. ordaining the लुक् of चम् and VII. 1. 24. teaching भम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृद्य &c referred to in Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृद्य is replaced by हृद्; उरक् by उरम् and आस्य by आसम् and मांस by मांस्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृन्ति हृदा, हृद्भ्याम् &c; उरानि; उरूना, उरूभ्याम् &c; आसानि, आसा, आसम्भ्याम् &c; मांसि, मांसा, मान्भ्याम्, &c.

In fact, the word प्रवृत्ति is used in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sūtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahābhāṣya* gives the example of 'मांसपचन्या उखायाः' Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant.

Note:—मांसपचन्याः is thus formed. From the root पच we form पचन् with the affix ल्युट् in the sense of instrument and location, under Sūtra, III. 3. 93. S. 3271. meaning the vessel for cooking. To पचन् is added the feminine affix डीप्, मांसस्य पचनी = मांसपचनी. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 and therefore मांस् would not have been substituted for मांस, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रवृत्ति in the sense प्रकार.

By taking this compound under I. 4. 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not संयोगान्त लोप. Moreover, if in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of हृन्ति be read from the Sūtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has read the following Vartika. मांसहृन्ति meaning त् is substituted for the final of मांस before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now अपाभि (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्स् in the *Vārtika* indicates by implication that छन्स् rules are not confined to the Vedās only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of वास in VI. 1. 63. S. 263. is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word *Chhandas* in वासश्छन्वसि *Vārtika* under Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442. indicates that पद् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ४७ ॥

क्लीबे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽजन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीपं । ज्ञानवत् । श्रीपाय । अथ संनिपातपरिभाषया अतो धातोर्निपातकारलोपो न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like ज्ञान ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here आ is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140, S. 240 before the affix के on the maxim 'संनिपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

—————:0:—————

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom : Sg. वारि + सु ॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

क्लीबावङ्गास्वमोर्लुक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + सु = वारि + O = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + औ ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

३२० । इकोऽचि निभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इजन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुमागमः स्वाद्यश्चि निभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारीणि । नलुमतेति निषेधस्यानिवृत्त्या-
त्यन्ते संबुद्धिनिमित्तो गुणः । हे वारि । हे वारि । आङो न । वारिणा । धेर्किंसीतिगुणे प्राप्तिः ॥ वृद्धौ स्वतृच-
क्रावगुणेत्यो नुम् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ वारिणे । वारिणः । वारिणोः । नुमच्चिरिति नुद् । नासीति क्षीर्घः ।
वारीणाम् । वारिणि । वारिणोः । क्लौषौ हरिवत् ॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + नुम् + औ = वारि + नुम् = वारि (VII. 1. 19. S 310) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom : Pl : is वारिणि ॥

The Voc : Sing : has two forms हे वरि or हे वारि ॥ हे वरि is formed by the guṇa of इ under rule VII. 3. 108. S. 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I. 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by ह्रस्व it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1. 63 S. 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst : Sing : is वारिणा ॥

The Dat : Sing : is वारि + डे ॥ Here the rule चेङिति VII. 3. 111 S. 245 requires guṇa. But the guṇa is set aside by the following *Vārtika*.

Vārtik. The augment वृद्ध comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, श्रौ substitution, वृद्धवद्भाव and guṇa. Thus वारिजे ॥

The Abl : and Gen : sing is वारिजः ॥

The Gen : dual is वारिजोः ॥

The augment वृद्ध is added by the *Vārtika* वृद्धचिर &c. under sūtra VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. in forming the Genitive Plural ; and the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 3. S. 209. Thus we get the Gen : Plural ; वारीणाञ् ॥

The Loc : Sing : and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively. Before the consonant beginning affix ड् of the Loc : Pl : it is like that of हरि (VII. 3. 119. S. 247.) i. e. वारिषु ॥

—————:0:—————

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies :—

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्फं पुंवद्भावस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तैक्ये भाषितपुंस्फमिगन्तं क्लीबं पुंवद्भावाद्याशावचि । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि ।
द्योषं वारिवत् । पीलुर्वृक्षस्तत्फलं पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अत्र न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender ; its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

Singular is पीलुने and not पीलवे ॥ This is because the word पीलु denoting 'fruit' has no corresponding Masculine word denoting fruit, for the corresponding Masculine पीलु refers to the tree, and not to the fruit ; so this word पीलु cannot be said to be भाषितपुंस्कः ॥

—:O:—

Now we take up the declension of the Noun रुधि ॥ In the declension of this word the following rule applies :

३२२ । अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणासनङुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ७५ ॥

एषामनङ् स्वाहादावचि स चोदात्तः ॥ अङ्गोपोऽनः ॥ वद्भा । वधे । वधः २ । वधोः २ । रुधि । रुधानि
 घोषं वारिवत् । एवमस्थिसक्थ्यक्षीणि । तदन्तस्याप्यनङ् । अतिवद्भा । रुधि । रुधिनी । रुधीनि । हे रुधे ।
 हे रुधि । रुधिया । रुधिना । प्रध्या । प्रधिना । मधु । मधुनी । मधुनि । हे मधो । हे मधु । एवमम्बुवाहयः ।
 स्वानुशब्दस्य स्तुर्वा । स्तुनि । सानुनि । मियक्रोष्टु । मियक्रोष्टुनी । वृज्वङ्गावात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । मियक्रोष्टुनि
 दादौ पुंवत्पक्षे मियक्रोष्टु । मियक्रोष्टुना । मियक्रोष्टे । मियक्रोष्टवे । अन्यत्र वृज्वङ्गावात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुमेव ।
 मियक्रोष्टुना । मियक्रोष्टुने । नुमचिरोति । नुद् । मियक्रोष्टुनाम् । सुलु । सुलुनी । सुलूनि ॥ पुनस्तद्वत् । सुल्वा ।
 सुलुना । धातु । धातुणी । धातुचि । हे धातः । हे धातु । धात्वा । धातूणा । एवं ज्ञातृकर्त्रादयः ॥

322. The acutely accented अन् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi, and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Note :—Thus अस्थीँ, दधेँ, वधेँ, सक्थेँ, अक्षेँ, अक्षणीँ अक्ष्येँ ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As मियक्थ्वा ब्राह्मणेन, मियवद्भा ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest ?' Observe अस्थिनी, रुधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, रुधिभ्याम् ॥

Thus रुधि + भा (Ins-sing) = रुध् + औन् + भा = रुध् + न् + भा The औन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 = वद्भा, so also D. S. वधे G. A. S. वधः, G. and L. D. वधोः L. S. रुधि, or रुधनि ॥ In the remaining cases, it is like वारि as :—

N. S. रुधि, N. D. रुधिनी N. P. रुधीनि ॥ Before consonantal affixes the form is रुधिभ्याम् &c.

The अनङ् comes even after bases that are compound but which end in अस्थि &c as अति वद्भा ॥

The word रुधि is thus declined :—

N. A. S रुधि, N. A. D. रुधिनी ; N. Pl. रुधीनि; Voc. हे रुधे or हे रुधि ॥ I. S. रुधिया or रुधिना (VI. 4. 85 S. 323) the Ins. S. of रुधि however is प्रध्या or प्रधिना (VI. 4. 82 S. 272)

The word मधु is thus declined : as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधुनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु; D. S. मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अम्बु &c. The word सातु optionally assumes the form सतु by the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 41 S. 295. Thus सतुनि or सातुनि ॥

So also प्रियक्रोदु, प्रियक्रोदुनी ॥ The plural will have नुम् by prohibiting in anticipation the नृञ्वाव (VII. 1. 95. S. 274), as प्रियक्रोदुनि. In Ins. S and other cases, when the rule VII. 1. 74 applies, we have two forms as प्रियक्रोदु or प्रियक्रोदुना, प्रियक्रोदु or प्रियक्रोदवे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with नुम् alone, as प्रियक्रोदुना प्रियक्रोदुने ॥ There will be नुद् by नुमचिर as प्रियक्रोदुनाम् ॥

The Noun सुलु is declined as follows: Nom: and Acc: forms are सुलु, सुलुनी, सुलुनि ॥ Instr: singular is सुलुवा or सुलुना ॥

The Noun धातु is declined as follows :—Nom and Acc: forms are धातु, धातुनी, धातुनि ॥ The Voc: Sing. is हे धातः or हे धातु ॥

The Instr: Singular is धातुवा or धातुना ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञात, कर्तु &c.

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of प्रद्यो ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to उ in accordance with the following Sūtra :—

३२३ । एच् इग्रस्वादेशो । १ । १ ४८ ॥

आदिग्रहणानेषु ह्रस्वेषु मध्ये एच् इगेव स्यात् ॥ प्रद्यु । प्रद्युनी । प्रद्युनि । प्रद्युनेत्यादि । इह न पुंवत् । अदिगन्तं प्रद्यु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्त्वाभावात् । एवमग्नेऽपि । प्ररि । प्ररिणी । प्ररीणि । प्ररिणा । एकदेशादि-कृतस्यान्यत्वाद्वाग्नौ हलीत्यात्वम् । प्रराभ्याम् । प्रराभिः । नुमचिरसि नुम्यात्वे प्रराणामिति माधवः । वस्तुतस्तु संनिपातपरिभाषया नुम्यात्वं न । नामीति दीर्घस्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषां बाधत इत्युक्तम् । प्ररीणाम् । सुतु । सुतुनी । सुतुनि । सुतुना । सुतुने । इत्यादि ॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note :—This sūtra points out the इक् substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares :—“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude from provided it ends in a vowel.” Therefore in compounding अति + दे, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिदि ‘extravagant’ so नौ अतिदु ‘disembarked or landed,’ गो, उपद्यु ‘near a cow.’ All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of इक्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्, Thus the short of आ is अ. अति + खट्वा = अति खट्वाः । अति + माला = अतिमालः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when एतु or prolated vowels are to be substituted for इक्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As ऐइवत्त O Devadatta ! ऐवेइत्त !

Thus Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रयु, प्रयुनी ; प्रयूनि. The Instr : Sing. is प्रयुना etc. This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form. 'प्ररि' which is derived from the root रै to give with the prefix प्र. The रै being changed to रि by the present Sūtra. we get the form प्ररि. It is declined as follows:—Nom : and Acc : forms are प्ररि प्ररिणी, प्ररीणि. Instr : Sing. प्ररिणा. By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this changesomething else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to रै will apply to रि also. Hence the rule राद्यो हनि VII. 2. 85. S. 286 will apply to प्ररि also. Thus forms before भ्याम् and भिः will be प्रराभ्याम् and प्रराभिः । According to Mādhava, the Genitive Pl : will be प्रराणाम्, the augment जुद् being added by the Vārtika जुमच्चिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before जुद् in accordance with the Maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं, i. e. That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sūtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्ररीणाम् ॥

The word सुनु which is the shortened form of सुनौ meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom : and Acc : forms as सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनुनि ॥ The Instr and Dat : Singular forms are सुनुन^१ ; सुनुने respectively. &c

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिङ् derived from the root लिङ् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The Nom : Sing : is लिङ् + सु ॥ The ह is changed to ङ by the following rule.

३२४ । ङीङः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

इस्य ङः स्याज्जालि पदान्ते च । हल्ङ्वाविति सुलोपः । परान्तस्वाज्जस्य ङः । अङ्स्वचत्वे । लिङ् । लिङ् । लिङ्गौ । लिङ्गः । लिङ्गम् । लिङ्गौ । लिङ्गः । लिङ्गा । लिङ्ग्याम् । लिङ्ग्यः ॥

324. ङ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिङ् + सु = लिङ् + ङ (The सु is elided by हल्ङ्वाप् VI. 1. 68 S. 252.) = लिङ् (The ह is changed to ङ because it is final in a pada) = लिङ् (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) or लिङ् (VIII. 4. 56. S. 206)

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are लिङ्गौ ; लिङ्गः ॥

The Acc : forms are लिङ्गम्, लिङ्गौ ; लिङ्गः ॥

The Instr : forms are लिङ्गा, लिङ्ग्याम्, लिङ्ग्यः ॥

The Loc : Pl : is लिङ्ग्यः (The त् being optionally added by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or लिङ्ग्यः ॥

—————:0:—————

Now we take up the declension of दामलिङ् ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb दामलिङ्गति (दामलिङ्गमात्मानमिच्छति one who desires a दामलिङ्) Here the following sūtra is inapplicable, though the root दामलिङ् begins with द ॥

३२५ । दादेर्धातोर्घः । ८ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशो दादेर्धातोर्घस्य घः स्याज्जालि पदान्ते च । उपदेशो किम् । अर्धोर्गस्यत्र यथा स्यात् । दामलिङ्गमात्मानं इच्छति दामलिङ्गति । ततः किमपि दामलिङ् । अत्र मा भूत् ॥

325. Of a root beginning with द, in original enunciation, the घ is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But दामलिङ् does not become दामलिक् because the anuvritti of the word उपदेश is understood in the above Sūtra and as in the Dhātupāṭha there is no root like दामलिङ्, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Not given below).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sūtra ? So that there may be च substitution in अधोक् which does not begin with इ in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with इ ॥

Note :—For the final इ of a इ-beginning root, च is substituted under similar circumstances. As इधा, इधुम्, इधव्यम्, काष्ठक्, रोधा, रोधुम्, रोधव्यम्, गोधुक्, from वह and दुह ॥ For the त् of the affixes कृ &c. च is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the च becomes ण by VIII. 4 53. For the च in काष्ठक् is substituted ण by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4 56, and इ becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with इ" ? Observe लडा, लडुम्, लेढव्यम्, गुडलिङ् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word दोहः but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole : so that it means "the word which begins with इ and forms part of a root, for the इ of such a part is substituted च." What does follow from it ? The letter च is substituted in अधोक् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोर्वयसो यो षादिषाब्दस्तद्वयस्य इकारस्य &c.), the च would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the fore of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms दोधा, दोधुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but *whole* word ? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भावः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying 'that root which begins with इ in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha' ? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिङ् not beginning with इ ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दामलिङ् (दामलिङ्मिच्छति = दामलिङ्गति), it is a root which begins with इ; the इ of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to च, for it is not a root of upadesa. Therefore, when we add क्तिप् to this root, we get दामलिङ् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दामलिक् ॥

Now we take up the declension of 'दुह' ॥ Here the following sūtra applies :—

३२६ । एकाचो बशो भष् भवन्तस्य स्त्वोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोर्वयवो य एकाच् क्षन्तस्तद्वयवस्य बशः स्थाने भष् स्यात्सकारे ध्वशब्दे परान्ते च । एकाचो धातोरिति सामानाधिकरण्येनान्वये तु इह न स्यात् । गर्हभमाचष्टे गर्हभयति । ततः क्विप् । गितोपः । गर्धप् । झलीति निवृत्तम् । स्त्वोऽग्नेहणसामर्थ्यात् । तेनेह न । दुग्धम् । दोग्धा । व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन धात्ववयवस्वाङ्ग-
भावः । जश्चत्वे । धुक् धुग् । दुहौ । दुहः । धस्चत्वे । धुक्षु ॥

326. For the letters ब, ग, ड or ढ in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in क, भ, घ, ढ or ध, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or ध respectively in that portion of it which begins with बश् and ends with जष् before स or ध्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sūtra, we have used the word अवयव or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sūtra, that is to say, which begins with ब, ग, ड or ढ and ends with झ, भ, घ, ढ, ध, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ज and ends with the fourth letter of the *Varga*, then for ब is substituted भ, for ग, घ, for ड, ढ, and for ढ, ध ॥ But had we explained the sūtra by saying एकाच् धातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्धप् from the denominative root गर्हभयति. The word गर्धप् is derived from the root गर्हभय by the affix क्विप् to the root and the elision of णि ॥ The ढ is changed to ध ॥

The anuvritti of झलि ceases here and is not to be read in the sūtra. This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the *Ashṭa dhyāyī*.

By taking the letters स and ध्व in the sūtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, दोग्धा ॥ Here ढ is not changed to ध ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, that is "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach;" the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह् + सु = दुह् + ० = दुष् + ० = धुष् = धुग् or धुक् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुहौ ; दुहः

In forming the Loc : Pl : the present sūtra will apply and we get the form धुक्षु ॥ (स् being changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212).

In declining 'दुह' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा द्रुहमुहणुहणिहाम् । ८ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषां हस्य वा घः स्याज्झलि एवान्ते च । एके ङ । ध्रक् । ध्रुक् । भ्रुक् । भ्रुहः । भ्रुहो । भ्रुहः । भ्रुह्याम् । भ्रुह्याम् । भ्रुह्यु । भ्रुह्यु । भ्रुह्यु । एवं मुहणुहणिहाम् ॥ विश्ववाद् । विश्ववाहः । विश्ववाहो । विश्ववाहः । विश्ववाहः । विश्ववाहो ॥

327. The ह् of druh, muh, snuh, and snih is optionally changed to च before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

The ह् of these words is changed to च optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to ङ ॥ Thus Nom : Sing is ध्रुक् or ध्रुक् or भ्रुक् or भ्रुक् ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is ध्रुह्याम् or ध्रुह्याम्. Locative Pl : is ध्रुह्यु or ध्रुह्यु (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or ध्रुह्यु ॥

Similar is the declension of मुह्, स्नुह् and झिह् ॥

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of विश्ववाह् ॥ The Nom : forms are विश्ववाद् or विश्ववाहः ; विश्ववाहो, विश्ववाहः ; Acc : Sing and Dual are विश्ववाहम्, विश्ववाहो ॥

In forming the Acc : Pl : the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of ' bha ' before this affix ; that is the semi-vowel व् is changed to व ॥ This change is called संप्रसारण (Samprasāraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sūtra.

३२८ । इयणः संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ८ ॥

येनः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो व इक् स संप्रसारणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels yan are called samprasāraṇa.

Note :—This defines the word samprasāraṇa, or vocalisation. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ए and लृ, and their corresponding semi-vowels य, व्, र्, and लृ included in the pratyāhāra yan. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् ' to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishthā affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + क्त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the व् of स्वप् before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः ' slept ' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, वद्-इष्टम्, वद्-विज्ञः, वद्-गृहीतम्-प्रह-पृष्टम्. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels as in VI. 1. 13 ; VI. 4, 181.

३२६ । बाह ऊद् । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

भस्व बाह- संप्रसारणमूह् स्यात् ॥

329. The व in बाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊद्), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणाच्च परे पूर्व रूपमेकोऽक्षः स्यात् ॥ एव्येधस्युहसु ॥ विद्वौहः । विद्वौहेत्यादि । छन्स्वैव विवरिति पक्षे निजन्तादिच् ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्वबाह् + वास् = विश्व + ऊ + आह् + वास् = विश्व + ऊह् + वास् = विश्वौहः (The Vriddhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S. 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वौहा and so on.

If बाह in विश्वबाह् be considered to have been formed by the affix वि under sūtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix विच् after it by sūtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word बाह् is a वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वौहः ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वौह the Vriddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + वास् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + वास् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + वास् (the affix वि III. 2. 64, will produce guna) = प्रष्ठौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact वि is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊद्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of अनडुह्. In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरासुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ६८ ॥

अनयोराय स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने स षोऽक्षः ॥

331. चतुर and अनडुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अनडुह् + सु = अनडुह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । साचनडुहः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य तुम् स्यात्सौ परे । आदिस्थधिकावर्णत्परोऽयं तुम् । अतो विशेषविहितेनापि तुमा भाम् न चाभ्येत । अमा च तुम् न चाभ्येत । सीर्लोपः । तुम् विधिसामर्थ्याद्भुक्तस्त्विति इत्वं न । संयोगान्तलोप-
स्यासिद्धत्वाप्रलौपो न । अनङ्गान् ॥

332. अनङ्गुह gets the augment तुम् before the ending ङु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनङ्गुह gets the augment आ after ङ in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनङ्वाह् and अनङ्वाह् ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनङ्गान् Nominative Singular ; and अनङ्गान् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede तुम्, nor are they superseded by तुम् ॥

The तुम् is specifically taught by this Sūtra, the ह् is not changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23. S 54 is not perceived by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2. 1. S 12. So the न् is not elided. Thus the Nom: Sing is अनङ्गान्. In forming the Voc: the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संबुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ६२ ॥

चतुरनङ्गोऽयम् स्यात्संबुद्धौ । आमीपवाहः । हे अनङ्गान् । अनङ्गाहौ । अनङ्गाहः । अनङ्गाहा ॥

333. चतुर and अनङ्गुह get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debarb the previous rule. As, हे अनङ्गान्, हे अनङ्गाहौ, अनङ्गाहः ॥

The Instr: Sing. is अनङ्गाहा

Before the affixes भ्याम्, मिः &c, the ह् is changed to ह् by the following rule.

३३४ । वसुसंभुध्वंस्वनङ्गुहां हः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य संसादेश्च हः स्यात्पदान्ते । अनङ्गुद्वयमित्यादि । सान्तेति किम् । विद्वाह् । पशान्ते इति किम् । सस्तम् । ध्वस्तम् ॥

334. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix वस् and ending in स and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस् and अनङ्गुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

Thus अनङ्गुहभ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix वसु must end in स ? Observe विद्वान्.

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe सस्तमः च्वस्तम्.

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of तुरासाह. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३५। सहेः साङः सः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

साङ्गुपत्य सहेः सत्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । तुराषाद् । तुराषाङ् । तुरासाहौ । तुरासाहः । तुराषाङ्-
भ्यामित्यादि । तुरं सहत इत्यर्थे छन्दसि सह इति ण्विः । लोके तु साहयते ण्विप् । अन्येषामपीति पूर्वपदस्य
दीर्घः ॥

335. ष is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साट्) ॥

Thus तुराषाद्, साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 63 S 3409), there is vriddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ङ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137 S. 3539).

Note :—साङः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सहः why then the word is used in the sūtra ? There is another form साङ्ग not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सङः, सङस्य अपत्यं = साङिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ङ is called सङः as मृड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्' ? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स" ? So that the आ of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral : the ङ is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ह ॥

—:O:—

There is no masculine noun ending in ह् though on the analogy of the Noun कमल् (See 340) we may form तोह् meaning तोयमाचक्षणाः and decline as तोह्, तोयौ, तोयः yet this ह् will allways be elided by the rule VI. 1. 66 S. 873. We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in ह् ६४ सुदिक् । In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३६। दिव औत् । ७ । १ । ८४ ॥

द्विविधं प्रतिपदिकस्य औत्स्यास्तौ परे । अस्विधिभ्येन स्थानिवत्त्वाभावाद्भ्रूपाविति सुलोपो न ॥
सुद्यौः । सुद्वौ । सुद्विः । सुद्विम् । सुद्वौ ॥

336. औ is substituted for the final of the prâtipadika दिक् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note :—There is a nominal-stem दिक् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिक् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter **ङ** and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as **दिङ्** ॥ The nominal-stem derived from **दिङ्**, does not take **औ**, but **ऊ**, the Nom. Sg. of which is **युः** as **अक्षयुः** (See VI, 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

The rule VI. 1. 68 S 252, required the elision of **सु**; but this is prevented, because **औ** is not **स्थानिवत्** to **ह** for the purposes of **अन्विधि** rule VI. 1. 68. S 252. Thus the Nom: forms are **सुयौः**, **सुविषौ**, **सुविषः**. The Acc: forms are **सुविषम्**, **सुविषौ** &c.

Before **भ्याम्** and **भिः** the following rule applies:—

३३७ । दिव उत् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

दिवोऽन्तरिष उकारः स्थापयन्ति । सुयुभ्याम् । सुयुभिः । अत्वारः । अतुरः । अतुभिः । अतुभ्यः ॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem **दिव्**, there is the substitution of **उ**, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note:—The portion **पश्** of the word **पशन्त** must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word **दिव्** is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus **दिवि कामो यस्य = युक्ताम्**, **युमान्**, **विमलस्य दिनं**, **युभ्याम्**, **युभिः** ॥ We have said that **दिव्** is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter (anubandha) and should have been read as **दिङ्** ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long **ऊ** for **इ** by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have **अक्षयूभ्याम्**, **अक्षयूभिः** ॥ The **ङ** with a **त्** shows that short **उ** is meant, and debaras **ऊट** (VI. 4. 19). In the case of **ऊट** substitution the forms will be **युभ्याम्**, **युभिः** ॥ The **ऊट** also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe **दिवो**, **दिवः** ॥

Thus Instr: Dual and Pl. are **सुयुभ्याम्**; **सुयुभिः**.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in **इ** ॥

—————:0:—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **इ**.

We take up the declension of **अतुर्** which is always Plural. Its Nom: Pl: is **अतुर् + ञस् = अतुर् + आम् + ञस्** (S. 331) = **अत्वारः** । Its Acc; Instr; Dat. and Abl: Pl: are **अतुरः**, **अतुभिः**, **अतुभ्यः**, **अतुभ्यः** respectively.

In forming the Gen: Pl: the following rule applies:—

३३८ । अट्छतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

अट्छतुर्भ्यश्च अतुरश्च परस्थानो जुडाणमः स्यात् । जश्च । द्विश्च । अतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment **ञ** is added before the Genitive pl. ending **आम्** after the Numerals called 'shash', and after **अतुर्** ॥

Text:—The **ञ** is changed to **ण** by VIII. 4. 1. S, 235 and this **ण** is optionally doubled by VIII. 4. 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in ॠ is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note:—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमपण्याम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियवषाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुराम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जनीय taught there applies to that ॠ which is derived from रु and not to every ॠ.

३३६ । रोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे ररेव विसर्जनीयो नान्वरेकस्य । अथम् । अस्य द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर्+सु=चतुर्+सु by VIII. 3. 59 S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽचि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अचि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्थु । प्रियवत्सः । हे प्रियवत्सः । प्रियवत्सतौ । प्रियवत्सवारः । गौणत्वे तु नुद् नश्यते । प्रियचतुराम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कमलं कमलां वा आचक्ष्णः कमल् । कमलौ । कमलः । अथं । कमळ्यु ॥

340. 'There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows,

Note:—The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule VIII. 4. 46, S. 59. Thus कर्षति, वर्धति, आकर्षः, अक्षरः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इदृश्यते ॥

Text:—Thus चतुर्थु.

Now, we take up the declension of प्रियचतुर् which may be declined in all numbers (See Note under S. 338). प्रियचतुर्+सु=प्रियचतु+आ+ॠ+स् (VII. 1. 98. S. 331)=प्रियवत्सः. In the Voc: Sing, instead of अम् there will be अम् by VII. 1. 99. S. 333. Thus हे प्रियवत्सः । The Nom: Dual and Pl: are प्रियवत्सतौ, प्रियवत्सवारः. As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment नुद् required by VII. 1. 55. S. 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen: Pl: Thus we have प्रियचतुराम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrihi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be प्रियचतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ॠ ॥

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

Now we take up the declension of कमल्. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कमला by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule तत्करोति तदाच्चे, that is, when the sense is कमलं कमलां वा चक्ष्वाणः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalā. Thus कमल + णिच् (of चुरादिगण). To this we add the affix द्विप्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313. Thus we get कमल्. Its declension is Nom. कमल्, कमलौ, कमलः. Its Loc. Pl. is कमलसु. (The स् being changed to सू).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

—0—

There is no noun ending in झ्. Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ञ्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१ । मोनो धातोः । ङ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्मस्य नः स्यात्प्रधाने । नत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भलोपो न । प्रधान्यतीति प्रधान् । प्रथानौ । प्रथामः । प्रधान्यन्मानित्वादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada, for the final म् of a root.

As प्रधान्, this is formed by adding द्विप् to the root धाम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The ञ् being considered as asidha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रधानौ, प्रथामः where न is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom : forms are प्रधान्, प्रथानौ प्रधानः ; The Instr : Dual is प्रधान्यन्मा, &c.

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२ । किमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

किमेः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकञ्सहितस्याप्यथमादेशः । कः । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । कान् इत्यादि सर्वेषु ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकञ् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For न् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by म्, had the sūtra been किमोऽन् and the forms would have been the same (क्+अ+अ=क् VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies.

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । त्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sūtra.

३४४ । इदोऽय् पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम इदोऽय् स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सौलोपः । अयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

344. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । इदम् । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो इत्य मः स्याद्विभक्तौ । इमौ । इमे । त्यदादिः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्सर्गः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदअ + अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.) = इमअ + अम् (VII. 2. 109 S. 345.) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of त्यदादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies :—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारस्येवम एषोऽन् स्यादापि विभक्तौ । आबिति दा इत्यादिभ्य सुपः पकारेण प्रत्याहारः । अनेन ॥

346. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनैन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say " not when क is added by V. 3. 71 " ? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg), and ए of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्येवम इति लोपः स्यादापि हलादौ ॥ नानर्थकेऽलोप्यविधिरनभ्यासीदकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an āp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—"The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable. "

Having elided इद् of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is इ which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S. 265. Thus we have only अ left. Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII. 3. 102 S. 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यच् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sūtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमाद्यविधान्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरकोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारयोरितिवत्तोरित्सि ऐस् न स्यात् । एत्वम् । एभिः । अस्त्वम् । नित्यत्वात् केः स्मै ; पश्चाज्जालि-लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्व । अनयोः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् । अनयोः । एषु । ककारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमकौ । इमके । इमकम् । इमकौ, इमकात् । इमकेन । इमकाभ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ + ङिः = एभिः (VII. 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

formed :—अ + ऊँ = अस्मै (VII. 1. 14 S. 215) ; अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ; अ + भ्यः = एभ्यः ॥
The Abl ; Gen : and Loc : forms are as follow:—अस्मान् (VII. 1. 15 S. 216) ;
आभ्याम् ; एभ्यः, अस्मै (VII. 1. 12. S. 201) ; अनयोः (VII. 3. 104. S. 207 and
VII. 2. 112. S. 346) ; एषाम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) ; अस्मिन् (VII. 1. 15. S. 216) ;
एषु (VIII. 3. 59 S. 212).

When अकम् is added the forms are as follows:—Nom : अकम्, इमको,
इमके ; Acc : इमकम्, इमकौ, इमकान् ; Instr : इमकेन, इमकाभ्याम्, इमकैः ॥

By the following rule, when इदम् is used in the second clause of a sentence referring to a man already mentioned in the first clause, the form is different in the Instr : and other cases.

३५० । इदमोऽन्वादेशोऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ । २ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अन्वादेशविषयस्येदमोऽनुदात्तोश्च आदेशः स्यात्तृतीयादौ । अश्वत्थनं साकश्चकार्यम् ॥

350. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of अश् which is anudātta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

Note :—The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (ādeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by I. 1. 55 S. 45. and not only the final म्.

Text :—The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकम् (V. 3. 71.)

३५१ । द्वितीयादौस्वेनः । २ । ४ । ३४ ।

द्वितीयायां दौसौश्च परत इदमेतदोरेनादेशः स्यादन्वादेशो । किञ्चित्कार्यं विधातुमुपात्तस्य कार्यान्तरं विधातुं पुनरुपादानमन्वादेशः । यथाऽनेन व्याकरणमधीतमेतं छन्दोऽध्यापयेति । अनयोः पवित्रं कुलमेतयोः प्रभूतं स्वमिति । एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः । गणयतेतिश्च । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगणः । सुगणइश् । सुगणइश्च । सुगणश्च (विषयः) । अनुनासिकस्य त्रिवहलोरिति दीर्घः । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगणम् । सुगणइश् । सुगणइश्च सुगणश्च । परस्वातुपधादीर्घः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । ततो नलोपः । राजा ॥

351. When an affix of the second case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual.) follows, एन which is anudātta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

Anvādeśa means the employment again of what has been employed to direct some operation, to direct another operation. Thus, " The grammar has been studied by him (anena), now set him (enam)

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two (*anayoh*) the family is illustrious and their (*enayoh*) wealth is great." The cases in this form are:—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एतान्, Instr: Sing: एनेन; Gen: & Loc. Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc: Nouns ending in न्.

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There is no Masculine noun ending in न्. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in न् *e. g.* सुगन् which is formed by the affix विन् added to गन् (III. 2. 75 S. 2980) Its Nom: forms are सुगन्, सुगनौ, सुगनः; Loc. Pl. is सुगण्डसु, सुगण्डसु or सुगण्डसु.

If it be formed with the affix विन् (III. 2. 76 S. 2983), then by VI. 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be सुगान्, सुगायौ, सुगाणः; the Loc: Pl: is सुगाण्डसु, सुगाण्डसु, or सुगाण्डसु

Here ends the declension of Mas: Nouns ending in न्.

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom: Sg. is राजन् + सु = राजान् + सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250) = राजान् + ओ (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68, S. 252.) = राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc: the following rule applies:—

३५२ । न ङिसंबुद्धयोः । ८ । २ । ८ ॥

नस्य लोपो न स्यात् ङौ संबुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङौ तु छन्दस्युदाहरणम् । सुपां सुलुभिति केलुक् । निषेधसामर्थ्यात्प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । परमे व्योमन् ॥ डावुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चर्मणि तिला अस्य चर्म-
तिलः । ब्रह्मणि निष्ठा अस्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठः । राजानौ । राजानः, राजानम् । राजानौ ॥ अङ्गोपानः । इषुत्वम् । न
चाङ्गोपः स्थानिवत् । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गतायामसिद्धः । यथोद्देशपक्षे षाड्ठी परिभाषां
मति इषुत्वस्थानिसिद्धतयाऽन्तरङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । जमोर्ज्ञः । राज्ञः । राज्ञा ॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debar the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. The examples of non-elision of न्, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using लुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Var. :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpuruṣa, the न् is elided: as, चर्मणि सिता अस्त्र = चर्म तिलः, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाभस्त्र = ब्रह्म निष्ठः ॥

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are राजानौ ; राजानः ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम् ; राजानौ ।

The Acc : Pl. is thus formed :—राजन् + शस्. Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231. and therefore the न् of राजन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. and the न् is changed to झ by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. The elision of न् is not *Sthānivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sūtra VII. 2. 1. S. 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being *bahiranga*. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Prabhāshās* may be viewed in Pāṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देशपक्ष and the other is कार्यकालपक्ष. The former *i. e.* यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषन् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught;" and the latter, *i. e.* कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषन् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of ज into झ being *asiddha* in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S. 38., there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhāsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than *bahiranga*" finds no scope for application. Therefore ज and झ combining form झ. Thus we get the Acc. Pl. राज्ञः Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परमे व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + डि = व्योमन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no *pratyaya-lakshana* (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the designation of पर (सुप्रतिष्ठन्तं परं) because it has no लुक् after it, so the rule न लोप (VIII. 2. 7. S. 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sūtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sūtra is made, indicates that the rule न लुमताङ्गस्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be *pratyalakshana*. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes पर, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sūtra.

Although न संज्ञा excludes and debars परसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc. pl. Thus राजन् + शस् = राज्ञ् + O + न् + शस् (अल्लोपोऽन) Here the zero will be *sthānivat* (by अन्व. परस्मिन् I. 1. 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to झ : and so we could not et

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the lopādeśa is not sthānivat, because of the vārtika पर्वासासिद्धे न स्थाविषत् (See Mahābhāṣya I. 1. 58 and Siddhanta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix शस् which is out side; and the change of न् into ञ् is inside it, or antaranga; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to ह्युत्त्व, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhāṣā शसिद्ध बहिरङ्ग &c. is derived from the Jñāpaka of बाह ऊङ् (VI. 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyāya and consequently does not see the ह्युत्त्व vidhi of the VIIIth Adhyāya (VIII. 4. 41 S. 111.) by the sūtra पूर्वनासिद्धं, and so there will be no antaranga Bhāva. This proceeds on the view of यथादेश Paksha.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुग्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृतितुग्विधा च नलोपोऽसिद्धो नाग्यत् । राज्ञश्च इत्याद्यो । इत्य-
मिद्धत्वादायमेत्वमैस्त्वं च न । राजभ्याम् । राजभिः । राज्ञे । राजभ्यः । राज्ञाः । राज्ञोः । राज्ञाम् । राज्ञि ।
राजनि । प्रतिरीष्यतीति प्रतिविदा । प्रतिविदानौ । प्रतिविदानः । अस्य भविष्येऽस्मैपेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment त् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it : as सुग्विधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञा-विधि, तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुग्विधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुग्विधिः—As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्याम्, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्याम् by सुविच (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103 S. 205) : as in नराभ्याम् and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजायते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजयति III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4. 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298.) and राजाय there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

On the other hand, from the elision's not being regarded as having taken effect. there is neither prolongation of the vowel (VII. 3. 102 S. 202) nor the change of अ to ऐ (VII. 3. 103 S. 205). nor the substitution of ऐम् for भिस् (VII. 1. 9. S. 203).

Thus Instr : dual and Pl : are राजभ्याम् and राजभिः respectively. The Dative forms are राजे, राजभ्याम्, राजभ्यः ; Abl : and Gen Sing : राज्ञः ; Gen : dual and Pl : राज्ञोः and राज्ञाम् respectively. Loc : Sg. राज्ञि or राजानि ॥

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of प्रतिदिवन् ॥ This word is formed by the Uṇadi affix कनिन् (Uṇadi I. 156) added to the root प्रतिदिच् 'to shine.' It is declined as follows :—Nom: forms are प्रतिदिच्, प्रतिदिवानौ, प्रतिदिवानः ॥

In the Acc : Pl :. the base being bha, the अ of दिवन् is elided (VI. 4. 134. S. 234) and then the following rule comes into operation.

३५४ । हलि च । ८ । २ । ७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोर्हपधाया इको र्दीर्घः स्याद्वलि । न आहोपस्य स्थानिवस्त्वम् । दीर्घविधौ तन्निषेधात् ।
बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा वृत्तन्यायेन न प्रयतते । प्रतिशीघ्रः । प्रतिशीघ्रेत्यादि । यञ्वा । यञ्वानौ । यञ्वानः ॥

354. Of a root ending in र् or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthānivat because of the prohibition in I. 1. 58 S. 57 with regard to दीर्घविधिः and so व् becomes penultimate.

Nor is this elision by VI. 4. 134. S. 234. a bahiranga and therefore asiddha, for the purposes of this rule which is an antaranga, for the reasons already given above under VIII. 2. 8. S. 352.

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतिशीघ्रः ॥ Instr: Sg. प्रतिशीघ्रा &c.

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of यञ्वन् ॥ Its Nom : forms are यञ्वा, यञ्वानौ, यञ्वानः ॥

But in Bha cases there will not be the elision of अ of अन् because of the following prohibition.

३५५ । न संयोगाद्धमन्तात् । ६ । ४ । १३७ ॥

वकारमकारान्तसंयोगात्परस्यानोऽकारस्य लोपो न स्यात् । यञ्वनः । यञ्वना । यञ्वभ्यामित्यादि ।
ब्रह्मणः । ब्रह्मणा । ब्रह्मभ्यामित्यादि ॥

355. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: वज्रवन् ॥ Instr: Sing and dual वज्रवन्ना, वज्रवन्भ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्मणः; Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभिः ॥

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of वृत्रहन् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

३५६ । इन् हन् पूषार्थे णौ शौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शावतोपधाया दीर्घो नान्धश्च । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix णि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sūtra.

३५७ । सौ च । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इन्द्रादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । वृत्रहौ । हे वृत्रहन् । एका लुत्तरपदे इति णत्वम् । वृत्रहणौ । वृत्रहणः । वृत्रहणम् । वृत्रहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृत्रहा, ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृत्रहन् ॥

The न् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D. वृत्रहणौ; N. Pl: वृत्रहणः, Acc: Sg. and Dual: वृत्रहणम् and वृत्रहणौ respectively.

In Acc: Pl: the अ of हन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the ह् is changed to guttural by the following Sūtra.

३५८ । होहन्तेर्णिञ्नेषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

मिति णिति च प्रत्यये नकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the ह् in हन् before an affix having an indicative अ्, or ण् and before न् ॥

The next Sūtra हन्तेरस्पूर्वस्य is divided by the author into two parts. Viz, first, हन्ते' and then अस्पूर्वस्य ॥

३५६। हन्तेः । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रहण्यात् ॥

359. The न्, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As प्रहण्यात् ॥ This requires the न् of वृचहन् to be changed to ण् । But to this the second half of the above Sûtra makes an exception.

३५९ क । अत्पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्यैव नस्य णत्वं नान्यस्य । प्रहन्ति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति न्यायं बाधित्वा एकाजुत्तरपदे इति णत्वमपि निवर्त्यते । नकारे परे कृत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादलोपो न स्थानियत् । वृचघ्नः । वृचघ्ना इत्यादि । यत्तु वृचघ्न इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं तन्नाश्वयवार्तिकविरुद्धम् । एवं शार्ङ्गिन् यशस्विन्नर्यमन्पूषन् । यशस्विन्निनि विन्प्रत्यये इनोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि हन्हन्तिथञ्च ग्रहणं भवत्येव । अग्निनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवत्ता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्तीति वचनात् । अर्यग्णि । अर्यमणि । बृङ्गिः पूषणि ॥

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण् when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form घ्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रहन्तिः ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sûtra into two by the maxim योगविभागाद्विहितोऽद्वयः i. e., "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhāṣā :—"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sûtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307. ordaining णत्व also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthānivat because otherwise the ह् will never be followed by न् and so there will be no scope for Sûtra VII. 3. 54. S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृचघ्नाः. Instr. Sing. : वृचघ्ना &c.

But the optional form वृचघ्णः with a cerebral ण instead of dental न्, according to the opinion of Mādhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. The न् is never changed to ण.

The nouns शार्ङ्गिन्, यशस्विन्, अर्यमन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यशस्विन् is formed with the affix विन् and not हन्. The हन् portion in यशस्विन् has no meaning; and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357. should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhāṣā*,

Paribhāṣā:—"Whenever अन् or इन् or भस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc : Sing of अर्थमन् is अर्थमिण् or अर्थमाणि ॥

Loc. Sing of पूषन् is पूषिण् or पूषणि ॥

—○—

Now, we take up the declension of मघवन्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मघवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मघवन्शब्दस्य वा तु इत्यन्तविशः स्यात् । ऋ इत् ॥

360. तु is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

ऋ of तु is इत्. And thus we get मघवत्.

Here applies the next Sūtra, showing the force of this indicatory ऋ,

३६१ । उगिच्चां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

अधातोर्गुणितो नलोपिनोऽञ्चतेऽत्र जुमांगमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । मघवान् । इह ईध कर्तव्ये संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वं न भवति बहुलमहणात् । तथा च श्वन्तुक्षत्रिति निपातनान्मघशब्दश्चतुषां च भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रित्यैतत् सूत्रं प्रत्यख्यातमाकरे । हविर्जसिति निःशङ्को मखेषु मघवानसाविति भट्टिः । मघवन्तौ । मघवन्तः । हे मघवन् । मघवन्तम् । मघवन्तौ । मघवतः । मघवता । मघवद्भ्यानि-स्यादि । तृत्वाभावे मघवा । छन्दसीवनिपौ चाति वानिबन्तं मध्योदान्तं छन्दस्येव, अन्तोदान्तं तु लोकेऽपीति विशेषः । मघवानौ । मघवानः । सुटि राजवत् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and ल, (with the exception of a root), and the stem मच्, (मञ्चति) get the augment जुम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom : Sing. is मघवान्. The penultimate अ is lengthened by VI. 4. 14. S. 425. The affix तु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the त्त is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54.

The form being मघवन्त, the elision of त् takes place by the Tripāḍi rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pāṇini (i. e. VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The अ of वन्त therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of त् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघवन्? Because of the word बहुलं in the last Sūtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360,

As this word मघवान् requires the help of बहुल to give us the proper form, the author of Mahābhāṣya has effected the formation of मघवान् by the Unādi I. 159, and he has also assumed that the affix मतुप् will effect the same form when added to मघ in secular literature, and therefore he has in his commentary stated that the Sūtra मघवा बहुलं is a redundancy. The author of Bhatti Kāvya also uses the form in secular literature as :—*हविर्जाक्षति निःशङ्को मघेषु मघवानसौ॥* "That Maghavân eats fearlessly the sacrificial offerings in the sacrifices."

The Nom : Dual and Pl. will be मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः ॥

The Voc : Sing will be हे मघवन् ॥

The Acc. forms are मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः ॥

Instr : forms are मघवता, मघवद्भ्याम् &c.

When तृ is not substituted for the final न् of मघवन्, then the Nom : Sing is मघवा ॥

Vārtika :—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई and वनिप् are added to nouns in the sense of मतुप् (See Sūtra V. 2. 122. S. 3498.) Therefore if the word मघवन् be formed with वनिप् added to मघ then the word मघवैन् will have acute accent on the middle in the Chhandas alone, but in the secular literature it has acute accent on the final also. This is the difference, as मघवैन्.

The Nom : Dual and Pl. are मघवानौ, मघवानः ॥

In the Sarvanāmasthāna affixes, मघवन्, without तृ is declined like राजन्. Thus N. D. मघवानौ, N. Pl. मघवानः ; Acc. S. D. are मघवानम् and मघवानौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. the following rule applies :—

३६२ । श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १३३ ॥

अत्रन्तानां भसंज्ञकानामेषामतद्धिते परे संप्रसारणं स्यात् । संप्रसारणाच्च । आहुणः । मघोनः । अत्रन्तानां किम् । मघवतः । मघवता । स्त्रियां मघवती । अतद्धिते किम् । माघवनम् । मघोना । मघवद्भ्यामित्यादि । शुनः । शुना । श्वभ्यामित्यादि । युवन्शब्दे वस्योत्वे कृते ॥

362. The व of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् when ending in अन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus मघवन् + शस् = मघवअन् + शस् = मघवन् + शस् (अ and अ become उ by VI. 1. 108. S. 330) = मघोन् + शस् (अ and उ become ओ by VI. 1. 87. S. 69) = मघोनः ॥

Why do we say 'when ending in अन्'? Observe Acc : Pl: मघवतः when the noun, is मघवन् and not मघवन् ॥ In this case the Instr: Sg. is मघवता ॥

The feminine form of मघवन् is मघवती ॥ Why do we say 'not before a Taddhita affix'? Observe माघवनम् ॥

The Inst : Sg. and Dual of मघवन् are मघोना, मघवभ्यां &c. Similar is the declension of श्वन् ॥ Thus श्वनः (Acc. Pl.), श्वना (Instr : S.); श्वभ्याम् (Instr: Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declension of युवन् ॥

युवन् + शस् = यु + उ + न् + शस् ॥ Here the य of यु would also require to be vocalised. But this is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादन्तस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणम् । श्वनः । श्वना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्वन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So य of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is श्वनः ; Instr : Sg, and Dual are श्वना, युवभ्य and so on.

*Note :—*Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñāpaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as श्वना ॥ It might be objected that when उ of यु, and उ the samprasāraṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58 S. 51). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्वन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्वा, Its Voc : S. is हे अर्वन्

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्घण स्त्रसावनजः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

नञ्चा रहितस्यावर्जन्तस्याङ्गस्य तु ह्रस्वन्तादेशः स्यान्न तु सौ । उमिच्चान्तुम् । अवर्जन्तौ । अवर्जन्तः ।
अवर्जन्तम् । अवर्जन्तौ । अवर्जतः । अवर्जता । अवर्जद्भ्यामित्यादि । अनञ्चः किम् । अनर्वा ; यञ्चयत् ॥

364. **त्** (which is changed to **न्** in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अर्वन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the क् is for the sake of making this affix an ङगित्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have तुक् augment VII, 1 70. S. 361. Thus अर्वन्तो, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तो, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्ता, अर्वन्द्भ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe अनर्वा (N. S.). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यञ्जन् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तर्देशः स्यात्सौ परे। आ आदिति प्रदलेषेण शुद्धाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानान्नानुनासिकः ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pa-
thin' 'mathin' and 'ṛbhukshin', before the ending सु (of
the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthanin here is a nasal (i. e. ञ), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I. 1. 50. 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sūtra is really आ+आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal आँ ॥

३६६ । इतोऽत्सर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पथ्यावेरिक्कारस्याऽकारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. ऋ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and rbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note:—Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of Vl. 4. 9.S. 3541. by which in the case of कृषुक्षिन् we have two forms, कृषुक्षानम् and कृषुक्षणम् ॥

३६७ । योन्यः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

पथिमथोऽथस्थस्य न्याहृशः स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने परे । पन्थाः । पन्थानौ । पन्थानः । पन्थानम् ।
पन्थानौ ॥

367. न्य् is substituted for the य् of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

३६८ । भस्य वेलोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भसंज्ञकस्य पथ्यावेष्टेलोपः स्यात् । पथः । पथा । पथिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्थाः । ऋभुक्षाः । स्त्रियां नान्तलक्षणे ङीप् भत्वाङ्लोपः । सुपथी । सुपथी नगरी । अन्भुक्षी सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुप्तंति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिर्बन्धात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ संबुद्धौ नपुंसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुप्त्वेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भस्वस्य गुणो न । द्विवचने भत्वाङ्लोपः । सुपथी । औ सर्वनामस्थानत्वात् सुपन्थानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्थानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and ṛbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or य (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मया, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन् + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sātra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अन्भुक्षी सेना.

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85. S. 365. because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1. 43. S. 319) and therefore the affix सु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263. Thus सुपथि वनम्. Thus सुपथिन् + सुँ = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing. of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following Vārtika:—

Vārtika :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not guṇated (as it is guṇated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asidḍha in the case of case-endings.

In the Nom : Dual, the base being bha, the हि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix औ. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom : Pl. (स्त्रि) which is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix (I. 1. 42. S. 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1. 86 and 87 S. 367 and 368 apply and so we get the form सुपन्थानि ॥

The Acc : forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि. सुपथी, सुपन्थानि ॥

The Instr : Sing : and Dual are सुपथा, सुपथिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing : is सुपथे &c.

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चम्. It is a षद् word by the following definition.

३६९ । षणान्ता षद् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षात्ता नान्ता च संख्या षदसंज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रश्नः । पामानः । शतानि सहस्राण्येव संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसंनिपातेन कृतस्य उभस्तद्विधातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षड्चतुर्थ्येति नृद् ॥

369. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shaṭ.

It is one of the peculiarities of षद् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus पञ्च पञ्च ॥

Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रश्नः and पामानः ॥

Note :—This sūtra defines the term षद् which is a subdivision of the larger group sankhyâ. Those Sankhyâs which end in ष or न are called षद् ॥ The word sankhyâ is understood in this sūtra, because the word षणान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चम् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तम्, 'seven,' अष्टम् 'eight,' नवम् 'nine,' दशम् 'ten.'

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i. e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षद् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided ; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom : Pl : of शत we have शत + शि Then we add लुक् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतम् + शि । Here the word is a sankhyâ and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this शि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim संनिपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of शि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्राणि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc : plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः respectively.

The augment नृद् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl: Then the following sūtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया हीर्घः स्यान्नामि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे तु न लुगुवै । म्रियपञ्चा । म्रियपञ्चानौ । म्रियपञ्चानः । म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55. S. 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु. Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N. Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen : Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लृक् of Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261. nor the बुद् augment of VII. 1. 55. S. 338. Thus म्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom : म्रियपञ्चा, म्रियपञ्चानौ, म्रियपञ्चानः; Acc. म्रियपञ्चाम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन्. In the declension of अष्टन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याद्वलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औश् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकाराष्टनः परयोऽसृशसोरोश् स्यात् । अष्टभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतात्वनिर्देशो असृशसोर्विषये आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेदमष्टन आत्वंम् । अष्टनो हीर्घोऽस्ति सूत्र हीर्घमहणाज्ज्ञापकात् । अष्टौ २ । परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभिः । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावः । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौणत्वे स्वात्वाभावेराजवत् । शसि म्रियाष्टः । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधावलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् हुत्वम् । कार्यकालपक्षे यद्विद्वत्स्यालोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा । म्रियाष्टा इत्यादि । अदशसोरनुमीयमानमात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणतायाम् । तेन म्रियाष्टौ हलादिव वैकल्पिकमात्वंम् । म्रियाष्टाभ्याम् । म्रियाष्टाभिः । म्रियाष्टाभ्यः २ । म्रियाष्टासु ।

म्रियाष्टौ राजवत्स्वर्वा हाहावद्यापरं हलि ॥

भयभावः । जदत्वचत्वे । भुत् । भुद । भुवै । भुधः । भुधा । भुद्रायम् । भुस्तु ॥

372. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् V11. 2. 84) औश् is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टा अ instead of अष्टभ्यः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural ; and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jñâpaka of VI. 1. 172, S. 3718. where the word स्तृष indicates that there are two forms of अहन् ॥ This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sūtra VII. I. 22. S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षट् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

*Note :—*The use of दीर्घान् in sūtra VI. 1. 172. S. 3718 indicates that the word अहन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII. 2. 84. S. 371. thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घान् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अहन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घान्, namely, it makes the word अहान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अहान् was not to be called a षट्, like अहन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अहान् while it would be debarred in the case of अहन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घान् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows :—

अष्टौ, अष्टौ, परमाष्टौ, अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टासु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अहन्, that is when the base is not अहान् then we have अष्ट, अष्ट, *i. e.* अहन् is then declined like पञ्चन ॥

When अहन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc: Pl: is मियाहन्ः ॥ The न is not changed to ण because the elided अ is considered as sthānivat, because of I. 1. 57. S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्माद्विधि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ढ, the subsequent letter न requires to be changed to ण, the elided अ becomes sthānivat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अहन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of ष्टुस्व (VII. 4. 41. S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134. applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like. षस् while the change of न् to ण is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. मियाहन्ना &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अहन् before जस् and षस् (see above) is to take place then only when अहन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrīhi compound. As in the compound मियाहन् meaning " he who loves eight persons," the word अहन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of **अ** in **मियाहन्** before **अस्** and **हस्** ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As **मियाहाम्यान्** or **मियाहाम्यो** ॥

Verse :—This word **मियाहन्** resembles **राजन्** in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles **ह्राह्**. Before consonantal cases, the base is **मियाह** ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **न्**.

—————:O:—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ध्**.

Now we take up the declension of **बुध्**. It is formed by adding the affix **क्विप्** to the root **बुध्**. The **ब** is changed to **भ** by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then **ध** is changed to **व**, optionally to **त्त**, by **भलोअशोऽन्ते** (VIII. 2. 39. S. 84). Thus N. S. is **बुध्** or **बुध्** Nom. D. **बुधौ**. N. P. **बुधः** Ins. S. **बुधा**. Ins. D. **बुध्भ्याम्**. Loc. Pl. **बुधसु**.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ध्**.

—————:O:—————

Declension of Masculine nouns ending in **ञ्** ॥

Now we take up the declension of **युञ्**. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix **क्विन्** to the root **युञ्** by the following Sûtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्त्रिदिगुणिगञ्चुयुजिक्कुञ्जां च । ३ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यः क्विन् स्यात् । भलात्तणिकमपि क्विन्स्कार्यं निपातनाह्वयते । निरुपपदाद्युजेः क्विन् । कृतवितो ॥

373. The words **ऋत्विक्** 'a domestic priest', **दधृक्** 'impudent', **स्त्रिक्** 'a garland', **दिक्** 'a direction' and **उणिक्** 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix **क्विन्**; and so also after the verbs **अञ्चु** 'to worship', **युजि** 'to join' and **कुञ्च** 'to approach', the affix **क्विन्** is employed.

The affix **क्विन्** comes after the three roots **युञ्**, **अञ्चु**, and **कुञ्च** ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of **क्विन्** to these verbs.

The affix **क्विन्** comes after **युजि** and **कुञ्च** when these are uncombined.

Note:—Otherwise in combination the affix would be **क्विप्** (III. 2. 61. S. 2975). The difference between **क्विप्** and **क्विन्** is that the latter gives us the Nom. S. **बुध्**; while the former will give us the N. S. **युक्** as in **अभ्ययुक्** ॥

Of the affix **क्विन्** the **क्** and **न्** are indicative (**इन्**); the affix is really **व** ॥ This is a **कृन्** affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. **कृन्** is defined in the following sūtra.

३७४ । कृदतिङ् । ३ । १ । ६३ ॥

संनिहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्स्नः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Kṛit affix वि is elided by the following sūtra.

३७५ । वेरपृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तद्धितेति प्रातिपदिकस्वास्वादयः ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter च ॥

Note :—The affix वि includes विवप्, विवन्, विव् &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I. 2. 41 S. 251), is elided. Thus ब्रह्मह, ब्रूणह् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998). Here the affix विवप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58. S. 432). Here the affix विवन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक्, पादभाक्, दुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix विव् is elided.

Why do we say “of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter”? Observe ष्विः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृविः formed by विवन्, see Uṇādi Sûtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word युज् being a कृदन्त word gets the designation of Prâtipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. युज् + सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sūtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने युम् स्यादसमासे । सुलोपः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु + न् + ज् + स् = यु + न् + ज् + O (the स् being elided by VI. 1. 68, S. 252.) = यु + न् + O (the ज् being elided by VIII. 2 23, S. 54).

Thus we get युन् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

३७७ । किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

किन्प्रत्ययो बसमात्तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्पदान्ते । नस्य कुत्वेनानुनासिको ङकारः । युक् । नञापदान्तस्येति जुभोऽनुस्वारः परसवर्णः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कुत्वं न । युञ्जौ । युञ्जः । युञ्जम् । युञ्जो । युजः । युजा । युग्भ्यामित्यादि । असमासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix किन् under III. 2, 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पदस्य is understood here. The word किन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As वृत्स्पृक् (III. 2, 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The न् being changed to guttural, we get क् Thus युन् becomes युक् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the न् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and this anusvāra is changed to ङ् being the nasal letter belonging to च varga. But the anusvāra as ordained by the subsequent Tripādi rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvāra to be changed to guttural.

Thus युञ्जौ (N. D.) युञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc : forms are युञ्जम्, युञ्जौ, युजः ; Instr: forms are युजा, युग्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say असमासे in the sūtra VII. 1. 71. S. 376. Because in compounds like सुयुज्, there is no युम् augment. In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्याज्भाति पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वम् । किन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सुयुक् । सुयुग् । सुयुजौ । सुयुजः । युजैरिति धातुपाठपरितेकारविशिष्टस्यानुकरणं न त्विका निर्देशः । तेनेह न । युज्यते समाधत्ते इति युक् । युज समाधौ वैवाहिक आत्मनेपदी । संयोगान्तलोपः । खन् । खञ्जौ । खञ्जः । इत्यादि । ब्रूयति षत्वम् । जडत्वचत्वे । राट् । राड् । राजौ । राजः । राट्सु । राट्सु । एव विभ्राट् । वेवेट् । वेवेजौ । वेवेजः । विश्वसृट् । विश्वसृज् । विश्वसजौ । विश्वसृजः । इह सृजियङ्योः कुत्वं नेति ह्रीञि पश्यते । परिमृट् । षत्वविधौ राजिसाहचर्यात् दुभ्राट् रीप्ताविति फणादिरेव गृह्यते । यस्तु एङ्भ्रञ्जुभ्राजुशीप्ताविति तस्य कुत्वमेव । विभ्राट् । विभ्राज् । विभ्राग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ परौ व्रजः वः पदान्ते ॥ परावुपपदे व्रजः किप् स्याद्रीर्धश्च पदान्तविषये षत्वं च । परित्यज्य सर्वे व्रजतीति परिव्राट् । परिव्राजौ । परिव्राजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ज् to a guttural i. e. of क class. The कुत्व ordained by VII. 2. 62. S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sūtra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pāṇini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्, the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्तिन् under Sūtra VIII. 2. 62 S. 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sūtra अहन् VIII. 2. 68. S. 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom : forms are सुयुक् or सुयुक्, सुयुजौ, सुयुजः ॥ In the Sūtra VII. I. 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युज् showing that that root of the Dhātupāṭha should be taken which ends in ह्, viz. the root युजि शोणे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् समाधौ the 10th root of the इवादि class and is Ātmanepadi. In the latter case, the form will be युक्

Now we take up the declension of खञ्ज्. It is derived from खजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्तिप् ॥

The ह् of खजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind खज् to which the augment लुक् is added by VII. 1. 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+लु+क्. Then ज् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. Thus we get खल्. In the N. S. the affix लु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खल्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खलौ and खलजः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. the ज् of राज् is changed to ण्. Then the ण् is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Then ङ् is changed to इ. Thus we get N. S. राइ or राइ. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राजः ॥ Loc. Pl. is राइसु or राइसु. Similarly is declined विभाज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेद, देवेजा, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृद् or विश्वसृङ्, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and यज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sūtra VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The N. S. of पतिवृज् is पतिवृद् ॥

The word विभाज् given above is formed from that root भाज् which belongs to कणादि subdivision of भ्रादि gaṇa, i. e. the root डुभाज् 'to shine' भ्रादि 875. and not the root भाज् number 20 of the भ्रादि where it is exhibited भाजि दीप्तौ. This we do, because the root भाज् is read along with root राज् in the कणादि subdivision; and as the VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. mentions राज् and भाज् together, the भाज् here should be taken as the भाज् of the कणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other भाज् which is shown along with एज्, भेज् and भाज्, (Dhātupāṭha भ्रादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this भाज् there will be कृत् and not णत्. Thus N. S. is विभाक् or विभाण्. Instr. D. विभाग्भ्यां &c.

Vārtika. When व्रज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्तिप् and the व is lengthened and ज् is changed to ण् when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of परिव्राज् is परिव्राङ् which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are परिव्राजौ and परिव्राजः respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३७६ । विश्वस्य वसुरादोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वशब्दस्य सूर्यः स्यादसौ राट्शब्दे च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राडिति पदान्तोप-
लक्षणार्थम् । अर्धमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराट् । विश्वाराड् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वावसुः, i. e. one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राट् is taken in the Sūtra only as an illustration of its Padānta form. It does not mean that the form विश्वाराड् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, i. e., विश्वाराट् and विश्वाराड्.

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Now, we take up the declension of भस्ज. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्क्रोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पदान्ते भलि च परे यः संयोगस्तवाद्योः सकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृद् । भृङ् । तस्य इत्युत्पे-
नः । तस्य जइत्वेन जः । भृज्जौ । भृज्जः । ऋत्विगित्यादिना कृताद्युपपदे यजेः क्तिन् । क्तिन्नन्त्वात्कुत्वम् ।
ऋत्विक् । ऋत्विग् । ऋत्विजौ । ऋत्विजः । रास्त्वस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जौ ।
ऊर्जः । त्वाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

380. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root भस्ज् we add the affix क्तिप् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the स् being elided by the present Sūtra, ज् is changed into ङ् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into इ or ङ as in the case of राट् already shown above under VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृद् or भृङ्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to ष् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This ष् is again changed to ङ् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृङ्जौ. N. Pl. is भृङ्जः.

Now we take up the declension of ऋत्विज्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the root यज् with the upapada (subsidiary term) कृत्तु in combination. (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The क्तिप् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is ऋत्विक् or ऋत्विग्. N. D. and Plural ऋत्विजौ and ऋत्विजः ॥

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्जः. By Sūtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. no consonant after ॠ is elided except स्. Therefore ज् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ॠ by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ॠ shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ॠ will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्ज् from ऊर्जः + क्तिप् (III. 2. 177 S. 3157), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 Thus N. S. is ऊर्ज् or ऊर्जः. N. D. and Pl. are ऊर्जो and ऊर्जः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ज्.

—————:0:—————

There are no Masculine nouns ending in ॠ, ॡ or ॢ.

We take up now the declension of ल्यद्. The ॠ of ल्यद् is replaced by अ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base ल्य before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१ । तदोः सः साधनन्त्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

ल्यदादीनां तकारवकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सः स्वास्तौ परे । स्यः । ल्यौ । ल्ये । ल्यम् । ल्यौ । ल्यान् । सः । सौ । ते । परमसः । परमतौ । परमते । द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव । नेह । ल्यम् । तच्च तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्याच्चेति शाब्दम्, अतिस्वमिति गौणे चरितार्थत्वात् ॥ संज्ञायां गौणत्वे चात्वसत्त्वे न । ल्यद् । ल्यदौ । ल्यदः । अतिल्यद् । अतिल्यदौ । अतिल्यदः । यः । यौ । ये । एषः । एतौ । एते । अन्वदिशे तु, एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः २ ॥

381. For the non-final ल् and द् of ल्यद् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular.

As ल्यद् + सु = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = स्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from लद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + स् (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So अस्तौ from अदस् by the sūtra VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to ल्यदादि words, which as we have already shown, begin with ल्यद् and end with दि in the list of sarvanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to ल्यम् which is not included in the ल्यदादि class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the ल् of ल्यः, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching स् substitution in the place of सुम् by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sūtra could have been made as स्वास्तौ सौ instead of स्वास्तौ for it would have been better to say at once let ल्यम् be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it स्वम् and then changing the form into स्वं ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of स्वं substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अतिस्वम्, where स्वम् is a secondary member only. In the case of स्वम् the present rule would have applied. When these words i. e. स्वद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjñās (संज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अस्व VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and सस्व VII. 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanāmas, for see explanation under sūtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus स्वद्, स्वदौ, स्वद्; अतिस्वद्, अतिस्वदौ अतिस्वद्: &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as यः, यौ, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एषः, एतौ, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वहिता for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351. we have Acc. forms एतम्, एतौ, एतान्; Instr. Sg. एतेन; Genitive and Loc. : Dual एतयोः ॥

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । ऊं प्रथमयोरम् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्वर्णा परस्व ऊं इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चामादेशः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The ऊं the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, ऊं:) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + ऊं = तुभ्यद् + ऊं (VII. 2. 95) = तुभ्य + ऊं (VII. 2. 90) = तुभ्य + अम् VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मयम् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ६१ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sūtras in the order of Ashtādhyāyī.

३८४ । त्वाहौ सौ । ७ । २ । ६४ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्वर्णमपर्यन्तस्य त्व अह इत्येतावावसौ स्तः सौ परे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

३८५। शेषे लोपः । ७ । २ । ६० ॥

आत्वयत्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो गुणे ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ स्वम् । अहम् । ननु त्वं स्त्री अहं स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अह अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूपं परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वाप् प्राप्नोति । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावात् दाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्थानिनोऽधिकरणत्वविवक्षया ॥ तेन मपर्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स च परोऽप्यन्तरङ्गे अतो गुणे कृते प्रवर्तते । अदन्त्वाभावात् दाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or अ is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = स्वद् (VII. 2. 94. S. 384) + अम् = स्व + अम् (द् is elided by the present sūtra) = स्वम् (by VI. I. 97. S. 191. and VI. I. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not दाप् added in the feminine in 'स्वम् स्त्री' 'अहम् स्त्री' for स्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pūrvarūpa rule ordained by VI. I. 97. S. 191 and VI. I. 107. S. 194. though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining दाप् to be added to स्व and अह ?

True. But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix दाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this-difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the previous sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that remains (शेषः) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthāni* which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म् and अस्म् portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sūtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (*i. e.* where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor अ as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. I. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मत् + अम् = स्व + अत् + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अत् should be elided first by शेषे लोपः then should apply the rule of अतो गुणे if at all. Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with अ, and so would require दाप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

again recurs. To clear up this point, we state that the rule of elision (ह्रास लोपः) is bahiranga, because its efficient cause lies outside in the affix अन्, while the अतो गुणे rule is antaranga, because the occasion for its application or the efficient cause is *within* the very form स्व+अन्. Therefore अतो गुणे will apply first, we get स्वत्+अन्. Then अन् produces its effect i. e. अन् is elided, and we get स्व+अस् ॥ As there is no अ in स्व, it would not require दाप् ॥ Thus we get स्वम् in the feminine also.

So also परमस्वम्, परमाहम्, अतित्वम् and अत्यहम्. In forming the N. Dual, the following rules apply.

३८६ । युवावौ द्विवचने । ७ । २ । ९२ ॥

इयोरुक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य युवावौ स्तौ विभक्तौ ॥

386. युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म, when the bases themselves denote duality.

३८७ । प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् । ७ । २ । ८८ ॥

इह युष्मदस्मदोराकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । औडीलीव सुवचम् । भाषायां किम् । युवं वक्ष्यामि । युवाम् । आवाम् । मपर्यन्तस्य किम् । साकृत्कस्य मा भूत् । युवकाम् । आवकाम् । स्या मयेत्यत्र स्या म्येति मा भूत् । युवकाभ्यामावकाभ्यामिति च न सिद्धयेत् ॥

387. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the spoken language.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ It would have been better had the Sūtra been enunciated as "औडि." only. Why in the "spoken language"? Observe युवं वक्ष्यामि पीवसा वसाये in the Veda, so also आवाम् ॥

Why 'upto म्'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 S. 389. teaches that स्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by the sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383. 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus स्वया, मया the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. S. 392. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of स्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89 S. 392), and given us undesired forms like स्या and म्या ॥ Similarly the forms युवकाभ्याम् and आवकाभ्याम् would not have been evolved.

In forming the N. Pl. the following rule applies.

३८८ । यूयवयौ जासि । ७ । २ । ६३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । यूयम् । वयम् । परमयूयम् । परमवयम् । अतियूयम् । अतिवयम् । इह शेषे लोपोऽन्यलोप इति पक्षेः, जसः शीः प्राप्तः । अङ्गकार्ये कृते पुनर्नाङ्गकार्यमिति न भवति । हे मयमयोऽरित्यत्र मकारान्तं माभ्यस्य अन् मान् एवावीक्ष्यते नतु विक्रियत इति व्याख्यानाह ॥

388. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

Thus यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमिवयम्, अतिवूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥

Now some one may object that जस् (Nom. Pl) should be changed into जी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214); after त् in युष्मत् has been elided by ह्ये लोपः in the first sense; for then the base is युष्म which ends in म् which is the efficient cause for the application of जस्: जी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity:—

Maxim:—If one sūtra of the Angādhikāra (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4. end) has once been applied, another sūtra of the same Adhikāra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore जस् is not replaced by जी. Or we may say that in the sūtra ऊं प्रथमयोरम् (VII. 1. 28 S. 382) one more म् is understood, i. e. the sūtra is ऊं प्रथमयोरम्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८६ । त्वमावेकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकस्योक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्वमौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३९० । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ८७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्यात् । स्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आवाम् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As स्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम् ॥

३९१ । शसो न । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

नेत्यविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्व्यां परस्य शसो नकारः स्यात् । अमोऽपवादः । आदिः परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the अ of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मत् + अस् = युष्म + अस् = युष्मा + न् (theस् is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and अ is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial अ of अस् on the maxim आदिः परस्य I. 1. 54. S. 44. because the operation is ordained after युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३९२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्व्यकारदेशः स्यादनादेशोऽज्जादेशः परतः । त्वया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशो । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्व्यकारः स्यादनादेशो हलादेशो विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33. S. 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभिः, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमहौ डयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्यमहौ स्तो डयि । अनादेशः । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मह्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । परममह्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for डे by VII. 1. 28. S. 382. the त् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यस्तोभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यस्तो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा आदेशः स्यात् । आद्यः शेषे लोपस्यान्यस्तोपस्य एव । तत्राङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया एवं न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि साधुः । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यस्तो भ्यम्) not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases,

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103. S. 205. This ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्विहितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + भ = अभ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मेभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta भ of yushma being elided by the anr dātta अ of अभ्यन्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 S. 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We shall show in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आवि (*beginning*) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्येकवचनस्य भक्त्यात् । खत् । मत् । ङसेवेति युवचम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As खद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of ख and म see VII. 2. 97 ; S. 389. and ख and म + अत् = खत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेश्च.'

Abl. Dual युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽन्त्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 before the case ending भ्यस् and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

३९८ । तवममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । २६ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तवममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म .

३६६ । युष्मदस्मद्व्यां ङसोऽश् । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

स्पष्टम् । तव । मम । युवयोः । आवयोः ॥

399. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस् after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ; युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

The indicatory श् of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, S. 45 the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced; otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89 S. 392 would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96 S. 398 and तव + अ (अश्), and मम् + अ = तव and मम् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

४०० । साम् आकम् । ७ । १ । ३३ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य साम् आकं स्यात् । आविनः सुवो निवृत्यर्थं समुद्कनिर्देशः । युष्माकम् । अस्माकम् । स्वयि । मयि । युवयोः । आवयोः । युष्मासु । अस्मासु ॥

समस्यमाने द्व्येकत्ववाचिनी युष्मवस्मदी । समासार्थोऽन्यसंख्यध्वस्तो युवावौ स्वमावपि ॥ १

सुजस्ङेङस्सु परत आवेशाः स्युः सदैव ते । त्वाहौऽयवयौ तुभ्यमहौ तवममावपि ॥ २ ॥

एते परत्वाद्वाधन्ते युवावौ विषये स्वके । स्वमावपि प्रबाधन्ते पुर्वविप्रतिषेधतः ॥ ३ ॥

द्व्येकसंख्यः समासार्थो बह्वर्थे युष्मवस्मदी । तयोर्द्व्येकतार्थत्वात् युवावौ स्वमौ च न ॥ ४ ॥

त्वां मां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् । अतित्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतिशूयम् । अतिवयम् । अतित्वाम् २ । अतिमाम् २ । अतित्वान् । अतिमान् । अतित्वया । अतिमया । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वाभिः । अतिमाभिः । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वभ्यम् । अतिमभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतित्वत् २ । अतिमत् २ । भ्यानि प्राग्वत् । अतितव । अतिमम । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वाकम् । अतिमाकम् । अतित्वायि । अतिमयि । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वासु । अतिमासु ।

युवाम्, आवां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्सु प्राग्वत् । औभम् औह् । अतियुवाम् । ३ । अत्यावाम् । ३ । अतियुवान् । अत्यावान् । अतियुवया । अत्यावया । अतियुवाभ्याम् । ३ । अत्यावाभ्याम् । ३ । अतियुवाभिः । अत्यावाभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुवभ्यम् । अत्यावभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुवत् २ । अत्यावत् २ । औसि । अतियुवयोः २ । अत्यावयोः २ । अतियुवाकम् । अत्यावाकम् । अतियुवयि । अत्यावयि । अतियुवासु । अत्यावासु ।

युष्मानस्मान्नेति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्सु प्राग्वत् । औभम् औह् । अतियुष्माम् । ३ । अत्यस्माम् । ३ । अतियुष्मान् । अत्यस्मान् । अतियुष्मया । अत्यस्मया । अतियुष्माभ्याम् । ३ । अत्यस्माभ्याम् । ३ । अतियुष्माभिः । अत्यस्माभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुष्मभ्यम् । अत्यस्मभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुष्मत् । अत्यस्मत् । औसि । अतियुष्मयोः २ । अत्यस्मयोः २ । अतियुष्माकम् । अत्यस्माकम् । अतियुष्मयि । अत्यस्मयि । अतियुष्मासु । अत्यस्मासु ॥

400. साम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217.), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus यष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not गाम्, when there is no स

at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that भाकम् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स्; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्मद् + भाकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्मद् + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103 S. 205).

Why has Pânini used the form साम् and not आम्? The objector may say there was no necessity of using साम् for the following reason:—युष्मन् + साम् as the base युष्मन् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आनि सर्वनामः सुद् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of न् by षे लोपः, (VII. 2. 90. S. 385) the सुद् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated साम् भाकम् ॥

But when the sûtra षे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनामः सुद् is prevented.

—————:0:—————

Verses :—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also एव and युव will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and अथ for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) जस् (Nom. Pl.), ऊ (Dat. S.), ऊस् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by एव, यूय, तुभ्य and तव and अस्मद् by अह, वय, मय्य and मम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede युव, and अथ by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching युव and अथ substitutions. While एव and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेध ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then युव, अथ, एव and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here. (4)

—————:0:—————

I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अतिस्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus : स्वां अति क्रान्तः = अतिस्वम्, मां अतिक्रान्तः = अत्यहम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति-अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitīyā Tatpuruṣa compounds : and consequently they get Prātipadika samjñā and सु in the Nom. S. Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies : and we have अतिस्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom. Dual.) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (के प्रथमशो-
रम् VII. 1. 28 S. 382). Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अतिस्व + अम् = अतिस्वाम्. So also अतिमाम् ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + जस ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतिवृथ + अम् = अतिवृथम् ॥ So also अतिवृथम् ॥

Then in Acc. Sing and Dual we have अतिस्वाम् and अतिमाम् by the first verse. In Acc. Pl. we have अतिस्वान् and अतिमान् by the same.

The Ins. forms are derived by applying the first verse : as अतिस्वया, अतिस्वाभ्याम्, अतिस्वाभिः &c. In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply, and thus we get अतिवृथम् and अतिमहम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply. as अतिस्वत् (S), अतिस्वन् (D.) अतिस्वाभ्याम् (Pl.)

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply, and so we get अतित्व and अतिमम् ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

II. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL.

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिक्रान्तः सुवां and अतिक्रान्तः आवाम्, then :—

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतिस्व + अम् = अतिस्वम् and so also अत्यहम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom. Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतिवृथम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the Nom. Pl. the second verse will apply, and we have अतिवृथम् and अतिवृथम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc. the first verse will apply. as अतिवृथम्, and अतिवृथम्, and अत्यावाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the plural we have अतिवृथान् and अत्यावान् ॥

In the Ins. numbers the first verse will apply : and we have अतिवृथया अतिवृथाभ्याम् and अतिवृथाभिः ; and अत्यावया, अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावाभिः ॥

In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply and we have अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse : as अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies : as अतियुवत्, अतियुवत्, and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत्, अत्यावत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first : and we have ; अतितव, अतियुवयोः अतियुवाकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc. Sing. Dual and Pl. the first verse will apply and so we get :—अतियुवयि, अतियुवयोः, अतियुवास्तु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावास्तु ॥

III. युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural.

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural : as अतिक्रान्तः युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति-अस्मद् will be declined as follow :—

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतित्वम् अत्यहम्	अतियुष्माम् अत्यस्माम्	अतियुष्मया अत्यस्मया	अतितुभ्यम् अतिमह्यम्	अतियुष्मत् अत्यस्मत्	अतितव अतिमम	अतियुष्मयि अत्यस्मयि
Dual	अतियुष्माम् अत्यस्माम्	” ”	अतियुष्माभ्याम् अत्यस्माभ्याम्	” ”	” ”	अतियुष्मयोः अत्यस्मयोः	” ”
Plural	अतियुयम् अतिवयम्	अतियुष्मान् अत्यस्मान्	अतियुष्माभिः अत्यस्माभिः	अतियुष्मभ्यम् अत्यस्मभ्यम्	अतियुष्मत् अत्यस्मत्	अतियुष्माकम् अत्यस्माकम्	अतियुष्मास्तु अत्यस्मास्तु

४०१ । पदस्य । ८ । १ । १६ ॥

401. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase “of a word,” or “to the whole of a word.”

Note :—This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55, in order of enunciation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.

४०२ । पदात् । ८ । १ । १७ ॥

402. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase “after a pada.”

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । ८ । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse”

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वानावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्पथोरपादावौ स्थितयोरनयोः षष्ठ्यादिविशिष्टयोर्वानावित्यादेवौ स्तः । तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

404. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudatta.

All the three sūtras पश्य, पश्वात् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादावौ are applicable here.

Note:—These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वसूनसौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयोः षष्ठ्यादिवहुवचनान्तयोर्वसूनसौ स्तः । वाम्नावोरपवादः ॥

405. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudatta)

This Sūtra debars the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sūtra.

४०६ । तेभ्यवेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः ॥

406. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudatta).

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एतौ स्तः ।

श्रीरास्त्वाऽवतु मापीह दत्तात्ते मेऽपि शर्म सः । त्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरिः पातु वामपि नौ विशुः ॥१॥

सुखं वां नौ वरास्वीशः पतिर्वामपि नौ हरिः । सोऽव्याहो नः शिवं वो नो वद्यास्तेष्वोऽव वः स नः ॥ २ ॥

परात्परयोः किम् । वाक्योऽो मा भूत् । त्वां पातु । मां पातु । अपादावो किम् । वेदेरशेषैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ।

स्थमहयाच्छ्रयमायविभक्तिकयोरेव । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति । इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति ॥

समानवाक्ये निधातुयुष्मदस्माद्वाङ्मा वक्तव्याः * ॥ एकतिङ् वाक्यम् । तेनेह न । ओद नं पञ्च तव भविष्यति । इह तु स्यादव । शालीनां ते ओदने दास्यामीति ॥

एनं वांतावाहय आदेशा अनन्वादेशे वा वक्तव्याः * ॥ अनन्वादेशे तु नित्यं स्युः । धाता ते भक्तोऽस्ति । धाता तव भक्तोऽस्तीति वा । तस्मै ते नम इत्येव ॥

407. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

Verses.—"May the Lord of *Srī* preserve thee (twā) and me (mā) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also.

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vām) and also us two (nau).

May God give felicity to you two (vām) and to us two (nau).

Hari is the Lord of you two (vām) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vaḥ) and us (naḥ), may He give prosperity to you (vaḥ) and to us (naḥ)

He is the object of worship here of you (vaḥ) and of us (naḥ)."

Why do we say "पठान्" *i. e.* after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence. As त्वं पातु and not त्वा पातु. Similarly मां पातु also.

Why do we say "अपादादौ" *i. e.* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe वेदेऽश्वैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वपातु ॥ Here we have अस्मान् and not वयम् ॥

The word एष in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here : इति शुष्मन्तुषः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet एः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

Vārt.—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII. 1. 19 and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. The word वाक्य or " sentence " means that which contains one finite verb. Therefore not here;—भोदन् पच, तत्र भविष्यति । भोदन् पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ " Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food it will be for me." That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad. But the rule will apply here ;—शालीनां ते भोदन् दास्यामि ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim सन्त्यः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

For शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओदनं i. e. शालीनां ओदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

Vart:—It should be stated, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c. are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not; but when there is anvādesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional. Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातातवभक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvādesa, we have only one form, as तस्मैते नमः ॥ Which means “Brahmā is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper.” But in the sequel, “to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due,” the form ते alone is admissible.

४०८ । न चवाहाह्वैवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

आद्यपञ्चक्योरो नैते आदेशाः स्युः । हरिस्त्वां मां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तमहणात्साक्षाद्योगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । हरो हरिश्च ते स्वामी ॥

408. The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz :—च, ‘and’ वा, ‘or’ ह, ‘oh ! अह ‘wonderful’, or एव ‘only’.

Thus हरिस्त्वां च मां च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms. Thus हरो हरिश्च ते स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word. Therefore the prohibition does not apply.

४०९ । पदयार्थेऽज्ञानालोचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

अवाक्षुषज्ञानार्थैर्धातुभिर्योगे एते आदेशा न स्युः । चेतसा त्वां समीक्षते । परम्परासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तस्तव रूपं ध्यायति । आलोचने तु भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

409. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing” when physical seeing is not denoted, but “knowing” is meant.

Note:—The word पदयार्थाः is equivalent to वर्तनार्थाः, and वर्तन means ‘knowledge’, i. e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i. e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and भस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus चेत्तसा स्वांसमीक्षते, भक्तस्त्ववरूपं ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

Ishṭi:— With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct : as. भक्तस्त्ववरूपं ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वाल्पमान्तास्पर्योत्तरयोर्न्यायेऽप्येत आदेशा वा स्युः । भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां चायते स माम् । स्वा मेति वा ॥

410. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anuvâdeṣa.

Thus भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां चायते स माम् ॥ Here the alternative forms स्वा and मा are admissible.

—————:O:—————

We have already said that शुष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pāda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रित्व which is defined in the next sūtra, then also though शुष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pāda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sūtra after next.

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तर्मासन्त्रितसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

411. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative.

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अग्रे तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्रे नय । अग्रे इन्द्र वरुण । इह शुष्मदस्मद्वोरप्येवमस्ति ङन्तनिघात आमन्त्रितनिघातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि नतः प्राचीनं रक्षेत्येवमस्ति आदेशः । एवम् इमं मे गच्छे यमुने इति मन्त्रे यमुने इत्यादिभ्यः प्राचीनामन्त्रिताविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि भेदादस्मद्वोरप्येवमस्ति निघातः ॥

412. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of शुष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्रे! तव ॥ देव! अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्रे! नय ॥ अग्रे! इन्द्र! वरुण! ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्रे and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्रे नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935.

In अम्र ! इन्द्र ! वरुण ! the rule VIII. 1.19 S. 3654 does not apply.

Note :—Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent ? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent Vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. S. 3654 As देवदत्त ! धेनुदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. S. 3653 (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 S. 3935 is prevented : as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 S. 404 &c. is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) ग्रामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37. S. 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb ; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अतन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb : as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि it (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, S. 3954 though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्वे and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, S. 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50. S. 3957

In ' सर्वदा रक्ष देव नः ' although the word देव is non existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word नः is used.

In इमं मे गङ्गे यदुने सरस्वति वातुहि the first Vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यदुने, and, therefore, यदुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यदुने becomes anudatta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥ This nighâta or accentlessness is heard in Pada-Pâtha only, i. e. when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitâ-reading. In Sanhitâ there will be eka-sruti of I. 2. 39 S. 3668.

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्यं समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते परे नाविद्यमानवस्थान् । हरे दयालो नः पाहि । अग्ने तेजस्विन् ॥

413. A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

Thus हरे दयालो नः पाहि " O Hari ! O Merciful ! protect us." अग्ने तेजस्विन् " O Agni ! O powerful !" Here तेजस्विन् is all anudatta by VIII. 1. 19 S. 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative.

Note :—Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word' ? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus ईश्वरे ईश्वरे ईश्वरे ईश्वरे ईश्वरे

कौष्ये विह्व्ये एतानि ते अघ्न्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:—इडे रत्नेऽग्निने सरस्वति मित्र प्रेक्षासि महि विभूते, एतानि ते अघ्निये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus अग्ने गृह्यते, नीलवक्त्रदिलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent' ? Observe देवदत्त पचति here the verb does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे ? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञवत्, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञवत्, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Then applies Sūtra VIII. 1. 74. S. 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here.

४१३ (क) । विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ऽ । १ । ७४ ॥

अथ भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यामीति । बहुवचनान्तं विशेष्यं सामानाधिकरणे सामन्त्रिते विशेषणे परे अव्यभिचमानवद्वा । शून्यं प्रभवः । देवाः क्षरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे वो भजे इति वा । इहान्वादेष्टीऽपि वैकल्पिका भविष्याः । सुपात् । सुपाद् । सुपादौ । सुपादः । सुपावम् । सुपादौ ॥

413. A. When the preceding Vocative is in the plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

Here the author of the Mahābhāṣya states:—"The word *bahuvachanam* should be added to the sūtra to complete the sense." That is the sūtra should run as विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sūtra with this emendation of Patanjali.

Thus शून्यं प्रभवः, देवाः क्षरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे or वो भजे ॥ Here even in anvādeśa, there is optional substitution of वः for युष्मान् ॥

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद्. In the strong, *i. e.* in the first five cases it is declined as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुपात् or सुपाद्,	सुपादौ	सुपादः
Ac.	सुपावम्.	सुपादौ.	

In the formation of the Acc: Pl. and the rest, the following rule applies.

४१४ । पाद्ः पद् । ६ । ४ । १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यदङ्गं न तदवयवस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पदादेशः स्यात् । सुपद्ः । सुपदा । सुपादभ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्यतीत्यग्निमत् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमथौ । अग्निमथः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । ऋत्विगित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चेः सुपुपपदे क्तिन् ।

414. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

Note :—The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्विद्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥

Thus the Acc. Pl. is सुपद्ः ॥ Instr: Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपद्भ्याम् &c.

—O—

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning 'kindling fire.' It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	अग्निमत् or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथः
Instr:	Dual is अग्निमद्भ्याम् &c.		

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

—O—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्.

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्.

According to Sûtra. III. 2. 59, S. 373, the affix क्तिन् is employed after the verb अञ्च् to make it a Prâtipadika, before the case terminations.

Thus having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply.

४१५ । अग्निदितां हल उपधायाः किति । ६ । ४ । २४ ॥

हलन्तानामतिवितामङ्गानामुपधाया नस्य लोपः स्यात्किति किति च । उगिश्चामिति नुम् । संयो-
नान्तस्य लोपः । नुमो नकारस्य क्तिन्प्रत्ययस्य कुरिति कुत्वेन डकारः । प्राङ् । अनुस्वारपरसवर्गौ । प्राञ्चौ ।
प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चम् । प्राञ्चौ ॥

415. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

By Sûtra VII. 1. 70, S. 361, the, stem अञ्च् gets the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54, the last consonant is dropped. By VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. which says that 'a stem formed with the affix क्विन् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N. S. as प्राङ् thus:—प्राङ् + सु = प्राच् (VI. 4. 24 S. 415) + सु = प्रा + न् (VII. 1. 70. S. 361). + च् + सु = प्रान् च् + O (सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). = प्रान् च् = प्रान् (च् being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54) = प्राङ् (न् turned to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).

The N. Dual &c. are formed by changing the च् into anuswāra, and then the anuswāra into म् by VIII. 4. 58. S. 124.

Thus प्रांचौ, प्रांचः; Acc. प्रांचम्, प्रांचौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. &c. the following rules apply.

४१६ । अचः । ङ । ४ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416. the अ of अच् (when अच् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138 : S 417'

४१७ । चौ । ङ । ३ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तकारनकारिञ्चतौ परे पूर्वस्थाणो र्विपः स्यात् । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राग्भ्यामित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । प्रत्यञ्चः । प्रत्यञ्चम् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । अच इति लोपस्य विषयेऽन्तरङ्गोऽपि यण् न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचः । प्रतीचा । अष्टमञ्चतीति विग्रहे । अवस् भञ्च इति स्थिते ॥

417. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च्, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्राचः ; Instr : Sing or Dual are प्राचा, प्राग्भ्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः ॥ प्रत्यञ्चम्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S 416. and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः &c. See under Sūtra I. 3. 11 S. 46. Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतीचः, Instr : Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c. प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रति + अच् + शस् ॥ Here two sūtras simultaneously appear for application, viz. इकोयणञि and अचः ॥ Now इकोयणञि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच् is *inside* that of शस्; and the efficient cause शस् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside; therefore यण् ādeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रत्य् + अच् + शस् ॥ After this अ should be elided : as प्रत्य् + च् + शस् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः

&c. the अन्तरङ्ग यण substitution is set aside. Now, we take up the declension of अङ्च् as compounded with the pronoun अस् meaning अस्मि अङ्चति ॥ Thus we have अस् + अङ्च् + क्तिम् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

४१८ । विव्वग्देवयोश्च देरष्ट्रञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अनयोः सर्वनामश्च देरष्ट्रादेवाः स्याद्वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ परे । अष्टि अङ्च् इति स्थिते यण ॥

418. In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विव्वक् and देव, is substituted अष्टि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it.

Thus अस् + अङ्च् = अष्टि + अङ्च् = अष्ट्य + अञ्च. At this stage, applies the following sūtra.

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य सत्पत्त्य उदृतौ स्तो दस्य च मः । उ इति द्वस्वर्धयोः समाहारद्वन्द्वः । आन्त-
स्तस्याञ्चस्वव्यञ्जनयोर्द्वस्वो र्धस्य र्धस्य । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुयञ्चः । अमुमुयञ्चम् ।
अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुईचः । अमुमुईचा । अमुमुयञ्चानित्यादि । मुत्तस्यासिञ्जत्वाच्च यण् । अन्यथा धेऽन्त्य-
सदेशस्येति परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव मुत्तं वक्तुं मते अमुमुयङ् । अः सेः सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य सः
असिरिति व्याख्यानात् । व्यस्यत्वविषय एव मुत्तं नान्येति पक्षे अष्ट्यङ् । उक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽङ्गेऽपृथङ् मुत्तं कोचिद्विच्छन्ति जस्यवत् ॥ कोचिद्व्यस्यसदेशस्य नेत्यकेऽसेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥

विव्वग्देवयोः क्तिम् । अश्वाची । अञ्चतौ क्तिम् । विव्वग्युक् । वप्रत्यये क्तिम् । विव्व-
गञ्चनम् । वप्रत्ययमहणं ज्ञापयति, अन्यत्र धातुमहणं सदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कारः । अतः
कृकमीति सः । उदङ् । उदचौ । उदञ्चः । ससाश्चकि ॥

419. When the pronoun अस् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for त् ॥

The short उ in the sūtra is a samāhāra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ. By the rule of antartama I. 1. 50 S. 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ; and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ. Thus अस् + अञ्च = अमुमुय् + अञ्च i. e. the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ, and the second द् and र् are also changed to म् and उ; so the declension is.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.
Sing.	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयञ्चम्	अमुमुईचा
Dual.	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयञ्चाम् &c.
Pl.	अमुमुयञ्चः	अमुमुईचः	&c.

The ङ being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुईचः or

in अह्वयच्, for the Sandhi rule इकोवणचि is contained in the Sixth Book of Paṇini, while this व substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyāyī. Hence the Sūtra VIII. 2. 1. S. 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अह्वयच् ॥

Paribhāṣā :—"When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make व change only for व् which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अह्वयच् which is obtained by explaining the अह्वे: in the Sūtra as अह्वे: सेव्यस्य सोयमसिः, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word अह्वे: in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अह्व derived by changing the व् into अ by VII. 2. 102. and not to any other अह्व ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sūtra :—

(1) the व् of अह्व, and व् of अह्वि are both changed to व by the present sūtra ; (2), the first व is not changed, but only व् ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अह्वयच् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अह्वयच्यौ, अह्वयच्यं ॥ (2) Secondly, अह्वयच्, अह्वयच्यौ, अह्वयच्यं ॥ (3) Lastly अह्वयच्, अह्वयच्यौ, अह्वयच्यं ॥ The above verse summarises this :

Verse :—Some ordain that व् should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीकृत्यते see sūtra VIII. 2. 18 and VII. 4. 90 S. 2644) others would have व only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for व्); while a third class would have no where, because they explain अह्वे: of the sūtra by confining it to: VII. 2. 102."

Note :—Thus दिव्यमन्त्राति=दिव्यमन्त्रच्, This form is thus evolved. अन्त्र + दिव्यन् = अन्त्र + 0 = अन्त्र + नुच् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant णच्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the दिव्यन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ण् and we have अह्व which with दिव्यन्, gives the above form. देवयच्, सयच्, ययच् ॥ अह्वि and सयि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (ni pātana) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when व् is changed into व् the following vowel becomes svarita (VII. 2. 4).

Note :—Why do we say of दिव्यन् and देव ? Observe अम्नायी = अम्नायसि, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 Vārt. The अ of अन्त्र is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अम्नाय is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अन्त्र follows' ? Observe दिव्यमन्त्रच् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व् follows' ? Observe दिव्यमन्त्रच् ॥ The व् is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अमन्त्रये (अन्त्रतावप्रत्यये) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अमन्त्रये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had वप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when *anch* followed, but when *anchana* ending in ह्युट् also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहणं तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृतं and अयस्कारः ; for VIII. 3. 46. teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृतं which is followed merely by the verb कृ ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Now we take up the declension of उदञ्च. It is declined in the Nominative as उदङ् (S), उदञ्चौ (Dual) उदञ्चः (Pl).

Before the weak cases the following rule applies :—

४२० । उद ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छ्वात्परस्य लुप्तनकारस्याचतेर्भस्याकारस्य ईक्ष्यात् । उदीचः । उदीचा । उदग्भ्यामित्यादि ।

420. Long ई is substituted for the अ of that (अञ्च) where the nasal is elided after the word उत्, when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदग्भ्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of सम्यञ्च ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२१ । समः समि । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तेऽप्रचतौ परे । सम्यङ् । सम्यञ्चौ । सम्यञ्चः । समीचः । समीचा ॥

421. समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्, सम्यञ्चौ, सम्यञ्चः ॥

Ac : Pl : समीचः ; Instr : Sing समीचा ॥

Now we take up the declension of सह + अञ्च् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२२ । सहस्य सद्भिः । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तेऽप्रचतौ परे । सद्भ्यङ् ॥

422. सद्भि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no visible affix.

Thus सद्भ्यङ्, सद्भ्यञ्चौ, सद्भ्यञ्चः ; and सद्भीचः, सद्भीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

Now, we take up the declension of तिद्यञ्च ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२३ । तिरस्स्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

अलुप्ताकारेऽञ्चतो वप्रत्ययान्ते परे तिरस्स्तिर्यविशः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्चौ । तिर्यचः । तिर्यचम् । तिर्यचौ । तिरश्चः । तिरश्चा । तिर्यग्यामित्यादि ॥

423. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यचौ, तिर्यचः ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

Now, we take up the declension of प्र+अञ्च when अञ्च means 'to honor'. There are two roots (अञ्च), both belong, to the Bhvādi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move' The declension of ' अञ्च ' meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above. But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४२४ । नाञ्चः पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्याञ्चनेरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अलुप्तनकारत्वात् ननु । प्राङ् । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चः । नलोपाभावात्कारलोपो न । प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चा । प्राङ्भ्याम् । प्राङ्क्षु । प्राङ्क्षु । एवं पूजार्थे प्रत्यङ्ङावय । कुञ्च कौटिल्यात्प्रीभावयोः । अस्य ऋत्विगादिना नलोपाभावोऽपि निपात्यते । कुङ् । कुञ्चौ । कुञ्चः । कुङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ चोः कुः ॥ पयोषुक् । पयोषुग् । पयौषुचौ । पयोषुचः । ब्रूतेति चत्वं । स्कोरिति सलोपः । जम्बवचस्वे । सुवृद् । सुवृङ् । सुवृश्चौ । सुवृश्चः । सुवृक्षु । सुवृक्षु ॥ वर्तमाने एवन्महद्बृहज्जगच्छतुवच * ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते शतृवश्चैषां कार्यं स्यात् । उगित्त्वानुम् । सान्तमहत हति वीचः । मण्डते पूज्यते इति महान् । महान्तौ । महान्तः । हे महन् । महतः । महता । महभ्यामित्यादि ॥

424. The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'.

And as the nasal is not elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415 there is no नुञ् augment. Thus.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	प्राङ्	प्राञ्चौ	प्राञ्चः

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI. 4. 138. S. 416. Thus the weak forms are Ac : Pl : प्राञ्चः ॥ Inst : Sing and dual are प्राञ्चा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Loc. Plural is प्राङ्क्षु or प्राङ्क्षु ॥

Similar is the declension of प्रत्यञ्च when 'अञ्च' means 'to honor'. Thus Acc : Plu : is प्रत्यञ्चः and not प्रतीचः ॥ Similarly the Acc : Plural of अङ्गञ्च is अङ्गुञ्चः and not अङ्गुर्हञ्चः ॥

Similarly the Acc : plural of उदञ्च is उदञ्चः and not उदीचः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of कृष्. This word, as already mentioned in sūtra III. 2. 59 S. 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root कृष् meaning " to curve or make crooked " or " to be or become small ". Thus it is declined :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	कृष्	कृष्ौ	कृष्ः
Instr:	Dual is कृष्भ्याम् &c.		

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Now, we take up the declension of पयोमुष्. In Nom: Sing. the ष् is changed to the guttural, by Sūtra VIII. 2. 30 S. 378. It is declined as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	पयोमुष् or पयोमुष्	पयोमुष्ौ	पयोमुष्ः &c.

—0—

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृद्. It is thus formed :—सु + वृद् + क्तिन् in the sense of सुवृद् कृत्वाति meaning 'that which cuts well' The इ being vocalised by VI. 1. 16 S. 2412., it becomes सु + वृद् + O. By VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. the ष् is changed to ष. By VIII. 2. 29. S. 380, the initial ह is elided.* Thus we get सु + वृष्. The ष is changed to ज् and finally to द् by VIII. 2. 39 S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56 S. 206. Thus its declension is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom:	सुवृद् or सुवृद्	सुवृद्ौ	सुवृद्ः
The Loc. Pl. is	सुवृद्सु or सुवृद्सु.		

* Note:—This would be true in the view that the original root was वृद् with a dental ह which becomes ह by वृत्तनादसु VIII. 4. 40 S. 111. This ह substitution is asiddha for VIII. 2. 29.

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of महन्. This word is formed by the Uṇādi affix अति (Uṇādi sūtra II. 84) which means that the words पृषन्, वृक्षन्, महन् and जगन् are irregularly formed with the affix अति with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by क्त affix. Since महन् is to be treated as if it was formed by the क्त affix, therefore, the rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 would cause the insertion of लृप् and the sūtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317 would cause the lengthening of अ. Thus,

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	महान्	महान्तौ	महास्तः
Voc.	हे महन्	"	"
Acc.	महान्तम्	"	महतः
Instr.	महता	महद्भ्याम्	महद्भिः
	&c.	&c.	

—:0:—

Now we take up the declension of धीमन्. It is formed with the affix मतुप्.

In its declension, the following rule applies:—

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वसन्तस्योपधाया धीर्घः स्याद्भातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासंबुद्धौ सौ परे । परं नित्यं च तुमं बाधित्वा वचनसाभ्यर्थाद्वा धीर्घः ततो नुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्तः । हे धीमन् । दासाश्च महद्भ्यः । धातोरेत्य-
त्वन्तस्य धीर्घः । गोमन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचरतीति वा क्यजन्तावाचारक्रियन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्तिप् । वगिह-
चागिति स्त्रेऽङ्गप्रहणं नियमार्थम् । धातोश्चेदुगित्कार्यं तर्ह्यङ्चत्तरेवेति । तेन सत् ध्वत् इत्यादौ न । अधा-
तोरेति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्यापि नुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्तः । इत्यादि । भातेर्द्धतुः । भवान् ।
भवन्तौ । भवन्तः । शत्रवन्तस्य शत्रवन्तत्वाभावान्न धीर्घः । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425. In the Nominative Singular (with the excep-
tion of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is
lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the conso-
nant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation
has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being
penultimate, will not be lengthened at all. This is because of the force of this
sûtra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pānini's
Ashtādhyāyī, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subse-
quent and *nitya* sūtra (VII. 1. 70 S. 361) ordaining नुम्, yet is not so. Thus
its declension is

	Singular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्तः
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महन्.

Note :—अस् :—as सुपथाः, सुयथाः, सुश्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging
to a dhātu' ? Observe विण्ड्यः where स् belongs to the root वृत् (विण्डं वृत्ते), so also
चर्मवः चर्मं वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c. is also included
here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they
are taught in Grammar denote by I, 1. 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (अनिनस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अन्तु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवन्तु, कवन्तु &c. or which assumes the form अन्तु in grammatical inflection, such as मनुप्, which in npadesa ends in अन्तुप्, but becomes अन्तु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपयः this rule not applying there.

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अधातोः in this sūtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus गोमन्मिच्छति = गोमच्छति "He wishes to have cows." The affix क्वच् is added to गोमन् in forming the derivative root by III. 1. 8. or III. 1. 10. with the force of "wishing" or "behaving." The root is गोमच्छ. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sūtra. Now गोमच्छ + क्विप् = गोमन् (क्व is dropped by VI. 4. 48, and छ by VI. 4. 50). "One wishing to have cows." Here गोमन् ends with अन् (which was part of the original affix मनुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as लुक् ॥

The लुक् will be added for the following reason :—

In the sūtra उगित्त्वा VII. 1. 70. S. 361 the root अङ्गु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root अङ्गु only, and not to any other root having an ugit. Thus in सन्तु and ध्वन्तु there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अङ्गु would take लुक् under that sūtra. The specific mention of अधातोः in that sūtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pāṇini has mentioned अधातोः in that sūtra, indicates that by धातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have गोमन् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows."

Now we take up the declension of भवन्तु not derived from भू, but from भा meaning 'to shine'. (see Upādi sūtra I. 63) with the affix डवन्तु ॥ Thus भा + डवन्तु = भवन्तु (the भा is elided by VI. 4. 143 and I. 4. 18 because the affix has an indicative ड). It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	भवन्	भवन्तौ	भवन्तः &c.

But when it is derived from the root भू with the affix क्वच्, as it does not then end with the affix अन्तु, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case, the Nominative Singular is भवन्.

Now, we take up the declension of भवन्तु formed from the root वा with the affix क्वच् ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically

called अभ्यस्त as defined below, and because it is अभ्यस्त, it does not get the augment जुम्, for the sūtra after next prohibits it.

४२६। उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६। १। ५ ॥

बाह्वलित्वकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे समुहिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः ॥

426. Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, the two which are directed, both are collectively called Abhyasta,

४२७। नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः । ७। १। ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्मु न स्वात् । वदत् । वदत् । वदतौ । वदतः ॥

427. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment जुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus वदत्, वदतौ, वदतः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to *sarvanāmasthāna* or strong cases. The जुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. 1. 70; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatri: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet जुम् is to be read here.

Now, we take up the declension of जक्षत्, formed with the affix वाह added to the root जक्ष. Its declension is governed by the following Sūtra :—

४२८। जक्षित्यादयः षट् । ६। १। ६ ॥

षट् धातवोऽन्ये जक्षितिञ् सप्तम एतदभ्यस्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । जक्षत् । जक्षत् । जक्षतौ । जक्षतः । एवं आमत् । वरिहत् । शासत् । चकासत् । दीधीवेव्योर्ङित्सैऽपि छान्दसत्वाद्व्यत्ययेन परस्मैपदम् । ईध्वत् । वेव्यत् । शुप् । शुब । शुपी । शुपः । शुभ्यामित्यादि ॥

428. So also the six roots, with jakshi itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta.

Note :—The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, वरिह, चकास्, शास्, दीधी and वेवी ॥ (Pāṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six.) By getting the designation of Abhyasta, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like वदत् ॥

Thus जक्षत् or जक्षत् (N. S) जक्षतौ (N. Dual); जक्षतः (N. Plural). Similar is the declension of आमत्, वरिहत्, शासत्, चकासत् ॥ दीधी and वेवी though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as दीधीङ् and वेवीङ् with an indicative ङ् and therefore, they ought to be आप्तनेपदी by I. 3. 12. S. 2158, yet they are परस्मैपदी because of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as ईध्वत् and वेव्यत्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending त्.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ए**. Now we take up the declension of **गुप्** which is formed from the **गुहादि** root **गुप्** with the affix **क्लिप्**. The **गाम्** of the **गुहादि** class is optionally elided by III. 1. 31, S. 2305. It is declined as

Nom : **गुप्** or **गुब्**, **गुपौ**, **गुपः**; Instr : Dual **गुभ्याम्** &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ए**.

—o—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **अ**.

Now, we take up the declension of **तादृक्** formed according to the following Sūtra:—

४२६ । त्वादिषु दशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

व्यवहित्पपदेवज्ञानार्थाद् दृशेर्धातोः कञ् स्याच्चात् क्तिन् ॥

429. The affix **कञ्** as well as **क्तिन्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **त्वाद्** &c. which precede it, and when it does not signify perception.

Note :—The force of '**च**' is that the **क्तिन्** also comes under similar circumstances, **त्वाद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27., Thus **त्वादृक्** ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

सर्वनाम आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्दृग्दृशवतुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वादब्रथेति षः । तस्य जडत्वेन डः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्य चत्वेन पक्ष कः । तादृक् । तादृग् । तादृशौ । तादृशः । यत्पापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयटः । हरदत्तादिमते तु चत्वाभावपक्षे ख एव भ्रूयते नतु गः । अभ्यर्थे प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । विगादिभ्यो यदिति निर्वैशानासिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । ब्रथेति षत्वम् । जडत्वचत्वे । विद् । विड् । विशौ । विशा । विशाम् ॥

430. **आ** is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1. 1. 27) before these words **दृक्**, **दृग्** and the affix **अवतु** ॥

Thus **ताद् + दृग् + क्तिन् = ता** (by the present sūtra) + **दृग् + क्तिन् = ता + दृक्** (the **श्** is changed to **क्** by VIII. 2. 62, S. 377). This **क्** is not perceived (असिद्ध) for the purposes of **क्** change by VIII. 2. 36, S. 294. Thus we have **तादृक् = तादृग्** (VII. 2. 39, S. 84.) = **तादृग्** (VIII. 2. 62, S. 377) = **तादृक्** (optionally by VIII. 4. 56 S. 206).

Thus Nom. forms are **तादृक्** or **तादृग्**, **तादृशौ**, **तादृशः**—According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c. the form would be **तादृख्** but never **तादृश्**, in the alternative when it is not **तादृक्**. Because they apply the **कुत्व** rule as an *apavāda* to **षत्व** rule and by **कुत्व** they get **ख** in the place of **श्** (See Padamaṅjari p. 953): and **ख्** will never become **ग्** by VIII. 2. 39, S. 84; because **ख** obtained by **क्तिन्** प्रत्यस्य **कु**: VIII. 2. 62. is asidha or not perceived by the **जडात्व** rule

VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. Or we may say 'that ख is not asiddha for Pāṇini himself has changed ख into ग in the word दिग् (See IV. 4. 54. S. 1429).

Now, we take up the declension of विश्. This is formed by the affix विप् added to the root विश् 'to enter.' The श is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and optionally to ह् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.

Thus it is declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	विद् or विङ्	विद्यौ	विशः
Acc.	विशम्	&c.	&c.

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Now, we take up the declension of नश्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

४३१ । नशोर्वा । ण । २ । ६३ ॥

नशोः कवर्गोऽन्तविशो वा स्यात्पदान्ते । नक् । नश् । नद् । नङ् । नशौ । नशः । नभ्याम् । नङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

431. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

Note :—Here the root नश् has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपदादि class.

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative. Singular namely : —नक् or नग् or नद् or नङ् ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नशौ, नशः .

Instr : Dual is नभ्याम् and नङ्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of घृतस्पृश्. Its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४३२ । स्पृशोऽनुदके क्तिन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके सुष्ठुपदे स्पृशोः क्तिन् स्यात् । घृतस्पृक् । घृतस्पृग् । घृतस्पृशौ । घृतस्पृशः । क्तिन् प्रत्ययो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याभ्युपगमात् क्तिप्यपि कृत्वम् । स्पृक् । षडङ्गकाः प्राग्वत् । त्रिधृषा प्रागल्भ्ये । अस्माद्वि-
गादिना क्तिन् । द्विस्वमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यते । कुत्वात्पूर्वं जडत्वेन डः गः । धृष्णोतीति वधृक् वधृग् । वधृषौ
वधृषः । वधृभ्यामित्यादि । रत्नानि मुष्णातीति रत्नमुद् । रत्नमुङ् । रत्नमुषौ । रत्नमुषः । षड्भ्या लुक् । षद् ।
षङ् । षङ्भिः । षङ्भ्यः २ । षद्चतुर्थ्येति लुद् । अनामिति पर्युदासात् ण्वत्त्वनिषेधः । यरोऽनुनासिक इति
विकल्पं बाधित्वा प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यमिति वचनान्नित्यमनुनासिकः । षण्णाम् । षट्सु । षट्सु । तदन्त-
विधिः । परमषद् । परमषण्णाम् । गौणत्वं तु प्रियषषः । प्रियषषाम् । रुक् प्रति षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सप्त-
शोरिति रुक्त्वम् ॥

432. The affix **किन्** comes after the verb **स्पर्श** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **उदक** 'water'.

Thus घृतं स्पर्शति = घृतस्पर्श, Nominative Singular घृतस्पर्क he who touches clarified butter.' स्पर्श + किन् + सु = स्पर्श + हि + o (VI. 1. 68) = स्पर्क + O (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62).

Nominative Dual and Plural are घृतस्पर्शौ, घृतस्पर्शः respectively.

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In the sūtra **किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः**, VIII. 2. 62, S. 377 if we take the compound **किन्प्रत्यय** as a Bahuvrīhi, meaning a root to which the affix **किन्** can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix **किन्** is added. Thus the root **स्पर्श** takes the affix **किन्** when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix **किप्**. This **किप्** will also produce the guttural change, because **स्पर्श** is a root which is *liable* to take the affix **किन्**. Thus **स्पर्क** &c. Here the **श्** is changed to **ष्** then to **क्**, then to **श्** and then optionally to **क्** as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **श्**.

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **श्**.

Now, we take up the declension of **वधुश्**. It is formed from the root **विधृष्** 'to be impudent'. Thus **वधृष् + किन् = वधृक्** ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. (III. 2. 59. S. 373). The **ष्** of **वधृष्** must be changed to **क्** before gutturalisation. Then this **क्** should be gutturalised to **श्** and then **श्** is optionally changed to **क्**. Thus **वधृक्** or **वधृश्**, **वधृषाँ**, **वधृषः** ॥ &c.

Now, we take up the declension of **रत्नसुहृ** meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	रत्नसुहृ or रत्नसहृ	रत्नसुह्यौ	रत्नसुहवः

Now, we take up the declension of **वधृ**. It is always plural. By Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261, the Nom. and Acc. Pl. terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom. Acc. Pl. are **वधृ** or **वधृ** ॥ Instr. Pl. **वधृभिः** ॥ Dat. and Abl. Pl. **वधृभ्यः** ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl. the augment **नुद्** is added by VII. 1. 55. S. 338. to the case-termination **भात्**. Thus **वधृ + नाम् = वधृ + नाम्**. By the exception made in the Sūtra VIII. 4. 42. S. 114 the **न्** of **नाम्** is changed to **श्**. Thus **वधृ + नाम् = वधृ + नाम्** ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of **हृ** required by VIII. 4. 45 S. 116 is superseded

by the Vārtika under the same sūtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature. Thus पद्+णाम्=पण्याम्. The Loc. Pl. is पदसु or पदसु.

The declension of पद् is the same when it is the final member of a compound. Thus परमपद् (N. Pl.) परमपण्याम् (G. Pl.) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom. and G. Pl. are म्रियपद् and म्रियपणाम् respectively.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in प्.

—:O:—

Declension of Masculines ending in स्.

We take up the declension of विपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read'). It is derived from the root विपठिस् with the affix क्विप्. The ञ् of स् is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The स् was changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 39. S. 153. But this is not perceived by the Sūtra requiring the substitution of ष् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Paṇini's Ashtādhyāyī. (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162). Thus विपठिस्+सु=विपठिष्+O (by VI. 1. 68. S. 252). Now विपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I. 1. 6. 2. S. 262). Therefore the ष् which is really स् becomes र्. Thus विपठिष् becomes विपठिर्. At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

४३३। वीर्यपञ्चाया दीर्घ इकः । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेफान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्यात्पदान्ते । विपठिः । विपठिषौ । विपठिषः । विपठिभ्यः । विपठिभ्यः । वा शरीति वा विसर्जनीयः ॥

433. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final or ष of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus विपठिर् becomes विपठिः .

The Nominative Dual and Plural are विपठिषौ and विपठिषः.

The Inst : Dual is विपठिभ्यः.

In forming the Locative Plural the sūtra VIII. 3. 36 S. 151 as well as the following comes into operation.

४३४। नुम्विसर्जनीयशब्दार्थवायेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एतैः प्रत्येकव्यवधानेऽपि इणकुभ्यां परस्य सस्य मूधस्यादेशः स्यात् । पुरेवेन पूर्वस्य षत्वम् । विपठिषु विपठिषु । प्रत्येकमिति व्याख्यानादनेकव्यवधाने षत्वं न । निस्व । निस्त्वं । नुम्विसर्जनीयं नुम्विसर्जनीयानुस्वारोपलक्षणाथं व्याख्यानात् । तेनेह न । सुहिन्सु । पुंसु । अत एव न शास्त्रहणेन गतार्थता । रास्त्वस्येति सलोपि विसर्गः । चिकीः । चिकीषौ । चिकीषः । रोः सुपीति नियमान्न विसर्गः । चिकीर्षु । इमंउर्षु । द्विसवसानार्थाद्विलोपः । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद् विसर्गो । दोः । दोषौ । दोषः । पद्म इति वा दोषन् । दोष्णः । दोष्णा । दोषः । दोषा । विश प्रवेशने । समन्तात् क्तिप् । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपः । अथेति षः । अन्वयत्वे । विविद् । विविद् । विविक्षौ । विविक्षः । स्कोरिति कलोपः । तद् । तद् । तसौ । तक्षः । गोरद् । गोरद् । गोरक्षौ ।

गोरक्षः । क्षिप्रक्षिप्र्यां प्यन्ताभ्यां क्षिपि तु स्कोरिति न प्रवर्तते । णिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पुर्यडासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य षोषः संयोगाविलोपलक्षणस्येद्विति नियेधात् । तस्मात्संयोगास्तलोप एव । तक् । तश् । गोरक् । गोरम् । स्कोरिति क्लोपं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् संयोगान्तलोपः । पिपक् । पिपश् । एवं विवक् । विधक् । पिस गतौ । सुहु पसतीति सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । सुपिसा । सुपीभ्याम् । सुपीषु । सुपिषु । एवं सुहुः । तुव शब्दने । विद्वान् । विद्वांसौ । विद्वांसः । इ विद्वान् । विद्वांसम् । विद्वांसौ ॥

434. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स्.

Thus पिपडिस् + सुप् = पिपडीस् (the इ of डि is lengthened by the last sūtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I. 4. 17. S. 230) + हु = पिपडीष् (the स् being changed to ष् by the present sūtra) + हु = पिपडीष्णु or पिपडीः हु ॥

The षस्व takes place, when नुम् &c. intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here निस्से, 'th u kissest', त्रिस्से 'kiss thou', from the root क्षिप् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स (III. 4. 91).

From the explanation in Mahābhāṣya in explaining ह्यवरद् we learn that the नुम् of this sūtra must be the anusvāra which replaces नुम् and not any other anusvāra. Therefore not in सुहिन्नु or पुसु. Here there is no ष change. Though anusvāra was included in the pratyāhara णर् by the Vārtika णर् जुडभाषण्ये " the visarjanīya, anusvāra jīhvāmūlyā and upadhmānīya should be included in the णर् pratyāhara for the sake of जश् vidhi and खष vidhi"; yet the separate mention of नुम् in this sūtra indicates that that anusvāra is to be taken which results from नुम्.

Now, we take up the declension of चिकीर्स् : This is formed from the Desiderative root चिकीर्स् meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix क्तिप्. This is thus formed :—कृ + सन् ॥ Here the augment इद् is not added because of the sūtra VII. 2. 10. S. 2246 or VII. 2. 12. S. 2610 ; the affix सन् is क्तिप् by I. 2. 9. S. 2612 and therefore there is no guṇa by I. 1. 5. S. 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 16. S. 2614. Then the क् is changed to ह् by VII. 1. 100. S. 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 9. S. 2395.

Thus we get किर् किर् ॥ The first र is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179 and first क changed to च् by VII. 4. 62. S. 2245. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ Now, चिकिर् + स = चिकिस् ॥ Then the ष of स is elided by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308. Thus चिकीर्स् To this is added the N. S. case termination हु ॥ चिकिस् + हु ॥ The affix हु is elided by VI. 1.68. S. 252.

Then we have चिकिर्स् ॥ Now the final स् is elided by VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ The इ of कि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76 S. 433. Thus we have चिकीः ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षो &c. is by अङ्गान् VI. 4. 16. S. 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix. We did not apply this sūtra, in Nominative S. because सन् was already dropped.

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीः, चिकीर्षो, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76, 77. S. 433. and 354.

The Loc : Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here र् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the र् of रु but it is a portion of the word itself (see sūtra VIII. 3. 16. S. 339.)

Now, we take up the declension of होस् : This is formed by the Unadi affix होस् added to the root हम् (Unadi II. 69). The अम् of हम् is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ड् see VI. 4. 143 S. 316, though the base is not भ. Thus होस् ॥ Then स् is changed to ष्. But this change is asiddha for the purposes of रु and visarga change. Thus N. S. is होः ॥ N. Dual and Plural are होवो, होषा respectively. In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, होष्णः or होषः (Ac. Plural); होष्णा or होषा (Inst : singular), for in these cases होष् is replaced by होषन् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Note:—the अम् portion of हम् is elided by VI. 4. 143. S. 316. and though the base before it is not भ strictly speaking Sūtra VI. 4. 143. could not apply here, for that sūtra is confined to भ bases only. But as the ड् of the affix होस् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of डि portion of हम् by the analogy of VI. 4. 143.

Now, we take up the declension of विविश् : It is formed from the root विश् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विश् + सन् ॥ The augment इद् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII. 2. 10. S. 2246. The सन् affix is कित् by I. 2. 12. S. 2368 and therefore there is no guṇa. Thus विश् + सन् = विश् विश् + सन् = विविश् + स ॥ To this we add the affix क्तिप् by which the अ० स is elided by VI. 4. 48. अतोलीपः and we get the form विविश् ॥ Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. स् is elided and we get विविश् ॥ This श् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 which again is changed to ड् and then optionally to ह्. In other cases ष is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41. S. 295; and स changed to ष VIII. 3. 57 S. 211. Thus N. forms are विविद् or विविड्, विविशौ, विविक्षः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of तक्ष् formed from the root तक्ष् or तक्षु 'to fashion'. The क् is elided by VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. Thus the N. S. is तद् or तड् formed under the same rules as विविद् or विविड्.

Nominative Dual and Plural are तक्षौ तक्षः.

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning 'one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोरद् or गोरड्, गोरक्षौ गोरक्षः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तक्षि and रक्षि with the affix क्तिप्, then VIII. 2. 29. S. 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the णि which was elided by जे रनिदि (VI. 4. 51. S. 2313) will be स्थानिवद् ॥ But will not the following *Vārtika* पूर्वचासिद्धीयेन स्थानिवद्; prevent the स्थानिवद्भावः ? "There is no stānīvadbhāva in the last three chapters of Ashtādhyāyi."

To this we reply 'No'. Because of the following exception. *Vārtika*. The above *Vārtika* is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. (b) the rule relating to ज्ञ change (c) the rule relating to ण् change. S. 235.

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तलोपः i. e. the elision of the final स् and not of the *initial* क्. Thus the N. S. will be तक् or तश्; गोरक् or गोरश्.

Now we take up the declension of विपश् meaning 'desirous of cooking'. It is formed from the root पश् with the Desiderative affix सन्. Thus we get पश् + पच् + स = पपश्स = पपश् ॥ The ष of the initial प is changed to इ by VII. 4. 79. S. 2317. Thus we have विपश् ॥

Its N. S. is विपक् or विपग् ॥ The क् of विपक्ष is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विवश् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root वच् 'to speak' and of विधश्, meaning 'desirous of burning', from the root ब्ध् to burn. The Nominative Singular being विवक् and विधक् respectively. Now, we take up the declension, of सुविस्: It is derived from the root विस्, 'to walk'; hence सुविस् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows. :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सुपीः	सुपितौ	सुपितः
Instr.	सुपिसा	सुपीभ्याम्	
Loc.			सुपीषु or सुपीषुः ॥

Similar is the declension of सुतृस् 'well-cutting'. Its Nominative Sing. is सुतृः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वास् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	विद्वास्	विद्वांसौ	विद्वांसः
Voc.	हे विद्वास्		
Acc.	विद्वांसम्	विद्वांसौ	

In the weak-case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule :—

४३५ । वसोः संप्रसारणम् । ६ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वस्वन्तस्य भव्य संप्रसारणं स्यात् । पूर्वकृत्वं चत्वं । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुसंस्विति वस्वम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेद्विवात् । सेद्विवांसौ । सेद्विवांसः । सेद्विवांसम् । अन्तरङ्गोऽपीडागमः संप्रसारणविषये न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेद्विबद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यत्र सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव गृह्यते न तु धातोः महच्छब्दसाहचर्यात् । छुट्टु हिमस्तीति सुद्विन् । सुद्विसौ । सुद्विसः । सुद्विन्ध्याम् । सुद्विन्धु । ध्वत् । ध्वत् । ध्वसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एवं सत् ॥

435. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्वस् + वस् = विद् व अस् + वस् ॥ व and अ become उ by the पूर्वकृत् rule (VI. 1. 108 S 330) = विदुस् + वस् ॥ Then स् of विदुस् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुस् + वस् = विदुषस् = विदुषः (Ac: Pl:). The Ins. Sing: विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्याम्, the स् of विद्वस् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. Thus विद्वद्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सेद्विबस् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix क्खु to the root सद् by III. 2. 108 S. 3097. The root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 8. S. 2177. Thus:—सद् + सद् + क्खु = स + सद् + क्खु ॥ The first द् being elided by ह्लादि शेषः ॥ VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then the first स is elided and the व् of the second स is changed into ष् by अत एकहल्मध्ये VI. 4. 120. S. 2260. Thus we get सेद् + क्खु = सेद् + वस् ॥ To this we apply the augment इद् by VII. 2. 67. S 3096. Thus सेद् + इद् + वस् = सेद्विबस् ॥ In strong cases there will be लुक् augment by VII. 1. 70. S. 361. and lengthening by VI. 4. 10 S. 317. Thus:—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सेद्विबान्	सेद्विवांसौ	सेद्विवांसः
Acc.	सेद्विवांसम्	”	”

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इद् augment of VII. 2. 67, S. 3096, though it was antarangā, because it would be useless to add इद् when we are going to vocalise the व् into उ for then the efficient cause ष् of वस् would be absent. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c. See under Sūtra I. 3. 11. S. 46. Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस्. But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस् for the application of the sūtra VII. 2. 67. So we have the Acc: Pl: सेदुषः ॥ The Instr: Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr: Dual is सेद्विबद्भ्याम् &c.

In the sūtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317, the words ending in conjunct consonant न्स् must be prātipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prātipadika महन्स् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with महत् should be taken.

Therefore the word सुहिन् where the न् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply. Thus सुहिन् is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural
Nominative	सुहिन्	सुहितौ	सुहिंसः

In the Instru : Dual where सुहिन् gets the designation of pada, the स् is elided and we get सुहिन्भ्याम् ॥

The Loc : Plural is सुहिन्सु or सुहिन्सुः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ध्वस् formed from the root ध्वन् with the affix क्तिप्. The न् of the root ध्वन् is elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415. Thus it is declined as

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	ध्वत् or ध्वद्	ध्वतौ	ध्वसः ॥
Instr :		ध्वद्भ्याम् ॥	

Similar is the declension of सस् from the root सन्.

Now we take up the declension of पुंसः. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुङ् । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने विवक्षितऽसुङ् स्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । बहुपुंसी इत्यत्र उगितश्चेति ङीबर्थं कृतेन पूञो ङुप्सुन्निति प्रत्ययस्योगित्वेनैव लुप्सिद्धेः । पुमान् । हे पुमान् । पुमांसौ । पुमांसः । पुंसः । पुंभ्याम् । पुंभिः । पुंसु । ऋदुशनेत्यनङ् । उशाना । उशानसौ । उशानसः । अस्य संबुद्धौ वाऽनङ् नलोपश्च वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे उशानन् । हे उशान । हे उशानः । उशानोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहसौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेहः । अनेहोभ्यामित्यादि । वेधाः । वेधसौ । वेधसः । हे वेधः । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अघातोऽरित्युक्तेर्न हीर्यः । सुहृ वस्ते सुवः । सुवसौ । सुवसः । पिण्डं मसते पिण्डमः । पिण्डगलः । मसु गलसु मवने ॥

436. असुङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस when the sarvanāmasthāna affixes are to be added.

The उ in असुङ् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that लुप् should be added under VII. 1. 70 S. 361 because the लुप् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुंस is formed from पा (to protect) + ङुप्सुन् (Un. IV. 178) and as the affix ङुप्सुन् is an उगित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII. 1. 70 by causing लुप्. *pari passu* as it does in causing ङीप् to be added to in the feminine, in forming बहुपुंसी, by the sūtra उगितश्च (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). Thus it is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमांसौ	पुमांसः
Voc.	हे पुमन्		
Acc.			पुंसः
Inst.	पुंसा	पुंभ्याम्	पुभिः
Loc.			पुंसु

Kāśikā :—The word पुस् is derived from पा (to protect)+ डम्बुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the ण् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुस् is replaced by भस् we get the form पुमस्, the उ of अस्तुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशित्वावः) : otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु

Now, we take up the declension of उद्यानस् ॥ By VII. 1. 94.S. 276, अनङ् is substituted for the final of उद्यानस् in the Nom. Sing : Thus Nom. forms are उद्याना, उद्यानसौ, उद्यानसः ॥ In forming the Voc : Sing : the following Vārtika will apply :—

Vārt :—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उद्यानस् in the Voc. S. also, as हे उद्यानन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उद्यान ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे उद्यानस्, हे उद्यानन्, and हे उद्यान !

The Instr : Dual is उद्यानोभ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time '

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अनेहा	अनेहसौ	अनेहसः
Voc.	हे अनेहः		
Instr.		अनेहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	वेधाः	वेधसौ	वेधसः
Voc.	हे वेधः		
Instr.		वेधोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of वृक्षस् meaning ' one who wears well '. Here वृक्ष् belongs to a root and so in the Nom : S. its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अघातोः in VI. 4. 14. S. 425.

Hence its Nom & forms are जुवः, जुवसौ, जुवसः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डमस् and पिण्डमलस् ॥ The verbs मस् and लस् mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डमः and पिण्डमलः meaning 'a lump eater'.

Now, we take up the declension of अदस्. In its declension the following rules apply :—

४३७ । अदस् औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अदस् ओकारोऽन्तर्विशः स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तयोः सः साविति वस्य सः । असौ ॥ औत्वप्रति-
षेधः साकृत्कस्य वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्नियोगशिष्टसुत्वं तदभावे न प्रवर्तते । असकौ ।
असुकः । स्यदाद्यत्वं परकृपत्वम् । वृद्धिः । अदसोऽसिरिति मत्वात्वे । भूम् । असः शी । भादृद्युणः ॥

437. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद + औ + O (VII. 2. 107) = अस + औ (VII. 2. 106 S. 381) = असौ ॥

Vart.—When the augment अकृष् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative इ is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved :—अदक्स् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited ; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes place, and the द is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकृष् after स् is changed to इ.

In forming अम् we observe the following process :—

अदस् + औ = अद + औ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and VI. 1. 97. S. 191) = अदौ ॥
Here द is replaced by म and औ by अ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाष्यमानेन सप्रयानां ग्रहणं न इ. e. "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short इ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाष्यमानोऽप्युकारः सप्रयानां ग्राह्याति इ. e. The letter इ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it," makes an exception in the case of इ only.

The rule पूर्वजातिद्वं (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the इ and म of VIII. 2. 80, should be substituted: because with regard to स्यदादीनाम् (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyāya, the sūtra अदसो से (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) which is a rule of Tripādi becomes asiddha. Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अदस् ending with स्, and the rule VIII. 2. 80. S. 419, requiring इ for अ, and स् for द् would find no scope at all.

But if in the sūtra *पुर्वत्रासिद्धम्*, the operations of Tripādi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms *अम्*, *अभम्* &c. For if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419. before the स् of स् of *अवस्* obtained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265. plus the व् of the व् of *अवस्* become अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; in other words, if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419 to the following nascent state of अव + अ, then we shall have this incongruity: अव + व् + अ. Here व् is asiddha for the purposes of VI. 1. 97. S. 191, and अ of अव + व् would become व, which is not desired.

In forming the N. Dual, the rule VII. 2. 102. S. 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अवस् by अ and this अ will coalesce with the final अ of व and become ए by VI. 1. 97 and thus the base will be अव. Thus अव + औ = अवौ. The व् will be replaced by न् and औ by long ऊ and we get अवू (VI. 1. 102. S. 164).

The N. Pl. is *अमी*. It is thus evolved:—

अवस् + षी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214) = अव + ई = अवे (VI. 1. 87. S. 69). Then applies the following Sūtra:—

४३८ । एत ईदुवचने । ८ । २ । ८१ ॥

अवसो वात्परस्यैत ईस्वावस्य च भो बहुषोऽमी । अमी । पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकार्षे माक पश्चादुत्वनस्ते । अवम् । अम् । अमूम् । इत्ये कृते चिंसंज्ञायां नाभावः ॥

438. For the ए coming after the व् of अवस् there is substituted ई, and व् is changed to अ, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom. Pl. is *अमी*.

In forming the Acc. Sing, we have अवस् + अम्. Now the sūtra *स्वर्वा-शीनामः* (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) has superior force to sūtra *अवसोऽस्ते* (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अव + अम् = अवम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sūtra *अवसोऽस्ते* (VIII. 2. 80.) and we get अवम्.

When अवम् is changed to अम् it gets the designation of च (I. 4. 7 S. 232.) So in the Inst. Sing. the substitute ना offers itself from VII. 3. 120 S. 244.

Thus अम् + ना. Here however the question might occur that the formation of ण being enunciated in VIII. 2. 80. S. 419 in the Tripādi, whether VII. 3. 120 S. 244 does not regard the ण as asiddha.

Hence the following Sūtra:—

४३६। न सु ने। ८। २। ३॥

नाभाव कर्तव्ये कृते च सुभावो नासिद्धः स्यात् । असुना । असून्नाम् । अमीभिः । असुभै ।
अमीभ्यः २ । असुन्नात् । असुव्य । असुयोः । अमीषाम् । असुम्भिन् । असुयोः । अमीषु ॥

439. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of सु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना

Note :—The existence of सु is not considered unaffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing: Thus सु being considered as siddha, असु gets the designation of चि by I. 4. 7. and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, असुना ॥ Had the सु been considered as nonaffected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना had been added, then the सु being asiddha, असु is considered to be as अद् ending in न्, and this अ would require lengthening by सुवि च VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधेरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य “that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination”. There being no long आ the द of असु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) सु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) सु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये सुभावो नासिद्धः “the सु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed”. From this, it would follow by implication that सु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So सु being always siddha, ना is added: and there is no lengthening.

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr: and the succeeding cases is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Instr.	असुना	असून्नाम्	अमीभिः
Dat.	असुभै	”	अमीभ्यः
Abl.	असुन्नात्	”	”
Gen.	असुव्य	असुयोः	अमीषाम्
Loc.	असुम्भिन्	”	अमीषु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants.

अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XII

DECLENSION OF FEMININES.

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह् such as उपानह् ॥ The following rule applies to it.

४४० । नहो धः । < । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य धः स्याज्जलि पदान्ते च । उपानत् । उपानद् । उपानहो । उपानहः । उपानद्भ्याम् । उपानस्तु । उत्पूर्वात् णिह प्रीतावित्यस्माद्विगादिना क्तिन् । निपातनात्तलोपधत्वे । क्तिन्स्तत्त्वात्कुत्सेन हस्य घः । अदस्वधत्वे । उणिक् । उणिग् । उणिहो । उणिहः । उणिग्भ्याम् । उणिस्तु । यौः । द्वौ । द्वौ । शिवः । शुषु । गीः । गिरौ । गिरः । एवं पूः । अतुरश्चतस्रदिशः । अतस्रः २ । अतस्र्याम् । किमः कारेशो दाप् का । के । काः । सर्वोवत् ॥

440. The ह् of नह् is changed to ध before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

Note:—As नद्धां, नद्भुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes त् &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40 ; and for the preceding ध is substituted द् by VIII. 4. 58 उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by क्विप् as it belongs to सम्प्रदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ञ-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only द् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध ; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध ; for the participial त् &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त् into न् by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नद्ध् + त् = नद्ध् + ध (VIII. 2. 40) = नद्धम् (VIII. 4. 58). But had the substitute been द्, we should have नद्ध् + त् = नद्धं by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus उपानह् becomes उपानत् or उपानद् ॥

The Nom. S. affix स्तु is elided by VI. 1. 67. and VI. 1. 68, and ध् is changed to त् or द् by VIII. 2. 39. The Nom. D. is उपानहो and the Plural उपानहः ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानद्भ्याम् and the Loc Plural उपानस्तु.

Now we take up the declension of the word उणिह्. This word is formed with the upasarga उत् and the affix क्विन् by III. 2. 59. added to the root स्निह् 'to love'. The word उणिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre. The त् of उन् is elided by निपातन the स् and न् are changed to ष् and ञ. (VIII. 3. 59. and VIII. 4. 40). The ह् is changed to ध because it is a word formed with the affix क्विन् by sūtra VIII. 2. 62. The ध् becomes ग्, then क् by VIII. 2. 39. Thus we have Nom. S. उणिक् or उणिग् Nom. D. उणिहो, Nom. Pl. उणिहः, Ins. D. उणिग्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. उणिस्तु.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **श्** such as **विश्**. Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word **विष्**. See Sûtra VII. 1. 84. S. 336 &c. Nom. S. **व्यौ**; Nom. D. **वद्वौ**. Nom. Pl. **विवः**; Loc. Plu **वुषु**.

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in **र्** such as **गिर्**. It is declined as the masculine word. Thus Nom. S. **गी**; D. **गिरौ**, Pl. **गिरा**. Similar is the declension of **सुर**. The word **चतुर्** is changed to **चतसृ**. It is always declined in the Plural. Thus Nom. and Acc. Pl. **चतस्रः**, Gen. Pl. **चतसृणाम्** ॥

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in **क्** such as **किन्**. **क्** is substituted for **किन्** by VII. 2. 103. Then we add the feminine affix **दाप्**. Thus Nom. S. is **का** Nom. D. **के** Nom. Pl. **काः**. The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of **सर्व** (**सर्वा**).

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Now, we take up the declension of **इदम्**. Its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४४१। यः सौ। ७। २। ११० ॥

इदमो स्वयं यः स्वात्सौ ॥ **इदमो** मः ॥ **इदम्**। स्ववाच्यत्वं दाप्। इमेति मः। **इमे**। **इमाः**। **इषाम्**। **इमे**। **इमाः**। अनया ॥ हलि लोपः ॥ **आभ्याम्** ३। **आभिः**। **अस्यै**। **अस्याः**। **अनयोः** २। **आसाम्**। **अस्याम्**। **आसु**। **अन्वादेशो** तु। **एनाम्**। **एने**। **एनाः**। **एनया**। **एनयोः** २। **कृत्विगादिना** सृजः **किन्** अनागमश्च निपातितः। **सक्** **सग्**। **सकौ**। **सजः**। **सग्भ्याम्**। **सक्षु**। स्ववाच्यत्वं दाप्। **स्या**। **त्य**। **त्याः**। **एवं** तद् यद् एतद्। **वाक्**। **वाग्**। **वाचौ**। **वाचः**। **वाग्भ्याम्**। **वाक्षु**। **अप्राज्ञो** नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः। **अपुन्रिति** द्विषः। **आपः**। **अपः** ॥

441. **य्** is substituted for the **द्व** of **इदम्** in the Nominative Singular in the feminine.

The final **म्** of **इदम्** remains unchanged by VII. 2. 108. S. 343. Thus Nominative S. **इदम्** ॥ Then the feminine affix **दाप्** is added by the sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. **द्व** is changed to **य्** by VII. 2. 109. S. 345. The Nominative Dual is **इमे** Nominative Plural **इमाः** ॥ Accusative S. is **इषाम्** ॥ Inst. S. is **अनया** ॥ **इद्व** is changed to **अन्** by VII. 2. 112. By the rule VII. 2. 113. S. 347 there is elision of **इद्व** so that we have in the Inst. Dat. and Abl. Dual **आभ्याम्**; Inst. Plural is **आभिः** We have Dat S. **अस्यै** by VII. 3. 114; Gen. S. **अस्याः** and Dual **अनयोः** by VII 3. 105 and Plural **आसाम्** by VII. 1. 52 and VII. 2. 113; Loc. S. **अस्याम्**, D. **अनयोः**, and Plural **आसु** ॥ But in re-employment (**अन्वादेश**) we have **एनाम्** in the Acc. S. **एने** in the Dual and **एनाः** in Plural. In Inst. S. **एनया**, and **एनयोः** in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative.

Now we take up the delension of words ending in ज् such as सज् :

The word सज् is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 59. with the augment अच् irregularly. Thus we have सज् or सच् in the Nominative S., सजौ in the Dual and सजः in the Plural ; सज्याच् in the Inst. Dual, सज्यु in the Loc. Plural.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **इ**, such as **स्वइ** : By the rule VII. 2. 102 and with the feminine affix **दाप्** we have **स्वा** in the Nominative S. **स्ये** in the Nom. D. and **स्वाः** in the Nominative Plural. **सवः**, **वयः** and **एतद्** are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in व् e. g. वाक्: We have वाक् or वाग् in the Nominative S. वाक् in D, and वाक्: in the Nominative Plural. In the Instru D. we have वाग्वाक् and in the Loc. Plural वाक् ॥

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **व्** such as **अव्** : **अव** is always used in the Plural. By VI. 4. 11. S. 277. the vowel **अ** is lengthened. Thus we have in the Nominative Plural **आवः**; in the Acc. Plural **अवः** ॥

In forming the Inst. Plural the following rule applies :—

४४२ । अपो मि । ७ । ४ । ४८ ॥

अपस्तकारः स्याद्भासौ प्रत्यये परे । अङ्गिः । अद्भ्यः २ । अपाव । अप्सु । विक् । विण् । विशौ ।
विशः । विग्भ्याम् । विक्षु । त्यदाविष्यति दशः क्तिन्निधानाख्यत्रापिकुत्वम् । दक् । दृग् । दृशौ । दशः । त्विद् ।
त्विङ् । त्विषौ । त्विषः । त्विङ्भ्याम् । त्विद्भ्यु । त्विद्भ्यु । सह जुषते इति सज्जुः । सज्जुषौ । सज्जुषः ।
सज्जुष्याम् । सज्जुष्यु । सज्जुषुः । पत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भुत्वम् । आशीः । आशिषौ । आशिषः । आशीर्भाय ।
असौ । त्यदाद्यत्वं । टाप् । भौङ् । शी । उत्त्वत्वे । अमू । अमूः । अमूम् । अमू अमूः । अमूम् । अमू ।
अमुया । अमूभ्याम् । अमूभिः । अमूष्यै । अमूभ्याम् २ । अमूभ्यः । अमूभ्याः २ । अमूयोः । अमूयोः ।
अमूयाय । अमुयाय । अमूयु ॥

442. क् is substituted for the final of the stem क् before a case-ending beginning with भ् ॥

Thus we have अद्भिः and in the Dat. and Abl. Plural अद्भिभ्यः ; in the Gen. and Loc. Plural अद्भिन् and अद्भिः respectively.

Now we come to the declension of words ending in **श्** such as **दिक्** ॥ Thus in the Nominative S. we have **दिक्** or **दिक्ष्** by III. 2. 59. S. 373 and VIII. 2. 62 S. 377; in the Nominative Dual **दिक्षौ** and Plural **दिक्षाः**; in the Inst. Dual **दिक्ष्याम्** and Loc. Plural **दिक्षुः** ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word दृश् ॥ By the rule III. 2. 60, S. 429 दृश् takes the affix क्तिन् when in combination with the pronoun त्वम् &c. But we infer from this that the root दृश् will take the affix क्तिन् even when it is not in combination also. Thus in the Nominative S. we have दृक् or दृग्, Nominative D. दृशो, Plural दृशाः ॥

So also स्विष् : Its Nominative S. is स्विद् or स्विङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. in the Nominative D. स्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural स्विषः ॥ Inst. D. स्विष्म्याम् and the Loc. Plural स्विद्सु or स्विङ्सु with the optional augment व् by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131.

The word सख्य, "a friend". By the rule VIII. 8. 36. S. 151, इ is substituted for its final and by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. there is the elision of ह्य; then by applying the rules VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. and VIII. 3. 15. S. 76. we have सख् : in the Nominative S. The Nominative D. सख्यौ and Plural सख्यः; similarly in the Inst. D. सख्म्याम् and. Loc. Plural सख्यसु or सख् : सु, the change of स to ष् caused by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113 being not perceived by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162. causing रु ॥

In the same way the word आशिन् for आशिष् is declined. Thus we have the Nominative S., D. and Plural आशीः आशिषौ and आशिषः respectively; In Inst. D. we have आशीम्याम् and Plural आशीभिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अस् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असौ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265)	अम् (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419)	अम् :
Acc.	अम्	अम्	अम् :
Inst.	अमुया	अमुभ्याम्	अमुभिः
Dat.	अमुव्यै (VII. 8. 114. S. 291)	"	अमुभ्यः
Abl.	अमुभ्याः	"	"
Gen.	"	अमुयोः	अमुषाम् (VII. 1. 52)
Loc.	अमुभ्याम्	"	अमुषु

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants.

अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

स्वमीरलुक् । इत्थम् । स्वनङ्गम् । स्वनङ्गुम् । स्वनङ्गुही । चतुरनङ्गहारित्याम् । स्वनङ्गाहि । पुनस्तङ्गम् ।
 दोषं पुंश्च ॥ दिव उन् ॥ अहर्विमलद्यु । अन्तरवर्तिनी विभक्तिमाश्रित्य पूर्वपदस्यैवात्तरण्येस्वापि
 पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायाम् ॥ उत्तरपदस्यैवापरातिवधौ प्रतिषेधः * । इति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । विमलदिवी ।
 विमलदिवि । अपरातिवधौ किम् । वधितेचौ । इह षस्वनिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदत्वमस्त्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वाः ।
 वारी । अह्वलन्तस्यात्र नुम् । वारि । अश्वारि । न जुमनेति कादेशां न । किम् । के । कानि । इहम् । इने ।
 इमानि ॥ अन्वदिषे नपुंसके एनङ्कल्यः * ॥ एनम् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनयोः २ । अह्व ।
 अह्वयी । अह्वयि । हे अह्वन् । हे अह्व । रोऽसुपि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा द्विवचोः । अङ्गी । अङ्गनी ।
 अह्वानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनङ्गम्. By the rule VII. 1. 23 S. 319 we have the elision of the case endings सु and अम्. In the case of स्वनङ्गम्, by the application of the rule VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. इ is substituted for ह. Thus we get स्वनङ्गम् or स्वनङ्गुम् in the Nominative Sing. स्वनङ्गुही in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII. 1. 19. S. 310. In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII. 1. 98, S. 331. we have the augment आम् ॥ Thus we get स्वनङ्गाहि. The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative. The rest is declined like the Masculine.

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in इ such as विमलदिह् ॥ By the rule VI. 1. 131, S. 337, इ is substituted for the final : thus we get विमलद्यु in the Nominative Singular which means "a clear day"

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration :—the word विमलदिह् is a compound of two words विमल and दिह् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः. But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the न् of राजन् is elided and the form is rāja-purusha and not rājan-purusha. Similarly in वागीशः the क् is changed to इ ॥ Now if this elided case-affix (antar vartini vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets? This doubt is removed by the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—The rule of "Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakṣhaṇam" does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada". Therefore, there is no pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa : and so the word *दिव्* in *विमलदिव्* does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation *Bha* ; and consequently we can apply to it the sūtra VII. 1. 19 S. 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only. *विमल दिव्* being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the *औ* is changed to *ही* ; and we get the Nominative Dual *विमलौदिवी* and not *विमलदिवौ* ॥ The Nominative Plural is *विमलदिवि*.

Why do we say in the above vārtika अपरादिविधौ "when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe *रधिसेचौ* = *रधः+सेचौ* a Genitive Tatpurusha, compounded from *रधः* + *सेचौ* = *रधि सेच्* Here the second term *सेच्* does get the designation of *Pada* for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* *स्* being changed to *श्* ॥ Had it not been a *Pada* then *स्* would have been changed to *श्* after *इ* by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. But though *सेच्* is treated as a *पद* for the purposes of the application of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as *पद* for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter *च्* which would become guttural *क्* if it were a *Pada*.

Note :—*सेच्* is derived from the root *सिच्* 'to sprinkle,' with the affix *विच्* (III. 2. 75. S. 2980). The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpurusha compound.

Obj :—But if we form the upapada compound with the root *सिच्* and the upapada *रधि* in the Accusative, as *रधिमसिचतः*, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhaktis, the word *सेच्* has no *pada* designation, and so *स्* does not *begin* a *pada*, and it should be changed to *श्* Thus in upapada-samāsa, the *श्* change is inevitable.

Ans :—To this Kaiyata replies "अनादिधानात् सोपपदाद् विज्भावाः, रधिसेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात्" ॥ Or we may say that the word *अपरादि* means *परादादि* : the beginning of a subsequent (whether *pada* or not) preceded by a *pada*.

Now, we take up the declension of *वार*. Its N. S. and Dual are *वा* and *वारी* respectively. In forming the N. Pl. there will be no *नुम्* ordained by VII. 1. 72: S. 314. because the base does not end in *भल्* letters. Therefore the N. Pl. is *वार्ति*.

The Nominative and Acc. Pl. of *चतुर्* is *चत्वारि* ॥ The rest is like the. masculine.

Now we take up the declension of *किम्*. Thus *किम्+सु* = *किम्+O* by VII. 1. 23. S. 319. Now the affix is elided by using the word *लुक्* and so it leaves no trace behind, by I. 1. 63. S. 263, and therefore *किम्* is not changed to *क्* as would otherwise be required by Sūtra VII. 2. 103. S. 342. Thus it is declined as :—

	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
Nom.	किम्.	के	कानि

Now we take up the declension of इदम्. Its Nom: forms are इदम्, इमे, इमानि ॥

Vārtika:—In the Neuter, where there is Anvādeśa or re-employment it should be stated that एनत् replaces इदम्.

Thus एनत्, इमे, एमानि ; Ins. S. एनेन Gen. D. एनयोः &c.

Now, we take up the declension of ब्रह्मन्. It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nomi,	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मणी	ब्रह्मानि
Voc.	हे ब्रह्मन् or हे ब्रह्म.		

Now we take up the declension of अहम्. By VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. र् is substituted for the final न् of अहम् and thus अहमास्ति in the Nominative Sg. Had there been ह, then the ह् would have been changed to व by हाशिच VI. 1. 114 S. 166. The form would have been अहोभास्ति in the Nom: Sing. In the N. D. by VI. 4. 136. S. 237, the अ of अन् portion of अहम् is optionally elided and thus we get अह्मी or अहनी. N. Pl. is अहानि ॥

Before भ्यान् &c, where अहम् gets the designation of pada, the following rule applies.

४४३ । अहम् । ८ । २ । ६८ ॥

अहमित्यस्य रुः स्यात्स्वान्ते । अहोभ्याम् । अहोभिः । इह अहः अहोभ्यामित्वावौ रत्वरुत्वयोरसि-
द्धत्वाभ्रलोपे प्राप्ते, अहमित्वावर्थं नलोपाभावं निपात्य द्वितीयेन रुर्विधेयः । तदन्तस्यापि रुत्वरस्ये ।
सीर्षाण्यहानि अस्मिन् स सीर्षाहा निवाचः । इह हल्ङ्यादिलोपे प्रत्ययनक्षयोनाऽसुपीति निषेधात्प्रत्वाभावे रुः ।
तस्यासिद्धत्वाभ्रान्तलक्षण उपधावीर्धः । संबुद्धौ तु हे सीर्षाहो निवाच । रधिद्विनो । सीर्षाहानः ! सीर्षाह्वा ।
सीर्षाहोभ्याम् ।

वण्डि । वण्डिनी । वण्डिनी । सग्वि । सग्विणी । सग्वीणि । वाग्मि । वाग्मिनी । वाग्मीनि
बहुवृत्तहाणि । बहुपुत्राणि । बहुवर्धमाणि ।

असृजः पशन्ते कुत्वम् । सृजेः क्तिनो विधानात् । विभ्र सृडावौ तु न । सृजिहशोरिति
सूत्रे रज्जुसृद्ध्यामिति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । यद्वा प्रभाविस्त्व सृजियञोः पशन्ते पत्वं कुत्वापवादः ।
सगृह्णतिरुक्तावद्योस्तु निपातनादेव कुत्वम् । असकृदावस्तु अस्वतेरीणादिके ऋश्प्रत्यये बोध्यः ।
असृक् । असृग् । असृजी । असृजिज । पद्म इति वा असन् । असानि । असृजा । अक्षा । असृ-
ग्भ्याम् । असृग्भ्यामित्वादि ।

ऊर्कः । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जि । ऊर्जिज । नरजानां संयोगः ॥ बहुर्जि नुम्प्रतिषेधः । * ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वो
वा नुम् ॥ बहुर्जि बहुर्जिज वा कुलानि ।

एतत् । एतद् । एत्थ । एथानि । तत् । तद् । ते । तानि । यत् । यद् । ये । यानि । एतत् ।
एतद् । एते । एतानि । अन्वादेशे तु । एनत् ।

बेभिद्यतेः क्तिप् । बेभिदत् । बेभिद् । बेभिदी । शावल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाद्भक्तलन्तत्वात् नुम् ।
अजन्त लक्षणस्तु नुम् न । स्वविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावात् । बेभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि । चेच्छिदि ॥

गवाक्षान्नस्य रूपाणि द्विर्ऽर्थागतिभेदतः । असंध्यवङ्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वसंयुक्तं नव वङ् भाशे षट्के स्पृक्षीणि अद्वासाः । चत्वारि शेषे वङ्कारुपाणीति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामेचतीनि विभेदे कृत्विगादिना क्तन् । गतो नलोपः । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्येत्यधङ् । गवाक् । गवागे । सर्वत्र विभाषेति प्रकृतिभावः । गोभक् । गोभग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक् । गोम् । पूजायां नस्य कृत्विन डः । गवाङ् । गोभङ् । गाङ् । भव्यवि एतान्येव नव । गोङ्, गी । नत्वाच्च इत्यलोपः । गोची । पूजायां तु गवाञ्ची । गोभञ्ची । गोञ्ची अद्वासाः षिः । शिः सर्वनामस्थानत्वान्मुम् । गवाञ्चि । गोभञ्चि । गोञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोर्छीण्येव । गोचा । गवाञ्चा । गोभञ्चा । गोञ्चा । गवाञ्चाम् । गोभञ्चाम् । गोञ्चाम् । गवाङ्चाम् । गोभङ्चाम् । गोङ्चाम् । इत्यादि ॥ उपितु कान्तानां पक्षे क्तोः कुगिति कृक् । गवाङ्क् । गोभङ्क् । गोङ्क् । गवाङ्क् । गोभङ्क् । गोङ्क् । गवाङ्क् । गोभङ्क् । गोङ्क् । न चैह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारेण षण्णामाधिक्यं शङ्क्यम् । चर्म्हस्थासिद्धत्वात् । कृक्पक्षे तु तस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जडत्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयावेद्यानीणि रूपाणि वर्धन्त एव ॥

अद्यमेषां द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यध्वसिभूतानि । ५२७ भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥ १ ॥

तिर्यक् । तिर्यी । तिर्यञ्चि । पूजायां तु । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यङ्ची । तिर्यञ्चि । यकृत । यकृती । यकृन्ति । पद्मजिति वा यकृन् । यकृति । यक्ताः । यकृता । यकृत् । यकृती । यकृन्ति । यकृति । यक्ता । यकृता । यकृत् । इति ॥

443. रु is also substituted for the ऋ of अहन् at the end of a Pada

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of ऋ. in order to indicate that there is not elision of ऋ ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निराधः, हे दीर्घाहोऽनेति ॥ See Vārtika under VIII. 2. 7. The ऋ of अहन् is not changed to र in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt :—Before the words रूप, राज्ञि and रथन्तर, the ऋ of अहन् is changed to र ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्र, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2, 69. Others say, that this र change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र ; as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

The र and रु changes in अहर् (N. S.) and अहोभ्याम् (Ins. D.) ordained by VIII. 2. 69 S. 172. and VIII. 2. 68 S. 443. are asiddha i. e. not perceived by the preceding Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. which requires the elision of ऋ. Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र (which is really ऋ) would be elided. But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII. 2, 68. S. 443. is in N. S. without the elision of ऋ, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the ऋ is not elided ; and by the second word, the रु is ordained for this final ऋ ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final ऋ into रु and इ by VIII. 2. 68 and 69 S. 443. and 172. Thus we have the Bahuvrihi compound 'दीर्घाहन् meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as दीर्घाहो निराधः ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions. The word दीर्घाह् is thus evolved :—दीर्घाह् + ह्र = दीर्घाह् + ० (there is lopa elision of ह्र by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the ह् substitution for ऋ to the exclusion of र, because the र would not come, as in the sūtra VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. अस्त्वपि is used. But this ह् being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. S. 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate अ ॥ Thus we have दीर्घाह् in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have हे दीर्घाहि निवाच ॥

Note:—The word दीर्घाह् is a Bahuvrīhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the ह् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to ङ (VI. 1. 114). In हे अह् ! the ह् is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII. 2. 8. वा नपुंसकानाञ् which means that in the Neuters ह् is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

	Singular.	Dual	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	दीर्घाहः	दीर्घाहानौ	दीर्घाहानः
Instr.	दीर्घाहा	दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of ण्डिङ् &c. Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
ण्डिङ्	ण्डिङ्	ण्डिङनी	ण्डिङीनि
अग्निवङ्	अग्निव	अग्निवयौ	अग्निवाणि
वाग्मिङ्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीनि
बहुवृचङ्	बहुवृच	बहुवृचयौ or बहुवृचङ्गौ	बहुवृचहाणि
बहुपूषङ्	बहुपूष	बहुपूषयौ or बहुपूषङ्गौ	बहुपूषाणि
बहुयथङ्	बहुयथ	बहुयथयौ or बहुयथङ्गौ	बहुयथाणि

Now we take up the declension of असृज् which is a negative compound of अ + सृज्. The ज् will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix क्तिन् has been ordained after the root सृज् क्तिन् प्रत्ययस्यक्तुः, but not so in other compounds than negative, as विश्वसृज् &c. The N. S. of विश्वसृज् is विश्वसृद्, because Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya, in commenting on sūtra VI. 1. 58 S. 2405 employs the form रज्जुसृड्भ्याम् or because the षत्व taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. for the final ज् of सृज् and सृज् would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in अक् and अस्तिक् is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sūtra III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that असृज् is not a negative compound of अ + सृज् but is a Uṇādi formed word derived from the root अस् "to throw" with the affix कृज्, then the

form will be असृक् in the N. S. without any difficulty. Thus the declension of असृज् will be,

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असृक् or असृज्	असृजी	असृजिज् ॥
Acc	"	"	

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *viz*, one with असृन् (VI. 1. 63. S. 228) and the other with असृज् ॥ Thus Acc : Pl : असृजि or असृजिन् ॥ Instr : Sing : Dual असृजा or अजा ; असृज्याम् or अज्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	ऊर्क् or ऊर्ज्	ऊर्जी	ऊर्जिज् ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is न्र् and ज् ॥

Vartik :—There is prohibition of the augment नुस् in the case of बहुर्ज्.

Vartik :—Or, the नुस् may be added before the final consonant, i. e. inserted between र् and ज् ॥ Thus बहुर्जि or बहुर्जि कुलानि ॥

Note :—According to Mahābhāṣya the Nom. Pl. is ऊर्जि without any nasal. (See sūtra VII. 1. 72). His reason is that the word अच्चः in नपुंसकस्य भक्तचः should be construed in the Ablative, the sūtra meaning “ the augment नुस् should be added to a Neuter stem which ends in झल् consonant, provided that such झल् is preceded by a vowel ” In ūrj, the letter that follows the vowel, i. e. र is not a jhal, nor does the Neuter stem-end in r. But the jhal ज् which is final, is not preceded by a vowel but by र् ॥ So there will be no nasal here.

Now, we take up the declension of खद् &c. Nominative and Accusative.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
खद्	खत् or खद्	खे	ख्यानि ॥
तद्	तत् or तद्	ते	तानि ॥
यद्	यत् or यद्	ये	यानि ॥
एतद्	एतत् or एतद्.	एते	एतानि ॥

But in anvādesha or remployment, the Nom : Sing. of एतद् is declined as एतत् ॥

The word बेभिद् is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the verbal root बेभिच् (a Frequentative root) The ञ् and य are dropped (अतो लोपः) ॥

Its N. and Ac : S. and Dual are बेभित् or बेभिद् ; बेभिदी ॥ In the Plural, i. e. before the affix सि, the augment नुस् required by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is not added, because the lopa elided अ of बेभिच्च is considered as sthānivat

and so the base does not end in a स्तब्ध consonant * Nor will it take रुक् on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthānivat-bhāva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self.

Thus the Plural is वेभिर्हि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Similarly the plural of चेच्छिद् is चेच्छिदि ॥

The root गच्छ has two meanings; (a) to go; (b) to worship (See भादि 203). When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada गो, we get गो + गच्छ + क्तिन् ॥ Thus गां गच्छति meaning 'he drives the cow'. The nasal will be elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415. But when the meaning is 'he honors or worships the cow' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI. 4. 30. S. 424

Thus we get two forms (1) गवाक् (2) गवांक् ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो + गच्छ itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. (2) where अवङ् is substituted for ओ of गो by VI. 1. 123. S. 88.; (3) where ओ + अ of गो and गच्छ become ओ by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. Thus (1) गोअंक् (2) गवांक् (3) गोऽंक् ॥

Verse :—In the Neuter, the word गवाक् meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) गोअंक्; (2) गवांक् (3) गोऽंक् (4) गाअंक् (5) गवाक् (6) गोऽक् ॥ The case terminations दु (N. S.), अक् (Ac.S) सुप् (L. Pl.) give rise to nine forms each, the भा (i. e. Instr.; Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each; the जस् and ङस् (i. e. Nomi: and Acc: Pl) to three forms each, the remaining ten case-terminations four forms each.

Thus when we analyse गवाक् or गवांक् as गाम् गच्छति, we add the affix क्तिन् by III. 2. 59 S. 373. Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is 'to move'. Then there is the अवङ् substitution by VII. 1. 123. S. 88. In this case we have N. S. as गवाक् or गवाग्; or when we apply the option of VI. 1. 122 S. 87, we have गामक् or गोअग्; when we apply the rule of पररूप, we have गोऽक् or गोऽग् ॥

When the sense is 'to honor', we have the कुत्स or gutturalisation of the nasal in to ङ् as N. S. गवाङ् or गोअङ् or गोऽङ् ॥ In the Acc: S. we shall also get these nine forms.

In the Nom: and Acc: dual, the termination is ङी, before which the base gets the designation of bha (भ) and the अ of गच्छ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S. 416 and thus we get the form गोभ्या ॥ But when the sense of the verb is 'to honor', we get the forms गवांभी, or गोअभी or गोऽभी ॥

* The अ of वेभिद् was elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The *Vārtika* कौलुप्तं न स्थानिवद् see sūtra VI. 4. 85 S. 273 is not applied here; as that *Vartika* is not of universal application.

The N. and Ac : Pl. affix is *णि* which being a Sarvanāmasthāna, we have the augment *नुम्* and thus we have *गवांश्चि* or *गोमंश्चि* or *गौचि* whether the verb means 'to go' or 'to honor'.

The Instr : Sing of *गवाञ्* is only *गोच्चा*, for the same reason as N. and Ac : Dual is *गोचौ*; of *गवाञ्* is *गवांचा* or *गौचा* or *गोमंचा* ॥

The Instr, Dat and Abl : dual of *गवाञ्* is *गवाम्भ्याम्* or *गोमाम्भ्याम्* or *गोम्याम्*, of *गवाञ्* is *गवाह्भ्याम्* or *गोमह्भ्याम्* or *गौह्भ्याम्* &c.

In the Loc. Pl : , when the base is *गवाञ्*, we add the augment *क्* by VIII. 3. 28. Thus *गवाह्णु* or *गोमह्णु* or *गौह्णु* or *गवाह्णु* or *गोमह्णु* or *गौह्णु* ॥

But when the base is *गवाञ्*, we get L. Pl : as *गवाह्णु* or *गोमह्णु* or *गौह्णु* ॥

By applying the *vārtika चयोः द्वितीयाः*, *क्* may be changed to *ख* and we may get six other forms, but that *Vartika* is not applicable, since the *चर्त्स्व* rule is asiddha.

Now we take up the declension of *तिरञ्* ॥

Its Nom : forms are *तिर्यक्*, *तिर्यक्षी*, *तिर्येचि* ॥

But when *ञञ्* means 'to honor' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom : forms are *तिर्यह्*, *तिर्येचौ*, *तिर्येचि* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *यकृन्* ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are *यकृन्*, *यकृती*, *यकृन्ति* ॥

But before weak case terminations *यकृन्* is optionally substituted for *यकृन्* as ordained by VI. 1. 63. S. 228. Thus Ac : Pl : is either *यकृन्ति* or *यकृन्ति* ॥ The Instr : Sing : is *यकृता* or *यकृता* ॥

Now, we take up the declension of *शकृन्* ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are *शकृन्*, *शकृती*, *शकृन्ति* ॥ According to VI. 1. 63. S. 228, *शकृन्* is optionally substituted for *शकृन्* before the weak case terminations. So the Acc : Pl : is optionally *शकृन्ति* ॥ Similarly, the Instr : Sig. is either *शकृता* or *शकृता* ॥

Now, we take up the declension of *इहन्* ॥ Its Nom : Sing : and dual are *इहन्*, *इहती* ॥

The formation of the N. Pl : is governed by the following rule.

४४४ । वा नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७६ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शता त्वन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुम् वा स्यात्सर्वानामस्थाने परे । इवन्ति । इवन्ति । नुवन्ति ॥

444. The Participial-affix *शन्* optionally takes the augment *नुम्* after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns when

a sarvanāmasthâna I. 1. 42. S. 313. follows.

Thus Nominative Plural **द्वन्ति** or **द्वन्ति** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **तुवन्** ॥ Its N. S. is **तुवन्** ॥

In the formation of its N. Dual and Plural the following rule applies :—

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योनुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवयान्तादङ्गात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । तुवन्ती । तुवन्ती
तुवन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचन् ॥

445. When the affix **शत्** comes after a verbal stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, it may optionally take the augment **नुम्** before the neutral case-ending **री** VII. 1. 19. S. 319. and before the feminine affix **ई** (that is Nadi I. 4. 3. S. 266).

Thus N. D. **तुवन्ते** or **तुवन्ती** ; N. P. **तुवन्ति** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **भात्** 'shining'. Its Nominative forms are **भात्**, **भान्ती** or **भाती**, **भान्ति** ॥

Now we take up the declension of **पचन्** ॥ ('cooking'). Its N. S. is **पचन्** ॥ Its N. D. Pl. are governed by the following rule :—

४४६ । शपइयनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपइयनोरात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । पचन्ती । पचन्ति ।
द्विष्यत् । द्विष्यन्ती । द्विष्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वप् । स्वपी । नित्यात्परादपि नुम् प्राक् अप्ठुजिति द्विष्यः । प्रतिपदो-
क्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाप् । निरवकाशत्वे प्रतिपदोक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृते ताद्विरहान्नुमेव । स्वप् । स्वपा ॥ अपो-
भि ॥ स्वङ्गाम् । स्वदाभिः । अतिपिबतीत्यादिना धनेरुम् । रुत्वम् । धनुः । धनुषी । सान्ति द्विष्यः । नुम्-
विसर्जनीयेति धत्वम् । धन्वाभिः । धनुषा । धनुष्याम् । एव च क्षुहीदरादयः । पिपडिष्येः क्तिप् । वीरिति द्विष्यः ।
पिपटीः । पिपटिषी । अङ्गोपस्थ स्थानिवत्त्वाल्लन्तलक्षणो नुम् न । स्वादिधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादजन्तलक्ष-
णोऽपि नुम् न । पिपटिषि । पिपटीभ्यामित्यादि । पयः । पयसी । पयांसि । पयसा । पयोभ्यामित्यादि ।
सुपुम् । सुपुसी । सुपुमांसि अद् । विभक्तिकार्यम् । उत्पन्नत्वे । अम् । अमूनि । शेषं पुंवत् ॥

446. When the affix **शत्** comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas **शप्** and **इयन्**, it invariably takes the augment **नुम्** before the neutral case-ending **री** (ई), and the feminine ending **ई** (Nadi).

Thus N. D. **पचन्ती**, N. Pl. **पचन्ति** ॥ The word **नित्य** stops the anuvṛitti of **वा** (VII. 1.79 S. 444).

Similarly, the Nominative forms of **द्विष्यत्** are **द्विष्यत्**, **द्विष्यन्ती**, **द्विष्यन्ति** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **स्वप्** meaning 'a tank containing good water,

Note :—In forming the compound सु + अप्, sūtra V. 4. 74. S. 940 required the addition of अ to the final as in the case of द्वि + अप् = द्वीप् ; but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V. 4. 69. S. 954. Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI. 3.97. S. 941 because the word अप् in that sūtra means that अप् which has taken the समासान्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वप्

Its N. S. and Dual are स्वप् or स्वप् and स्वप् respectively. In the N. Plural the अ of स्वप् will be *first* lengthened by VI. 4. 11 S. 277. and then नुस् is to be added. This is because the word अप् is *specifically* mentioned in the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment नुस् taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is *nitya* and subsequent in order of Ashtādhyāyī to the sūtra VI. 4. 11. and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वामि ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a *nitya* and a subsequent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise ; then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like आप स्तिष्ठन्ति ; while in स्वप् + शि, the नुस् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वामि ॥

Note :—This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama.

The Instr : Sing is स्वपा ॥ The Instr : Dual is स्वप् + यास् ; the प् being changed to र् by VII. 4. 48. S. 442. The Instr : Plural is स्वप्तिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of धनुस् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Uṇādi affix डस् to the root धन् (Uṇādi II. 117). The स् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162) and then changed to Visarga ; thus Nominative Sing is धनुः ; Nominative Dual धनुवौ ॥

In the Nominative Plural the व of धनुस् is lengthened by VI. 4. 10. S. 317. The र् is changed to व् by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. Thus Nominative Plural is धनुर्वि ॥ The Instr : S. and Dual are धनुषा, धनुष्या respectively. Similar is the declension of बधुस् and हविस् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of विपठिस् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root विपठिष् with the affix क्तिप् before which the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308 and in the N. S. the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. Thus N. S. विपठीः ; N. Dual विपठिवौ ॥

In the Plural, i. e. before the affix शि, the augment नुस् required by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. is not added, because the lopa elided अ is considered as sthānivat and so the base does not end in a ह्रस्व consonant.

Nor will it take नुस् by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided अ can not be considered as sthānivat in applying the rule to its own self. (compare sūtra 443). Thus N. Pl. is विपठिवि ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as विपटीभ्याम् &c. are similar to those of the Masculine.

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c.

Nom : and Acc :

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural. Instr : S. Dual.
पयस्	पयः	पयसी	पयांसि ॥ पयसा, पयोभ्यां
सुपुंस	सुपुम्	सुपुंसी	सुपुमांसि ॥
अदस्	अदः		

In the Dual and Pl : all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the इ and म substitution mentioned under VII. 2. 107. S. 437. and VIII. 2. 81. S. 438. should take place. Thus N. and Acc : D. and Pl. are अम् and अमूनि ॥

Note :—The N. D. of अदस् is thus formed :—

अदस् + सी = अद + ई (The स् is elided by VII. 2. 102 S. 265) = अदे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII. 2. 80. S. 491 : The इ is thus changed to म and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अम् ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अदस्, we get the N. Pl : अदानी, to which applying VIII. 2. 80. S. 491, we get अमूनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines.

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants .

अथाठ्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDECLINABLES.

४४७ । स्वराद्यो निपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वराद्यो निपाताभाव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वर, अन्तर, प्रातर, पुनर, सन्तुतर, उच्चैस्, नीचैस्, शानैस्, ऋधक्, कृते, युगपत्, आरात्, पृथक्, ह्यस्, श्वस्, दिवा, रात्रौ, सायम्, चिरम्, मनाक्, ईषत्, औषम्, तूष्णीम्, बहिस्, अवस्, समया, निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा, नक्तम्, नञ्, हेतौ, इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत्, ब्राह्मणवत्, क्षत्रियवत्, सना, सनत्, सनात्, उपधा, तिरस्, अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, ज्योक्, कम्, शम्, सहसा, विना, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा, अलम्, वषट् औषट् वौषट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति, उपांशु, क्षमा, विहायसा, दोषा, मृषा, मिथ्या, मुधा, पुरा, मिथा, मिथस्, प्रायस्, दुहुस्, प्रब्राह्मणम्, प्रवाहिका, भार्यहलम्, अभीक्ष्णम्, साकम्, सार्धम्, नमस्, हिहक्, धिक्, अथ वम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रशान्, प्रतान्, मा, माङ् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ च, वा, ह, अह, एव, एवम्, नूनम्, शश्वत्, युगपत्, भूयस्, कूपत्, सूपत्, कुवित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कबित्, किंचित्, यच्च, नह, हन्त, माकिः, माकिम् नकिः, आकिम् माङ्, नञ्, यावत्, तावत्, ख्ये, हे, न्वे, रे, औषट्, वौषट्, स्वाहा, स्वधा, तुम्, तथाहि, खलु, किल, अथो, अथ, सुषु, स्म, आवह, उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर-प्रतिरूपकाश्च । अवश्चस्, अहंयु, अस्तिक्षीरा, अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए ऐ, ओ, औ, पशु, शुक्रम् यथा-क्रधाच्च, पाद्, प्याद्, अङ्ग, हे, हे माः, अयं, य, विषु, एकपदे, युत्, आतः । चादिरप्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. Their list is given below :—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सन्तुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शानैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक् 'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' कृते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly,' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little औषम् 'gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अवस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् 'enclitic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, Kshatriyavat warrior like, सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक्, 'long,' कम् expletive particle, 'शम् ease,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' औषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of

butter, 'अन्वत्' 'again, moreover, otherwise'. अस्ति 'being present,' पांडित्य 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायस 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' वृथा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' ध्रुवा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मयस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' पुनस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकुस् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहन्तस् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णस् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' अस् 'quickly' आस् "indeed" प्रसात् 'with fatigue,' प्रसात् 'alike,' प्रसात् 'widely,' मा, माङ् 'do not'.

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिच् (V. 3. 7 S 1953) and ending with पादाच् (V. 3. 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with षच् (V. 4. 42 S 2109) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्यसुच्, सुचस् आच् and धात् by the affixes having the sense of the affix चिच्, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसिच् or वसिच्, न or नाम् are also indeclinables.

This class is known as 'avayaya' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class.

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," इ an expletive, अह् vocative particle एव 'only,' एवम् 'thus,' नूनम् 'certainly' अथत् 'continually,' अगपत् 'at once' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' कृपत् 'excellently,' स्रपत् 'excellently' कुर्वित् 'abundantly,' नेत् or चेत् "if," चय् "if," काचित् "what if" अत्र 'where' नह 'no,' हन्त ah! 'माकिम्, माकिः, नकिः or नकिम् "do not," नाङ् 'do not' नम् 'not' आवत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' खै, हे, or नै perhaps, रे disrespectful interjection, औषद्, औषड or स्वाहा "oblation to the gods" वाषद् "oblation to the Gods" तुम् "thouing," तथाहि "thus". खलु certainly, किञ्च 'indeed,' अथ now, सुष्ठु 'excellent' स्म (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), आरह 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I. 4. 59 S. 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्तम् by VII. 4. 47. S. 3078 In the example अहंशुः 'egoistic' the ahan 'is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound.

In the example अस्तिभीष, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or "is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing. अ, आ, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पशु 'well,' शुकम् 'quickly,' अथाकयाच "any how" पाद्, प्याद्, अङ्ग, हे, हे, भोः (vocative particles) अवे 'ah!' अ in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, विद् "on all sides," एकपदे 'at the same moment' शुक् 'blame' आतः 'hence'.

This list also from च &c. is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before.

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः । १ । १ । ३८ ।

यस्मात्सर्वा विभक्तिर्नोपपद्यते स तद्धितान्तोऽव्ययं स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । तसिलादयः प्राक् पाठपः । सप्तप्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः । अन् । आन् । कृत्वोर्याः । तसिबली । नानाआविति । तेनेह न । पञ्चतिकल्पम् । पञ्चतिरूपम् ॥

448. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76. S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तसिह् (V. 3. 7. S 1953) and ending with पाठप् (V. 3. 47. S 1993); by the affixes beginning with हल् (V. 4. 42. S. 2109) and ending with समासान्तः (V. 4. 68 S 676) by the affixes अन्, आन्, where meaning कृत्वद्युच्; by the affixes तसि and वसि and न or नाच् ॥

Hence पञ्चतिकल्पम् and पञ्चतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note :—Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb वतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there'. Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also वतः, वच, वहा, वहा, सर्वदा, सदा, &c.

४४९ । कृन्मेजन्तः । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

कृद्यो भान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तमध्ययं स्यात् । स्मरिस्मारम् । जीवसे । पिबथ्ये ॥

449. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93 S 374) which end with स् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also Indeclinables.

Note :—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Text :—Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in न or ए, आ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुच्

(technically लुङ्) and अस् (technically ञङ्, III. 3. 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in स् ॥ The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मरस् स्मरस् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवसे to live, पिवथैः 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in स्, &c.

४५० । कृत्वातोसुनकसुनः । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतोः । विसृपः ॥

450. The words, ending with ktvâ (III. 4. 18. S. 3316) tosun (III. 4. 16. S. 3443) and kasun (III. 4. 9. S. 3436) are Indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread'.

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अधिहरि ॥

451. (The compound called) Avyayibhâva (II. 1. 5. S. 651.) is also Indeclinable.

Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari or Vishnu'.

Note :—The Avyayibhâva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter.

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhâva compounds avayayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables viz., we can apply to them (I) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i. e., sūtra II. 4. 82. S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word salabhâh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्निं प्रत्यग्निं ब्रह्मणाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i. e., sūtras VI. 2. 167. & 168. S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपाग्निं मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपद्यः कारः, उपपद्यः कामः, as compared with अवस्कारः Here, the compound उपपद्यः being treated as avyaya, sūtra VIII. 3. 46, S 160. applies and prevents the change of : into स् ॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुपः । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र बालाद्याम् । विहितविशेषणार्थे । अस्त्युच्चैतौ ।
अव्ययसंज्ञायां यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आह्मण्यं व्यर्थमलिङ्गस्यात् ॥

सहस्रां त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वास्तु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यत्र व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रुतिर्लिङ्गकारकसंख्याऽभावपरः ।

वटि भागुरिरल्लोपमशान्योरुपसर्गयोः । आपं चैव हलन्तानां यथा वाचा निशा दिशा ॥

वगाहः । अवगाहः । विधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) ordained after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र बालाद्याम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that'.

By using the word "ordained" in the sūtra we mean that the case-affixes must come after the Avyaya as such, and not after a pratipādika compound, in which an Avyaya may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound अस्ति + उच्चैः though the word उच्चैः separately is an Avyaya, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case-affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus Nominative Dual अस्त्युच्चैतौ ॥ Though tadanta vidhi applies to avyayas also, and so a compound word ending with an avyaya will also be an avyaya, yet when such an avyaya is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the tadanta vidhi will not apply.

The word आप् (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the sūtra, because an Avyaya has no gender.

Verse :— "What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an indeclinable or avyaya".

Thus according to Sruti, avyayas have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

"The grammarian Bhaguri wishes that there shall be elision of अ and आवि and that आप् shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e. g. वाचा (instead of वाच्), निशा (instead of निष्), दिशा (instead of दिष्)".

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. So either अवगाहः or वगाहः ॥ विधानम् or अपिधानम् ॥

Here end the Indeclinables,

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV.

FORMATION OF FEMININES.

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । समर्थानामिति यावत् ॥

453. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed.

Note:—This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase ‘when feminine nature is to be indicated,’ must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV. 1. 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word ‘prātipadika’ should be read into this sūtra, from the sūtra, IV. 1. 1. S 182, not so, however the anuvṛitti of the words ‘ङीःभाप्’; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and भाप् affixes.

४५४ । अजाद्यतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजादीनामकारान्तस्य च बाध्यं यत् स्त्रीत्वं तच्च द्योत्ये दाप् स्यात् । अजाद्युक्तिर्ङीषो ङीषश्च बाधनाय । अजा । अतः, खट्वा । अजाहिभिः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणान्नेह । पञ्चाजी । ‘द्विग्वोः’ (४०९) इति ङीप् । अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारानिष्ठं ङीत्वम् । अजा । एडका । अम्वा । अटका । मूषिका । एषु जातिलक्षणो ङीष् प्राप्तः । बाला । वस्ता । शोडा । मन्दा । विलाता । एषु वयसि प्रथम इति ङीप् प्राप्तः ॥ * संभ्रज्जाजिनशणपिण्डेभ्यः फजात् * संफला । भस्त्रफला । कृपापोरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ ° सङ्ख्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् * ॥ सत्पुष्पा । प्राक्पुष्पा । प्रात्यक्पुष्पा । * गुग्गा चामहस्पृर्वा जातिः * ॥ पुंयोगे तु घृष्टी । अमहस्पृर्वा क्रिस् । महाघृष्टी । कृञ्चा । अणिहा । देवविशा । उद्येष्टा । कनिष्टा । मध्यमेति पुंयोगेऽपि । कोकिला । जातावपि । * मूलान्नम् * । अमूला ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ कर्षी । इण्डिनी ॥

454. The affix दाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms ‘aja’ &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ ।

This debars ङीष् and ङीप् ।

The words अज &c. are given below. Thus अज a ‘he goat,’ अजा ‘a she goat.’ The words ending in short अ are such as, खट्वा whose feminine will be खट्वा ।

Note:—The word खट्वा is formed by adding the Unādi affix क्त्वा to the root खट् meaning “to desire.” (Unādi I. 151).

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e g. लट्,

सदी, सदम् ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines, such as वाराङ् ॥

The words मञ्ज &c. must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix ङाङ्, therefore not in पञ्चाञ्जी meaning "a collection of five goats." Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and मञ्ज. Therefore this feminine पञ्चाञ्जी is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479).

Following are the words belonging to the ज्ञादि class :

- | | | | | | |
|----------|--------|----------|--------|-----------|---------|
| 1. मञ्ज | मञ्जा | 2. पञ्चक | पञ्चका | (3. कोकिल | कोकिला) |
| 4. पञ्चक | पञ्चका | 5. मन्थ | मन्था | 6. मृषिक | मृषिका |

Note :—The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nish' (IV. 2, 63 S 518) in the feminine.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होत्र | होत्रा | (9. पाक | पाका) |
| 10. वत्स | वत्सा | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलास | विलासा |

Note :—The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20. S. 478.) in the feminine.

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वपहरण, | पूर्वपहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण, | अपरापहरणा; |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|------------|

Note :—These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being दिङ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S 470) but for this Sūtra.

Vārtika :—The words सख, मञ्ज, अजिङ्, शय and विण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with ङाङ् ।

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------|---------|
| 15. संफल | संफला | 16. मखफल, | मखफला; |
| 17. अजिनफल, | अजिनफला; | 18. शयफल, | शयफला; |
| 19. विण्डफल, | विण्डफला; | (20. चिफल, | चिफला;) |

In मखफल, the long अ of मखा is changed to short अ by the sūtra VI. 3. S. 1001.

Note :—The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. 1. 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'चिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as चिफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is चिफली ॥

Vārtika :—The word पुष्प preceded by सङ्, अङ्, कण्ड, प्रान्त and शत takes the affix ङाङ् ॥

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; So also प्रत्यक्पुष्पा |
| 23. कण्डपुष्प, | कण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प, | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प, | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. 1, 4 S 519.

Vārtik :—शूद्र forms its feminine शूद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

Note :—But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class.'

Note :—The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, S 26, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself." Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra.' This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिधीवरी and अतिभवती ॥

28. कुच्छ कुच्छा 29. उष्णिह उष्णिहा 30. देवविश देवविशा

Note :—The above words end in consonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

Note :—The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'निष्' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

The word कौकिल takes टाप् even when denoting a class.

Vārtik :—When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by टाप् ॥

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'निष्' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

४५४ A. ऋञ्जेऽयोङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥ (See S. 306.)

454 A. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in ॠ ।

Note :—Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष् and ङीर्; and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes; the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्त्तु—f. कर्त्री; हर्त्तु—f. हर्त्री; दण्डित्—f. दण्डिनी;

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगित्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । सीग्यन्ती । बापद्वयनोसि लुक् । उगित्तामिति सूतेऽङ्गमहोपेन धातोश्चोदित्कार्ये तर्ह्यङ्चतेरेवेति नियम्यते । तेनह न । उखासत् । क्रिप् । अभिदितामिति नलोपः । पर्णचत् । अङ्चतेस्तु स्वादेव । प्राची । प्रतीची ॥

455. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix **ङीप्** is employed, in denoting the feminine.

Note :—The **ङ** is a pratyāhāra meaning **ङ**, **क्** and **ञ** ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called **ङगित्** ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prātipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be **ङगित्**, thus the pronoun **भवत्** among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be **ङगित्** as the affixes **कृतु** and **शतृ** and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be **ङगित्**; similarly a letter may be **ङगित्**, as **त्** meaning **त्** in VI. 4. 127 S 364.; ("त्" is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in **अर्धेत्** &c")

Thus, **भवत्** 'honored sir,—f. **भवती** 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhī, we have **अतिभवत्**—**अतिभवती** 'most exalted lady.' Similarly **पचत्** (formed by adding **शतृ** III. 2. 124 S 3100), forms the feminine **पचन्ती**, the **ङुञ्** comes by VII. 1 82. S. 446. So also **दीप्यत्** and **दीप्यन्ती** ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk.' Thus the roots **सञ्ज** 'to fall down' **पञ्ज** 'to fall down' have indicatory **ङ**; and we get from these roots the prātipadikas like **उत्थासत्** and 'पण्यत्', (III. 2. 76 S 2983). The **उत्थासत्** **ब्राह्मणी**, 'पण्यत्' **ब्राह्मणी** ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding **ङीप्** ॥

The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix **ङीप्** ॥ As, **प्राची**, **प्रतीची**;

४५६ । वनो र च । ४ । १ । ७ ॥

वज्रन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् ऋषां ङीप् स्यात् । रश्चान्तादेशः । वज्रिति वृषनिपुक्कनिपुवनिप सामान्यग्रहणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तद्विस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषणान्तदन्ता-स्तमपि लभ्यते । सुत्वानमातिक्रान्ता अतिसुखरी । अतिधीवरी । शर्वरी । * वनो न ह्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ ह्यन्ताज्जातोर्विशिष्टो यो वन् तदन्तात्तदन्तात्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् रश्च नेत्यर्थः । 'ओष् अपनयने' वनिप् । विदुर्नोरित्यात्वम् । अवावा ब्राह्मणी । राजकुमारी ॥ * बहुव्रीहौ वा * ॥ बहुधीवरी । बहुधीवा । पक्षे जाप्य वक्ष्यते ॥

456. The affix '**ङीप्**' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable **वन्**, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and **र** is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus **धीवन्** (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. **धीवरी** 'a female artisan'; **वीवन्** f. **वीवरी** 'a young woman, a stout woman,' **शर्वन्** f. **शर्वरी** 'night' (भृ + वनिप् III 2. 75 S 2980, lit. that which destroys light.)

अतिधीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103 S. 3091) व्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74 S. 3418). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5 S. 306; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Puriphasā :—"An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वन् as qualifying the prātipadika, we apply the affix डीप् to the prātipadika ending in वन् ॥ Thus अतिमुत्थरी meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma-juice, अतिधीवरी and चर्वरी ॥

Vārtika :—After a crude form that ends in वन् as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix डीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the न् changed to र्, provided that the affix वन् has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals.

To the root ओञ् meaning 'to remove' we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus ओञ् + वन् = ओञ्वा (the long ञ्वा being substituted for ञ् by VI. 4. 41. S. 2982.) + वन् = ओञ्वावन् ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine. Thus the Feminine is ओञ्वावा ब्राह्मणी ॥ The Masculine is ओञ्वावाब्राह्मणः So also राजमुञ्चवा meaning राजानं योधितवती "she who has incited the king to fight." It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III. 2. 95. S. 3005.

Vārtika :—It is optionally so in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधीवा नगरी "a city that contains many artisans."

In the third alternative, the affix डाप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवयौ, or बहुधीवानौ or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवन् or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७ । पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८ ॥

पाच्छब्दः कृतसमासान्तस्तवन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष्वा स्यात् । द्विपदी । द्विपात् ॥

457. The affix 'ङीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pāda' when it assumes the samāsānta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पाद् becomes पात् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140 S. 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (ङीप्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word षट् being replaced by षद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414 (as read with I. 4. 18 S. 231). Similarly चिपात् or चिपरी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्परी ॥

४५८ । दाहृचि । ४ । १ । ९ ॥

अथि वाच्यार्थां पाठस्तादाहृत् स्यात् । द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ॥ न षट्स्वकारिभ्यः ॥ पञ्च
चतस्रः । पञ्चैत्यत्र नलोपे कृतेऽपि णान्ता षडिति षट्संज्ञां प्रति नलोपः क्षुप्तस्त्विति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्
षट्स्वकारिभ्य इति न दाहृ ॥

458. The affix दाहृ is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda.

This debars ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly एकपदा or चिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८ । A. न षट् स्वकारिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24 S. 369), and 'स्वस्व' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मणः 'the five Brāhmaṇī ladies' चतस्रः ॥ So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine.

Note:—In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I. 1. 24 S. 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII. 2. S. 353 and so there is no दाहृ after पञ्च by the present Sūtra.

संज्ञाविधिः—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (णान्ता षट् I. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take दाहृ in the feminine (IV. 1. 10 S. 308).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra VII. 2. 2. S. 2330 संज्ञा महणानर्थक्यं च तन्निमित्तस्वाक्षोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and शस्, without such elision there is no pada saujña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. S. 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in ज and require दाहृ for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim द्योदेवौ सौ 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other at the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a rule is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकाले संज्ञापरिभाषम् and Paribhāshās are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin operations." In the first view, the word sanjñā will be good throughout, for the purposes of eliding अस् and इस् and for prohibiting दाप् ॥ Hence this is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. In the second view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that द्वास् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding अस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५६ । मनः । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मन्तात् ङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominative ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c.

४६० । मनो बहुव्रीहिः । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

मन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्न ङीप् । बहुव्यञ्ज्वा । बहुव्यञ्जानौ ॥

460. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the neuter, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds, in which the penultimate is declined. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in 28. S. 462 Thus बहुव्यञ्जन् is both gender and is declined as masculine, बहुव्यञ्ज्वा, N. d. बहुव्यञ्जानौ &c. The penultimate अन् of अन् is not elided on account of the prohibition of न संयोगात् &c. (VI. 4. 137 S. 355).

४६१ । डाबुमाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

तूच द्वयोपात्तभ्यां डाब् वा स्यात् ॥ सीमा । सीमे । सीमानौ । दामा । दामे । दामानौ । इत्यमरः । बहुव्यञ्ज्वा ॥ बहुव्यञ्ज्वे । बहुव्यञ्जानौ ॥

461. The affix डाप् comes optionally after both, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi

compound ending in **अन्**, as mentioned in the preceding two Sûtras.

Of the affix **डाप्**, the letter **ड्** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **दि** (I. 1. 64 S. 79) of the base. Thus **शामन् + डाप् = शाम + आ = शामा** ॥ This being an optional rule we have 1. *शामा* *d.* *शाम* or *शामानौ*, *pl.* *शामाः* or *शामानः*; similarly with *सीमा*, as, *सीमा*, *सीमे* or *सीमानौ*, *सीमाः* or *सीमानः* ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in **अन्** ॥ As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतशा,	बहुतशे or बहुतशानौ,	बहुतशाः or बहुतशाणः ॥
बहुवयवा	बहुवयवे or बहुवयवानौ	

Why do we say "optionally"? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 S. 456 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in **वन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of **न** into **इ** and the application of **ङीप्** are optional: we may apply the affix **डाप्** instead. As :—*बहुधीवा* or *बहुधीवरी*; *बहुपीवा* or *बहुपीवरी* ॥

By IV. 1. 5, S. 306 prâtipadikas ending in **अन्** would have taken the affix **ङीप्**, in as much as they end in **न्**; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus *शामन्* 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :— 1. *s* *शामा*; *d.* *शामानौ*, *pl.* *शामानः* ॥ Similarly *पामा*, *पामानौ*, *पामानः* ॥ The word *शामन्* is never masculine according to Amarkosha.

४६२ । अन् उपधात्वोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अमन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधात्वोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । पक्षे डाप् ङीप् निषेधौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्यौ । बहुराजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462. The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

Thus *बहुराजन्* is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in **अन्**; in applying **ङीप्**, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of **अ** of **अन्** when a *ôha* affix follows). Thus *बहुराज्ञी* 'having many king'. In the alternative, when **ङीप्** is not added, we may add the affix **डाप्** by IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus *बहुराजा*, *बहुराजे*, *बहुराजाः* ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 S. 460 and have *बहुराजा*, *बहुराजानौ*, *बहुराजानः* ॥

Note :—When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix **ङीप्** at all; in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as *सुपर्वा*, *सुपर्वे*, *सुपर्वाः* or *सुपर्वा*, *सुपर्वाणौ*, *सुपर्वाणः* ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of *सुपर्वा* &c. rule VI. 4. 137 S. 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate न्; संयोगाद्धनन्तात्, there is not elision of the न् of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व् or न्) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in अक् the affix दाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sūtra.

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कारपूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्याऽकारस्थेकारः स्यादापि परे स आप् सुपः परे न चेत् । सर्विका । कारिका । भतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्थात्किम् । शक्तातीति शक्ता । असुपः किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी । कात्किम् । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य ना भुम् । कडुका । तपरः किम् । राका । अपि किम् । कारकः ॥ नामकनरकयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ नामिका । नरान् कायतीति नरिका ॥ त्यक्त्वपञ्च * ॥ वाकिणारिका इत्यिका ॥

463. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i. e. when such a word in अक् does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say भतः? The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belonging to an affix? The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शक्ता from शक् शक्तीति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां नगरीम् = बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of अ is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II. 4. 71, S. 650 and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62 S. 272 Why do we say after क? The rule applies to क, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as कडुका, शृङ्का ॥ Why do we say short अ? Observe राका? Why do we say when आप् follows? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word अपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥

Vart:—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as नामिका, नरिका ॥ Here नमक् is substituted for नम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3, S. 1372), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word नमक् takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30 S. 488): therefore though नामक ends in अण्, it does not take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), नरान् कायति = नरक formed with the affix] क (अ III. 2. 3 S. 2915).

Vārt :—The rule applies to the words ending in **त्यक्** (IV. 2. 98 and **त्यद्**, (IV. 2. 104 S. 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. S. 2915 As **वाक्षिणात्यिका**, **इहत्यिका** ॥

Note :—The word in the sūtra is **कात्** the fifth case of **क** ending in **अ** ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in **ka क** and not in **k क्**, then the rule will not apply to **एतिका** ॥ Because here the augment is **अकच्** (**अक्** with **क्**; the final **अ** in **अकच्** is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in **भिन्धकि**, **हिन्धकि**, **इन्धकि** ॥ The word **कात्** therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant **क्** ॥

४६४ । न यास्योः । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदारस्येन स्यात् । यका । सका । यकास् । सकास् । त्यकनश्च निषेधः * ॥ अधित्यका । उपत्यका । आशिषि बुनश्च न * ॥ जीवका । भवका ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे न * ॥ देवशक्तिका देवका ॥ क्षिपका शीनां च * ॥ क्षिपका । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ तारका ज्यातिषि * ॥ अन्यत्र तारिका ॥ वर्णका तान्त्रेव * ॥ अन्यत्र वर्णिका ॥ वतिका शकुनी प्राच्याम् * ॥ उरीचां तु वतिका ॥ अष्टका पितृदेवस्ये * ॥ अष्टिकान्या ॥ सूतकापुत्रिकावृन्शरकायां वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति चङेवः । कात्पूर्वस्याकारादेशो वेत्यर्थः । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे ङीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षेऽकारः । अन्यत्रेवबाधनार्थमकारस्यैव पक्षेऽकारः । सूतका सूतिकेत्यादि ॥

464. The **इ** is not substituted for the **अ** of **य** and **स**, with the augment **क्**, when the feminine **आ** follows.

As **यका**, **सका**, **यकास्**, **सकास्** ॥

Note :—The **आ** and **सा** simply stand for **यद्** and **तद्**, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms **या** and **सा** may lead one to think. **न यत् तद्** would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as **यक्रामधीमहे**, **तक्रां पचामहे** ॥ Or **यक्रांयक्रामधीमहे** (i. e. **क्**चां गायाम् च), and **तक्रां तक्रामपचामहे** (i. e. **ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा**) ॥

Vārt :—Prohibition with regard to the affix **त्यक्** (V. 3. 34 S. 1983) should be stated also :—As **अधित्यका**, **उपत्यका** ॥

Vārt :—So also in the affix **बुन्** used in benediction : as **जीवताद् जीवका** and **भवताद् भवका** See III. 1. 150. S. 2912.

Note :—The feminine of **पावक्** &c in the Veda does not take **इ** for **अ** ॥ As **हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः**, **यासु अ लोमकाः कक्षकाः** &c. But **पाविकाः**, **भलामिकाः** in secular literature.

Vārt :—So also when the second member is elided in a compound : as **देवका**, **यज्ञका**, the second member **इत्त** is elided, the fuller forms being **देवशक्तिका**, **यज्ञशक्तिका** (**अनजाशे च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः**) See V. 3. 83 Vārt. S. 2035.

Vārt :—**क्षिपक्** &c should be enumerated in this prohibition : as **क्षिपका** **ध्रुवका**, **ध्रुवका**, **चटका**, **कन्यका** ॥

Vart :—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारेयति ॥

Vart :—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāguri is a comemntary of Lokāyata'

Vart :—वतका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वरिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वरिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vart :—षट्का when meaning a पितृदेव्य ceremony, but षटिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root षष् with affix लकन् (अदन्ति ब्राह्मणा षोडशमस्यो), the other is derived from the numeral षट् by the affix कन् (V. I. 22 S. 1687).

Vart :—Optionally मृतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are स्रुतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vārtika should be analysed as वा अ इति and not वा इति; and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes क ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sūtra, but इ of डीन् of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples अ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उद्दीच्यामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य कापूर्वस्येद्वा स्यादापि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । आर्यका आर्यिका ऋदकका ऋदकिका ॥ आतः किम् ॥ सांकाश्ये भवा सांकाशियका ॥ यकेति किम् । अश्विका ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभं यातीति शुभेयाः ॥ अज्ञाता शुभेयाः ॥ शुभयिका ॥ धास्वन्तयकास्तु नित्यम् * ॥ सुनयिका ; सुपाकिका ॥

465. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII. 4. 13 S. 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As आर्यका or अर्यिका, ऋदकका or ऋदकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाश्ये भवा = सांकाशियका ॥ The word सांकाश्य is formed from सांकाश by the affix ण्य (सांकाशे निर्वृत्त) ॥ Then is added the affix हुम् (IV. 2. 121 S. 1345). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभायिका from शुभंवा (शुभं याति) ॥ So also भङ्गयिका from भङ्गया, where या is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74 S. 3418).

Var:—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root. When the य or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply : as सुनयिका, सुपायिका ॥

४६६ भस्त्रैषाज्जाह्वास्वा नअपूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्तं क्षुप्रपटीकं पठम्, एषामन्त इहा स्थात् ॥ तदन्तावेधिनैव सिद्धे नअपूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ भस्त्रामहणमुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्यस्य तूत्तरसूत्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा हा एतयोस्तु सपूर्वयोर्नैस्वम् । अन्तर्धर्तिनीं विभक्तिमाश्रित्याऽऽपुष इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेषका परनेषका अद्वेके परमद्वेके ॥ स्वशब्द-महणं संज्ञोपसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आतः स्थाने इत्युक्तं स्वशब्दस्यातो विशेषणम् नतु द्वैषयोरसंभवात् । आप्यन्येषामव्यभिचारात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्वमुपसर्जनमास्तीत्यवाची अकजर्हः ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनी-भूतस्तु कमत्ययान्तत्वाद्भवत्पुत्राहरणम् ॥ एवं आस्मीयायां स्विक्का ॥ परमस्विकेति नित्यमेवेत्यम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एषका एषिका ॥ कृतपत्न्यनिर्देशानेह विकल्पः ॥ एतिके एतिकाः भजका भजिका । शका शिका ॥ द्वेके द्विके ॥ निःस्वका निःस्विका ॥

466. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13 S. 834), of भस्त्रा, एषा, भजा, जा, हा (VII. 2. 102 S. 265), and स्वा; even not then, when the negative particle precedes them.

The word भस्त्रैषाज्जाह्वास्वा of the Sūtra has no case affix, but we must interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it; the word नअपूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sūtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle preceded; because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vidhi* applies here. The word भस्त्रा is mentioned in the Sūtra to indicate that the rule would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjana. When it is not an upasarjana, the form would be evolved by the next Sūtra.

Note:—भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such, by the following rule VII. 8. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made, the feminine affix टाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

But of the two words एषा and हा, the addition of इ would be prohibited, when they are preceded by another word; because in a compound the elided case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of असुप्: of

Sūtra VII. 3. 44 S. 463 would have applied to these. Thus अनेषका, परनेषका, अहके, परमहके ।

Note :—The mention of these two words in the Sūtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, अज्ञा, अज्ञाता, and स्वा, there would be ह्रस्व, by the option allowed by this Sūtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of असुपः ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words आतः स्थाने qualify स्व only. For this word alone is ambiguous. For when स्वा is a Sarvanāma meaning one's own, i. e., when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V. 3. 71. S. 2026. Thus स्वा + अकच् = स् अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an अ in the room of a long आ; and so the present sūtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 ante, and it will be स्विका always. So also परमास्विका.

But when स्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally. Therefore, it must be either a sainjñā (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sūtra. For then it can become feminine in long आ, which can take the affix क. Thus when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sūtra.

So also निर्भक्षिका or निर्भक्षका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, शक्ता or शिका, हके or हिके, निःस्वका or निःस्विका ॥

The word एषा is read in the sūtra with a ए and it shows that the option of this sūtra does not apply when the त is not changed to ए, as एतिके and एतिका; for in the dual and plural there is not ए substitution.

Note :—Of एषा and हि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with the नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine दाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप्, comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of असुपः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अहके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेषका may mean अज्ञाता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेषा ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sūtra not as a Sarvanāma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a संज्ञा, (i. e. when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note :—compare I. 1. 27. S. 213 for the Sarvanāma स्त्र ॥

The anuvṛitti of “आतः स्थाने,” which we read in to this aphorism from the last sūtra, qualifies the long आ of स्त्र only and not of the sarvanamans द्वा and एषा ॥ Because the sarvanamans take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. where other words would have taken कच् or अज्ञात क or कुस्मित क &c.

Thus द्वा + अकच् = द्व + अक् + आ (because this अकच् comes always before the टि portion of a word). = द्वका ॥ Here the अ of द्व before क is not a substitute in the place of long आ of द्वा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आतः स्थाने can not qualify it.

As regards the other words भस्त्रा, अज्ञा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आतः स्थाने because they being invariably feminine, will *always* shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काश्च । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यातः स्थानिस्त इहा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गाका गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहिभाषितपुंस्कात्ततो विहितस्य नित्यम् ॥ अज्ञाता अखद्वा अखद्द्विका ॥ शैबिके कपि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. When a short अ is ordained to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine. Thus गङ्गा is such a word. It has no corresponding masculine form. When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII. 4. 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional, but compulsory, after a Bahuvrīhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word. The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrīhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i. e. it has always a corresponding masculine form. Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional. Thus the word खद्गा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. We can form a Bahuvrīhi compound from it such as अखद्ग meaning ‘a man who has no bedstead’ The feminine of this will be अखद्गा ‘a woman who has no bedstead.’ This need not take the Samāsānta affix कच् as V. 4. 154. S. 891. is optional. Now, this

word अखद्वा may take the affix क by V. 3. 73. S. 2028 when the cense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाता सखद्वा will be अखद्वा + क ॥ Before this क the long वा will be shortened to अ by VII. 4. 13 S. 834 Here the option of the present sūtra will not apply. Thus we shall have only one form. अखद्दिका by VII. 3. 44. S. 463 meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead.' But when the samāsānta affix कप् of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891 is added then the option of the present sūtra will apply. For when कप् is added, we have the Bahuvīhi compounds as अखद्वाकः or अखद्दकः (VII. 4. 15 S. 892) 'a man who has no bedstead.' The Feminine of the second form अखद्दकः will be अखद्दिका or अखद्दिका ॥

४६८ । आदाचार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

इर्वस्त्वविषये आदा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुंस्कास्तु शुभिका ॥

468. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form.

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं धनस्तिरित्यभिधाय्य ॥ अयमेव स्त्रीप्रत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound.—

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77 : S. 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas.' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2 43 S. 653).

Note.—As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72 S. 26) does not apply to compounds; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member of a compound.

४७० । विङ्गणअक्षयसज्जममात्रचतयपठकठक्कक्वरपः । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

अनुपसर्जनं वटिवादि तन्तं यस्वन्तं प्रातिपदिकं सतः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जन-
व्याप्तेर् बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नदद्, नदी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेत्यत्र दिक्वाहुगिस्वाच्च ङीप् प्राप् ॥ यासुदो द्वित्वेन
माश्रयमनुबन्धकार्ये नदिज्ञानामिति ज्ञापनात् भवति ॥ इतः शानचः शिखेन कश्चिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यन-
स्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐश्वरी । भौत्सी । ऊरुद्वयी । ऊरुद्वयी । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी ।
आक्षिपी । लावणिकी । बाह्वरी । हस्वरी * ताच्छीलिके जेऽवि* ॥ श्रीरी नम्रमप्रकृष्युत्तरुणसलुनानाहु-
प्रसंख्यानश्च * ॥ रवेणी । पौत्नी । शान्तीकी । आदयनाङ्कुरणी । तरुणी । तलुनी ॥

470. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory इ, or if the affix be द् or झण्, or अञ् or ह्रयसच्, or दमच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ्, or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV. 1. 4 S. 454 and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debar the affix टाप् of IV. 1. 4 S. 454. We shall give example of each *seriatim*. (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मङ्गचर f., मङ्गचरी (चर + ई = चर् + ई; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) The word kuru-chara is formed by इ (III. 2. 16 S. 2930), of which इ is indicatory.

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2. 35 S. 898); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नदद् is read with an indicatory इ in the पञ्चावि class of Ganapāṭha under sūtra III. 1. 134 S. 2896, it forms its feminine as नदी, because it has an indicatory इ ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix शानच् (III. 3. 14. S. 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लृट् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory इ as well as an indicatory ङ and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sūtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhāṣā.

Paribhāṣā :—"The substitutes of लृट् do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of लृट् ॥" This paribhāṣā is derived from the ज्ञापक of sūtra III. 4. 103 S. 2209 where the यासुद् the substitute of लिङ् is made expressly लिङ् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनस्विधौ of sūtra I. 1. 56. S. 49 So though in some places, the substitute अः शानच् may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory ङ, yet it will not be so always.

(2) Of words ending in इ we have, m. सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f.

वेनतेयी ॥ The ड stands for the affix डक्; and it is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + डक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) = सुपर्णा + एय् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076).

Note:—There is no affix which is merely ड without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix as said above is डक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it," and we cannot say that the ड of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less ड of V. 3. 102 S. 2057 which is always Neuter.

(3) So also इम् + अण् = ऐन् ॥ Here अण् may have the force of साइस् इवता (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) or तस्येह (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500). Its feminine will be ऐन्ती ॥

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औस् f. औस्ती, औद्धान, f. औद्धानी, (IV. 1. 86 S. 1078).

Note:—Though by IV. 1. 73 S. 527 the affix डीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix, in the present sūtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix डीन् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 S. 518 that is, even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ntsh' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes इयसच्, इयच्, and मायच् are added by V. 2. 37 S. 1838 as, ऊरुइयसी, ऊरुइयी, ऊरुमायी 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जातुइयसी, जातुइयी, जातुमायी ॥

(6) So also with words formed by लयप् (V. 2. 42 S. 1843). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five,' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in डक् (IV. 4. 1. S. 1548) as, भाषिकी 'a female dicer'. भाषिकी ॥ The ड is replaced by डक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170).

(8) Similarly with words ending in डम् (V. 1. 18 S. 1680): as, लामणिकी 'elegant'.

Note:—The affixes डक् and डम् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix डन् &c. For had the word ड merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes डक्, डन् and डम्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कम् (III. 2. 60 S. 429) as, बाहशी, ताहशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in इयप् (III. 2. 163 S. 3143) as, इस्वरी 'swift', नस्वरी ॥

Vārtika:—The words formed by the addition of the affix ञ having the force of "whose habit is this," are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरि, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612),

Vart:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and अञ् (IV. 1. 87 S. 1079) and ईकक् (IV. 4. 59 S. 1609) and ययन् (III. 2. 56 S. 2973) and of the words लङ् and लङ्ग

'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', पौत्री 'a male', शार्ङ्गकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यङ्करी 'enriching, ; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

४७१ । यञ्च ॥ ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तादिचयां ङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105 S.1107).

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

Thus गार्ग्य-ङीप् = गार्ग्य-ङी (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) by which ञ् is elided.

At this stage, applies the following Sūtra:—

४७२ । हलतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितकारस्योपशब्दस्य लोपः स्यादिति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ अनपत्याधिकारस्थान् ङीप् ॥ द्वीपे भवा द्वेष्ट्या ॥ अधिकारमहानह वैदस्यापस्थं वैष्ट्या वैवाद्यमम्याविति हि यञ् प्राङ्दीव्यतीथो न स्वपत्याधिकारपठितः ॥

472. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

Thus गार्ग्य + ई = गार्ग + ई = गार्गी.

Vart:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष्ट्य of द्वीप-ङी-यञ् (IV. 3. 10 S. 1380). Its feminine will be द्वेष्ट्या 'living on or relating to an island.'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyādhikāra. Therefore, the य् ordained after वै by the Vārtika under IV. 1. 85 S. 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule. Thus वैष्ट्या the feminine of वैष्ट्य, where यञ् is prāgdivyatiya affix, pure and simple, and not an affix read in the apatyādhikāra.

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्यायणी, the following rules apply.

४७३ । प्राचां षफः तद्धितः । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्ताल्फोवा रयात् छियां स च तद्धितः ॥

473. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

४७४ । षः प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६॥

प्रत्ययस्यादिः ष इत्यात् ॥

474. The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory.

४७५ । आयनेयीनीयियः फढखल्लघां प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां क्रमादायत्रादय आदिनाः स्युः । तद्विज्ञानं त्वात्प्रातिपदिकत्वं ।
विश्वसामभ्यान् ष्फणोक्तस्य स्त्रीत्वे षिङ्गोरिति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीष् ॥ गार्ग्यायणी ॥

475. आयन्, for फ्, एय् for ह्, ईन् for ख, ईय् for छ, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

गार्ग्यायण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prātipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes.

Of this affix ष् the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6 S. 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nīsh' (IV. 1. 41. S. 498). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz.*, by 'shpha' and 'nīsh.' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46 S. 179). The affix फ् is replaced by the substitute आयन् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वास्त्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वास्ती ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sūtra IV. 1. 18 S. 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 S. 529 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after आवक्ष्य' ॥ Here आवक्ष्य ends in यञ् and by IV. 1. 16, S. 471 the word आवक्ष्य would have taken the affix निप् IV. 1. 75 S. 529 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवक्ष्यायनी ॥

४७६ । सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतशब्दान्तभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यो नित्यं षः स्यात् । लोहियायनी । कात्यायनी ॥

476. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यञ् ॥

Thus लोहियायनी and कात्यायनी ॥

Note :—The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105).

The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the IV. 1. 17. S. 473.

४७७। कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

आभ्यां कः स्यात् । दाण्डीपारषवादः । कुर्वादिभ्योऽप्यः । कौरव्यायणी । ढक् च मण्डूकादित्यण् ।
माण्डूकायनी ॥ * आसुरिरुपसङ्गानम् * ॥ आसुरायणी ॥

477. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix प्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175); this word, ending in क्, would have formed its feminine by श् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, S. 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by मण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūkā would have been formed by शिप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

Vart:—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इम् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would therefore, have taken the affix मण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333).

४७८। वयसि प्रथमे । ४ । १ । २० ॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिर्नामः किर्यां ङीप् स्यात् । कुमारी ॥ * वयस्यचरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वधूटी ।
चिरण्डी । वधूटचिरण्णसङ्गी यौवनवाचिनी । अतः किर्यः । शिष्टः । कन्याया न । कन्यायाः कनीन चेति
निर्देशात् ॥

478. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time ; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ङी, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl', किशोरी 'a young girl', बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say ending in अ ? Observe निश, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vart:—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूटी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form ; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116. S. 111 g.

४७९। द्विगोः । ४ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्ताराद्विगोर्ङीप् स्यात् । त्रिलोकी । अजादित्वाच्चिफला । इयनीका सेना ॥

479. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus त्रिलोकी ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). Also इयनीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्विस्ताद्यन्ताद्य द्विगोर्ङीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सति । पञ्चभिर्मध्येः क्रीता पञ्चाश्वी ॥ भार्हीवश्च ॥ अर्धयर्थेति लुक् । द्वौ विस्तौ पचति द्विविस्ता । द्वापचिता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्ताच्च द्वापठकी । तद्धितलुकि किम् । समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी ॥

480. The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure; or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ङ् (V. 1. 37 S., 1702) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses' So also with the words विस्त & c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वापचितो, इयापचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वापठकी, इयापठकी "a female purchased for two or three âḍhakas'. Here âḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ङीप्' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also द्वाश्वी ॥

Note:—This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaks'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्त्वेत्रे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

केच यः काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्ततो न ङीप् । तद्धितलुकि । द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विकाण्डा

क्षेत्रभक्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसंज्ञिति विहितस्य मापस्यः प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लुक् । क्षेत्रे क्विप् ।
द्विकाण्डौ रञ्जुः ॥

481. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kandas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kaṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes द्वयसंज्ञ &c. denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' "The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure". The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'āp' but by णप्; so also ब्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डौ रञ्जुः 'a rope two kandas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तदन्ताद्विगोर्डीप् वा स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विपुरुषी
द्विपुरुषा वा परिखा ॥

482. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनङ् । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् स्त्रियाश्च । इत्यनङि कृते डाध्नीङ्निषेधेषु प्राप्तिषु ॥

483. The syllable anāṅ is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrihi.

Note :—As कुण्डानिव ऊधोऽस्याः = कुण्डोधी, घटोधी ॥ The feminine is formed by adding डीप् ॥ (IV. 1. 25); and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only; no substitution takes place in the masculine, as मटोधाः पञ्चन्यः; यटोधाः धैनुकम् ॥ ऊधस् + अन् = ऊधन् (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). ऊधन् + डीप् = ऊधन् + ई (य being elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234) = ऊधी ॥

When अनङ् is substituted, there arises the prohibition of डाप् and डीप्, when the following sūtra comes up.

४८४ । बहुव्रीहेरुधसो ङीप् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्ताग्रद्वीहेर्ङीप् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोऽधनी । स्त्रियां किम् । कुण्डोऽधो धेनुकम् । इहा-
ऽनङपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामिष्टुपसंख्ययानात् ॥

484. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोऽधस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131 S. 483); thus we have कुण्डोऽधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. S. 460 & 461 ante; the present sūtra enjoins ङीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोऽधनी (V. 4. 134 S. 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्रान्ता ऊधः = गान्ताऽधः (II. 2. 4 S. 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अनङ् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोऽधो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनङ् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ संख्याऽव्ययादेर्ङीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

ङीधोऽपवारः । द्वयुधनी । अष्टयुधनी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अष्टयुधाः ॥

485. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 'ūdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'ñp', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'ñsh'. Thus द्वी + ऊधस् + अनङ् + ङीप् (V. 4. 131 S. 483) = द्वयुधनी 'having two udders'; so also त्रयुधनी, 'having three udders' The above are Bahuvrīhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अष्टयुधनी 'many-uddered'; निरुधनी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrīhi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrīhi we have अष्टयुधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । वामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यावर्बहुव्रीहेर्वामान्ताऽहायनान्ताच्च ङीप् स्यात् । वामान्ते ङाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्तयोर्हायनान्ते वापि प्राप्ते वचनम् । द्विहायनी । अष्टयुधप्रहणाऽननुत्तरुहामा वडवेत्यत्र ङान्निषेधावपि पक्षे स्तः । द्विहायनी वाजा ॥ * त्रिचतुर्भ्यां हायनस्य जत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ त्रयोवाचकस्येव हायनस्य ङीप् जत्वं वेप्यते * ॥ त्रिहायणी । चतुर्हायणी । वयसोऽन्यत्र त्रिहायना ॥ चतुर्हायना राजा ॥

486. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words dāman 'a rope', and hāyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप् and by IV. 1. 11 S. 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of डीप्; while हायन् would have taken long आ by IV. 1, 4, S. 454; the present sūtra ordains णिप् to the exclusion of all those. As द्विदाम्नी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. द्विदाम्नी ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of मध्यय from the last sūtra into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as उन् precedes दामन्, then the affix डाप् of IV. 1. 13 S. 46 and the prohibition of IV. 1. 11 S. 459 will apply, as उद्दामा वड्वा ॥ द्विहायनी बाला 'two years (old girl)', द्विहायणी चतुर्हायणी ॥

Var. :—The word 'hāyana' must denote 'age', for the purpose of this sūtra. Therefore we have no णिप् here :—द्विहायना बाला 'a hall of two years existence.'

Isht. :—After चि and चतुर the न of हायन is changed into ण; when हायन denotes 'age', and not otherwise. चिहायना and चतुर्हायना when referring to a hall.

४८७ । नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

अमन्ताद्वहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनो डीप् स्यात् संज्ञाछन्दसोः । सुराज्ञी नाम नगरी । अन्यच्च पूर्वेषु विकल्प एव । वेदे तु सप्तमूर्ध्नी ॥

487. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas, and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to IV. 1. 28 S. 462; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñi'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñi'. When not a name, the option of IV, 1. 28 S. 462 will hold good. Similarly in the Chhandas we have सप्तमूर्ध्नी ॥

४८८ केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाश्च । ४ । १ । ३० ॥

एभ्यो नवभ्यो नित्यं डीप् स्यात्संज्ञाछन्दसोः । अथोत्तहन्त्रं केवलीर्विंशः । मामकी । भागधेयी । पापी । अपरं समानी । आर्थकृती । सुमङ्गली । भेषजी । अन्यच्च केवला इत्यादि । मामकमहणं नियमार्थम् । अप्णन्तत्वादेव सिद्धेः । तेन लोकेऽसंज्ञायां मामिका ॥

488. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—रुचल मामक, भागधेयं, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी तन् in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature. भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणदाभागधेयी in the Vedas and भागधेया in Bhāṣhā, तन्वः सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhāṣhā; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) otherwise अपरा; समानी व आकूतिः (Rigved.) otherwise समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; शिवारुदस्व भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes ङीप् also by IV. I. 41. S. 498 as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86. The word मामक is read in the sūtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it; for it would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (IV. 3. 3 S. 1372). In the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII. 3 44. S. 463)

४८६. अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् । ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयोः स्त्रियां नुक् स्यात् ॥ ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ गभिण्यां जीवर्तृकायां च प्रकृतिभागौ निपात्येते । तन्नान्तरस्यस्यां गर्भ इति विमहे अन्तःशब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्तिसामानाधिकरण्याभावाद्गर्भातो मतुक् निपात्यते । पतिवत्स्त्रीश्च तु वत्त्वं निपात्यते । अन्तर्वत्स्त्री । पतिवद्वी । प्रत्युदाहरणं तु । अन्तरस्यस्यां शालायां वदः । पतिवती पृथिवी ॥

489. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix ङीप् follows.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added (and it must be added at the end, by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take ङीप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, S. 306 if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वद्वी and पतिवद्वी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following:—प्रथमं त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वद्वी; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मत्तुक्) ॥ Because मत्तुक् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, S. 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. S. 1894. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मत्तुक् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 2 S. 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्तर्वद्वी or सान्तर्वती इवाहुषेत् ॥ पतिवद्वी or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

४९० । षत्पुनो यज्ञसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्याद्यज्ञेन संबन्धे । वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी । सत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य फलभोक्तीत्यर्थः । षष्पत्न्योः सहाधिकारात् ॥

4. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप् when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'

Thus वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी. meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha. Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife.

४९१ । निभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । १ । ३४ ॥

पतिशब्दान्तस्य सपूर्वस्य गतिवहिकस्य नो ता स्यात् । गृहस्य पतिः गृहपतिः । शहपत्नी । अनुपसर्जनस्येतीहात्तरार्थमनुवृत्तगति न षत्पुनोऽपेक्षन् किंतु तदन्तस्म । तेन बहुव्रीहवपि । दृढपत्नी दृढपतिः । वृषलपत्नी । वृषलपतिः । अथ वृषलस्य पत्नीति व्यस्ति कथमिति चेत् । पत्नीव पत्नीत्युपधा पात् । यद्वा । आचारक्रियन्तात्कर्तरि क्तिप् । अस्मिन् पक्षे पत्नियौ, पत्नियः, इतीयङ्वादिष्वे विशेषः सपूर्वस्य क्तिप् । गवां पतिः स्त्री ॥

491. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound. गृहपतिः or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga" of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवांपतिः स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows'. Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी although preceded by गवां but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvritti of the word अनुपसर्जनस्य (though its anuvritti is necessary for the next sūtra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पति in this sūtra. Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasarjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrihi compound; as दृढपत्नी or दृढपतिः "whose husband is strong". So also वृषलपत्नी or वृषलपतिः ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like वृषलस्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sūdra", for a Sūdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy for the wife of a Sūdra is analogous to the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव भाषरति "she who behaves like a Patni" If पत्नी be taken to have been so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI. 4. 77 S. 271 as पत्नियो 'two wives of a Sûdra' and पत्नियः "many wives of a Sûdra" and not पत्न्यौ and पत्न्यः as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sûdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पापवादः । समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यते । समानः पतिर्यस्याः सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here समान is replaced by स by this sūtra.

४९३ । पूतकतोरै च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामै आदेशो डीप् च । इयं त्रिसूत्री प्रयोग एवेत्येते ॥ पूतकतोः स्त्री पूतकतायी । यथा तु कतवः पूताः स्यात्पूतकतुरेवसा ॥

493. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतकतायी 'this wife of Pûtakratu'. *Ishti*:—According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sūtras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sūtras will not apply. see IV. 1. 48 S. 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कतवः) are sanctified (पूताः).'

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषावुदात्त ऐ आदेशः स्यात् डीप् च । वृषाकपेः स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिविष्णु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः, वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्यैरिति च । अग्नयायी । कुसितायी । कुसितायी । कुसिदायायी । कुसिदायायी इत्यमरः ननु वीर्यमध्यः ॥

494. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udatta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛtshākapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3. 129 and 155) namely Lakshmi or Gauri अग्न्यायी (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of Agni, कुसितायी the wife of Kusita, कुसिदायी

'the wife of Kusida'. In the above the udātta falls on the syllables **पौ**, **मो**, **तौ** and **हौ** respectively. The last word is कुसिद् and not कुसीद् as in some texts.

४९५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुष्यस्यैकारदेशः स्यादुवाच ऐकारश्च वा । ताभ्यां संनियोगदिष्टो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनायी । मनावी । मनुः ॥

495. **औ** is the substitute of the final of **मनु**, or the udātta **ऐ** optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added **ङीप्** in the feminine.

The phrases **ऐ** and **उवाच** are understood. The force of **वा** is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, **मनायी** or **मनावी** or **मनुः**, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'.

४९६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तौपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तोपधस्तदन्तादनुपसर्जनात्प्रतिपदिकाद्वा ङीप् स्यात्प्रकारस्य नकारादेशश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां तण्डितितान्तानामिति किट्सूत्रेणाद्युवाचः । इयेण्या च शल्लयेति शुद्धम् । प्रीण्येतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृतादीनां चेत्यन्ताशक्तोऽयम् । अत इत्येव । शितिः स्त्री । * पिशङ्गादुपसर्जयानम् * ॥ पिशङ्गी । पिशङ्गा ॥ किंतु * असितपलितयोर्न * असिता । पलिता ॥ * छन्दसि क्लमेके * ॥ असिक्ली । पलिक्ली ॥ अवदातशब्दस्तु न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची सेन अवदाता इत्येव ॥

496. The affix **ङीप्** is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter **त्** as its penultimate letter : and the letter **न्** is substituted in the room of **त्** ॥

Thus of **एत** 'variegated'; the feminine is **एता** or **एनी** 'variegated.' **रोहिणी** or **रोहिता**, so **इयेता** or **इयेनी** 'black,' **हरिता** or **हरिणी** 'green'. All these words have udātta accent, on the first vowel, by the *Phiṭ sūtra* II. 10 (वर्णानां तण्डितितान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or त्ति or त्ति or त्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel') as they are formed by **तन्** &c. (Uṇ III. 36). Thus **इयेण्या च शल्लये** (*Grihya Sūtra*). The word *tryenya* is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning "she who has three variegated".

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe **श्वेता** 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of *Phiṭ sūtra* I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words *ghṛita* &c., have udātta on the final").

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter **त्** in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As **शितिः स्त्री** 'a black woman.' Here **शितिः** is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate **त्**,

has anudatta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end in ञ, its feminine is not formed with णिप्.

Vart:—The affix णिप् comes also after the word पिशाङ्ग; as, पिशाङ्गी or पिशाङ्गा 'of tawny color.'

Vart:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey.'

Vart:—According to some, the substitute क्लृप् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्ली (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्ली R. Veda V. 2. 4. The word अवदातः does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवदाता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवदातः means white clear,"

४६७। अन्यतो डीष् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

तोपधमिन्नाङ्गेषाञ्चिनोऽनुवाचान्तास्यातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् स्यात् । कल्पायी । सारङ्गी ।
लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बहुष्वो युरुरिति मध्योदात्तावेतौ । अनुवाचान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudatta accent, and which has no त as penultimate.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism *i. e.* after words which have *not* त as penultimate. The difference between णिप् and णिश् affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पायी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phit Sūtra II. 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be).

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

४६८। पिद्मौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

पिद्मो गौरादिभ्यश्च डीष् स्यात् । नर्तकी । गौरी । अनङ्गुही । अनङ्गाही ॥ विष्पल्यावयश्च ० ॥
आकृतिगणायम् ॥

498. The affix डीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III, 1, 145 S. 2907 the affix ष्वन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take *nīsh*. As, नर्तकी 'an actress.' So also the words गौर &c; as गैरी, अनडुई, अनडुई.

In the Gaurādi class is to be included the Pippalādi words also (see Ganapātha at the end.) This is an Ākritigana, no complete list being given any where.

४६९ । सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमस्त्यानां य उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

अङ्गस्थोपधाया यस्य लोपः स्यात्स चेष्टः सूर्याद्यवयवः ॥ * मस्त्यस्य ङ्याम् * ॥ * सूर्यागस्त्ययोः ङ्ङि च ङ्यां च * ॥ * तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि यलोप इति वाच्यम् * ॥ मत्सी । मातरि विद्येति विच्चावेव सिद्धे गौरादिषु मातामहीशब्दपाठान्नित्यः । वित्तां ङीष् । इष्ट्वा ॥

499. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मस्त्य (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate *य* is also elided before the long *ई* and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणैकादिक=सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3. 112 S. 1492 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीष् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य=तैषमहः, तैषी राशिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यापत्यं स्त्री=आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117). आगस्तीयः; So also मस्त्य=मत्सी with ङीष् as it belongs to the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41 S. 498).

Vārt :—The *य* of मस्त्य is elided before the feminine *ई* only : therefore not here मस्त्यस्येद् मांसं = मात्स्यम् ॥

Vārt :—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes ङ्ङ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्ये चरं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vārt :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः = तैषः, पोषः (IV. 2. 3 S. 1204).

By the *varṭika* आतरि विद्य given under IV. 2. 36, S. 1242 the affix अमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicative *य* ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is वित्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is वित्, is not universal (अनित्यः वित् लक्षणो ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like इष्ट्वा &c.

५०० । जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबराद्वृत्त्यम-
त्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनायोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु । ४ । १ । ४२ ॥

पृथ एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः क्रमाद्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु ङीष् स्यात् । जानपदी वृत्तिश्चेत् । अन्यथा तु जानपदी । उत्सादित्वावसन्तत्वेन दिङ्ङेति ङीप्पाकुवात्तः । कुण्डी अमत्रं चेत् । कुण्डान्या । कुडि दाहि । शूरोश्च हल इति अप्रत्ययः । यस्तु अवृत्ते आरजः कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजातिवचनस्ततो जातिलक्षणो ङीष् भव-
त्येव । अमत्रे हि स्त्रीविषयत्वाभावादप्राप्तो ङीष् विधीयते नतु नियम्यते । गौणी आवपनं चेत् । गोयान्या ।

स्थली अकृत्रिणा चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी आणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नागी स्थूला चेत् । नागाऽन्या । गजवाची नगरशब्दः स्थूल्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम् । सर्पवाची तु वैद्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्तः प्रत्युदाहरणम् । काली वर्णश्चेत् । कालाऽन्या । नीली अनाच्छादनं चेत् । नीलाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शाटीत्यर्थः । नील्या अन्वक्तव्य इत्यन् । अनाच्छादनं न सर्वत्र कितु ॥ * नीलाशेषधो * ॥ नीली ॥ * प्राणिनि च * ॥ नीली गौः ॥ संज्ञायां वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोविकाश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । काशुकी मैथुनेच्छा चेत् । काशुकाऽन्या । कवरी केशानां संनिवेशश्चेत् । कवराऽन्या ध्वित्र्यर्थः ॥

500. The affix डीष् is employed after the eleven words jānapada &c, in the sense of profession &c. respectively ; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल, 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and 11 कवर ; the affix डीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground' ; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female' 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair' ; respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जौनपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix ञ् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsādi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix डीष् will be added in this latter case by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'. To the root 'कुडिशहे the affix ञ् is added by III. 3. 103. S. 3280. The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicatory इ in the Dhātupātha. The कुण्डः when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take डीष् in the feminine by IV. 1. 63, S. 518. and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no डीष् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains डीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'.

(3) गोणी 'a sack' यच्च धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोण, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement' ; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोदकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागी 'a stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she-serpent". When नाग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नानी under the present sūtra. But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

(7) काली 'a-black female', otherwise काला 'a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning.

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means 'a blue colored cloth.' This word is formed by adding the affix अन् denoting 'colored' by the Vārtika under sūtra IV. 2. 2. S. 1203 and thus the base is नीलच् to which आच् is added in forming the feminine.

The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'.

Vārtika :—ङीष् is added in forming the feminine of नाल when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली 'an indigo' plant'.

Vārtika :—So also when an animal is meant as नीलीगोः The Nilgai.

Vārtika :—Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नीला ॥

(9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass'
(10) काशुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise काशुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'.

५०१ । शोणात्प्राचाम् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा बडवा 'a red or bay mare'

५०२ । वोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

उदन्ताद्गुणवचिनो वा ङीष् स्यात् ॥ वृद्धी । वृद्धुः । उतः किम् ॥ शुचिः । शुणेति किम् । आशुः ॥

* खरुसंयोगोपधान् * ॥ खरुः पतिवरा कन्या । पाण्डुः ॥

502. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus वृद्धुः or वृद्धी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say

"expressive of a quality ?" Observe आखुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated after the word खरु, and after words ending in short उ, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate. As खरुखरिं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is common gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुखरिं ब्राह्मणी ॥

५०३ । बह्वादिभ्यश्च । ङ । १ । ४५ ॥

एभ्यो वाङीष् स्यात् । बह्वी बहुः ॥ * कृदिकाराहन्तिनः * ॥ रात्रिः । रात्री ॥ सर्वतोऽन्तिन्नर्पा दि स्येके ॥ शकटिः । शकटी । अन्तिन्नर्पास्किम् । अजननिः । न्तिन्नन्तस्वारमात्रे विध्यर्थं पद्धतिशब्दो गणे ऽपठ्यते । हिमकाषिहतिषु चत पद्धावः । पद्धतिः पद्धती ॥

503. And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥

Vartika :—So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not न्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रिः or रात्री ॥

Vartika :—Some : say that the feminine affix *nīsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix न्तिन् ॥ As शकटिः or शकटी ॥

Why do we say 'not न्तिन्' ? Observe अजननिः ॥

The word पद्धति is read in the Gaṇapāṭha, to make it a *vidhi*, although it is formed with the affix न्तिन् ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI. 3. 54. S. 992. Thus :—वाङ् + हति + न्तिन् = पद्धति ॥ Its Feminine is either पद्धतिः or पद्धती ॥

५०४ । पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । ङ । १ । ४८

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तते ततो ङीष् स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ * पालकान्ताम् * ॥ गोपालिका । अश्वपालिका ॥ * सूर्यदेवतायां चाप् वाच्यः * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या । देवतायां किम् । सूर्यी कुन्ती । मानुषायम् ॥

504. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Thus the wife of Gopa is गोपी.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in पालक ॥ Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'; also अश्वपालिका ॥

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya.' Why do we say 'a celestial being' ? Observe सूर्यी denoting the human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kuntī.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ।
४।१।५९ ॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णां मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग एवेत्येते ।
तत्र ङीष् सिद्धे आनुगागमनात् विधीयते । इतरेषां चतुर्णां भुभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्नहस्वे * ॥
महद्भिम हिमानी । महद्वरण्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ * यवाद्दोषे * ॥ वुटो यवो, यवानी । * यवनाक्षिप्र्याम् ।
यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्याययोरानुत्वा * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥
उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्यः * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥
आचार्यावणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या स्वयं व्याख्याची ॥
आर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा स्वार्थे ° ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैद्या वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रियाणी । क्षत्रिया ।
पुंयोगे तु । अर्या । क्षत्रिया । कथं ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माणमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण् ॥

505. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow,' अरण्य 'a forest,' यव 'barley,' यवन 'a Yavana,' मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and आचार्य 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns upto रुद्र, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra.'

Vart:—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great forest.' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vart:—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley. In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat."

Vart:—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas.'

Vart:—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मातुलाना or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vārtika :—But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of डीष् is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया.

Vart :—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2 S. 197), after the word आचार्य. Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vart :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya-class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya.'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्माणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्माण by adding डीष्. The word ब्रह्माण is formed by adding the affix अण् to the root ब्रन् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III. 2. 1. S. 2913, ब्रह्म + अन् + अण् = ब्रह्माणः । ब्रह्माणी.

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्तावन्तात्करणेः स्त्रियां डीष् स्यात् । वस्त्रक्रीतां । कृषिक्रीता । धनक्रीता ॥

506. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth.' The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

५०७ । कादल्पाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणेः कान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् स्यादल्पे षोऽन्ते । अन्नलिप्ती षोः ॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम् चन्दनलिप्ताम्ना ॥

507. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'

Thus अन्नविलिप्ती षोः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds ,

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनलिप्ताम्ना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note:—The word कर्ण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word.

५०८ । बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहेः कान्तावन्तोदात्तावन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ॥ * जातिपूर्वास्ति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तेन बहु-
नम्बुकालसुखादिपूर्वात् । ऊरुभिन्नी । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ * आतान्ताम् * ॥ इन्ता जाता । * पाणिगृहीती
भार्ययाम् * ॥ पाणिगृहीतान्या ॥

508. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

Note:—The word क्तान् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional.

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jāti (class-name) as first member. As

ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vārtika*:—

Vart:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नम, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus इन्ता जाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'.

Vart—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निस्त्राक्षिकं यस्याः पाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Note:—Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

५०९ । अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा । ४ । १ । ५३ ॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम् । सुपपीती । सुपपीता । अन्तोदात्तात्किम् । वक्ष्यच्छन्ना । अना-
च्छादनादिस्तुशक्तनिषेधः । अत एव पूर्वेषामपि न ङीष् ॥

509. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्ताराक्षीत् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Note :—Why do we say ‘when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word’? Observe शंस्यभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe बस्त्रच्छन्ना which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI. 2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or वाच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170, and therefore it will not take ङीष् even by the preceding sūtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाश्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

असंयोगोपधुपसर्जनं यस्त्वाङ्गं तदन्तादन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीष् । केशान्तिकान्ता आतंकेशी । अतिकेशा । चन्द्रमुखी । चन्द्रमुख्या । संयोगोपधात् सुमुखा । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिखा । स्वाङ्गं विधा ।

अद्वयं मूर्तिमस्त्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् * ॥

सुखेवा इवत्वात् । सुखानां अमूर्तत्वात् । सुमुखा शाला अप्राणिस्थत्वात् । सुशोभा विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतत्स्थं तत्र दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणिस्थस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन चेतत्तथा युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा प्राणिवत्प्राणिसदृशे स्थितत्वात् ॥

510. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (*i. e.* the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant.)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ; चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुख्या ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्. and केशा is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Note :—The *anuvritti* of the words बह्व्री हेः, कान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvritti* of the word वा ‘optionally’ does extend to this Sutra.

Why do we say “subordinate in a compound”? Witness अशिखा “without crest” (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपादवो ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse :—

अद्वयं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिभ्यो विकारजम् ।
अतस्त्वं तत्र दृष्टं च तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not-being-a-fluid (अद्वयं) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having-a-form (मूर्तिमत्) is svāṅga; it must exist-in-a-living-being, (प्राणिस्थ), but not produced by a change from the natural state (विकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतस्त्वं lit. not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तत्र दृष्टं lit. was seen in the body); (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन चेत् तत् तथा युतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svāṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat:" here "sweat" is "liquid" and so it is not a svāṅga; सुज्ञात्वा "who has good knowledge"; here "knowledge" has no form, and so it is not a svāṅga, सुमुखं गालं "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit. "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svāṅga; so that the following is wrong फलमुखी कारणमुखी चानवस्था; similarly सुशोभा "she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours." Here "swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrescences: and hence it is not a svāṅga.

Of the second kind of svāṅga words, the example is सुकेशी सुकेशा चारथा "A chariot well-cushioned with hair." Though chariot is a non-living being yet hair is always found in a living being.

Of the third kind of svāṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts." Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being.

५११ । नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

एयो वा ङीप् स्यात् । भाष्यार्थोऽङ्गुलक्षणो निषेधो बाध्यत । पुरस्तादपवादव्यायात् । ओष्ठादीनां पञ्चानां तु असंयोगोपधादिनि पर्युदासे प्राप्तिं वचनम् । मध्योऽपवादव्यायात् । सहनश्लक्षणास्तु प्रतिषेधः परत्वात्स्य बाधकः । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । नेह । सहनासिका । अनासिका । अत्र वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गनात्रकण्ठेभ्यो वक्तव्यम् * ॥ स्वप्नी स्वप्न्यादि । एतच्चानुक्तसमुच्चयार्थेन चकारेण संग्रहमिति कश्चित् ॥ भाष्याच्चानुक्तवाङ्मनाणां प्राप्तिं प्राप्ताणकाः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥ पुच्छाश्च * ॥ सुपुच्छी । सुपुच्छा ॥ कबरमणिविशेषाभ्यां नित्यम् * ॥ कबर चित्र पुच्छ मस्याः सा कबरपुच्छी मयूरी इत्यादि ॥ उपमानात्पक्षा पुच्छाश्च * ॥ नित्यमित्येव । उलूकपक्षी शाला । उलूकपुच्छी सेना ॥

511. And the feminine ङीप् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sūtra. This sūtra debars the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words ओष्ठ &c., were excluded from the operation of the preceding sūtra by the incidental negation (paryudāsa) of असंयोगोपधान् ॥ This present sūtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim: मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE, not those that follow them." Therefore though the sūtras IV. 1. 54 and 56, are superseded by the present sūtra, not so the sūtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one.

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका; &c; but we have only one form as सहनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kātyāyana, the affix ङीष् optionally comes after अङ्ग, गान् कण्ठ &c. Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c.

According to others, all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sūtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Bṛāsyā*. Hence the following *Vartikas* :—

Vārt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail.' As सुपुच्छा or सुपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen' मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As बलुकपक्षी सेना, बलुकपुच्छी शाला ।

५१२ । न क्रोडादिबहुचः । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

क्रोडादिबहुचश्च स्वाङ्गान् ङीष् । कल्याणक्रोडा । अश्वानासुरः क्रोडा । भाकृतिगणेश्वर । मुजयना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रीडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

क्रोडा means 'the breast of a horse.' The krodādi class is ākritigana. So is also सुजघना which is a word of more than two syllables.

Note :—According to Ganaratnamahodadhi the word क्रीड without any gender is read in the Ganapātha: implying that examples can be given with all the three genders. Mādhava derives it from krud with घञ्; krodā meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रोडा is read in Ganapātha: and it forms Bahuvrīhi when it has the sense above given. Otherwise as a general svānga word we have डीङ् as कल्याणक्रीडी नयूरी ॥

Note :—The class क्रीड &c. is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples :—As कल्याणक्रीणा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण बाला, कल्याण दाफा, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पद्मजघना, महा-ललाटा ॥ The word क्रीडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pūṅvād-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

५१३ । सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादित्रिकपूर्वान् डीङ् । सकशा । अकेशा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513. The affix डीङ् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'

Thus सकेशा, अकेशा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note :—The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54.

५१४ । नख मुखत्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

डीङ् न स्यात् । शर्पणखा । गौरमुख । संज्ञायां किम् । ताम्रमुखी कन्या ॥

514. The feminine affix डीङ् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शर्प + नखा = शर्पणखा, 'Śarṇaṇakhā the sister of Ravana'. The न् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 (पूर्वपदान् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also गौरमुख, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'.

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदास्वान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीषो ङीबादेशः स्यात् । माङ्गुली । आशुवाचं पदम् ॥

515. The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

Thus माङ्गुली ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable.

Note :—This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 510 to 514. Whereeven by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix ङीप् being anudātta (III.1. 4. S. 3709). Thus माङ्गुली ॥

५१६ । वाहः । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष् स्यात् । ङीषेवानुवर्तते न ङीप् । दित्यवाद् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

516. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप्, though the latter was nearer. Thus दित्यवाद् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

Note :—The word वाह is formed from the root वह with the affix लिङ् (III. 2, 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a " word ending in vâh." Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दित्य + वाह + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊह + वाह + ङीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह, Uth is the samprasârana of vâh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊह + ङीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute'), = दित्यौही (VI. I. 89 S. 73 एतेष्वन्युद्गु vridhhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ûth* follow). Similarly प्रदौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

५१७ । सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे भाषायामित्यस्यानन्तरं वृष्टव्यः । छन्दस्यपि क्वचित् । सखी । अशिश्वी । आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ॥

517. The form सखी 'a female companion' and अशिश्वी "a childless woman," are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit.

The word इति in the sūtra has the force of प्रकार "thus" its syntacti-

cal position is after भावायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also.

Note :— Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिशुरस्तीति = अशिषी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिषुमिष मानयं शिशुरभिमान्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as
आधेनवो धुनयन्तामाशिषी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

जातिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रियां नियतमथोपधं ततः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ।

आ कृतिमहणा जातिः * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येति ॥ तदी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्माह्या * ॥

असर्वलिङ्गत्वे सत्येकत्वां व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यक्त्यन्तरे कथनं विनापि सुप्रहा जातिरिति लक्षणात्तस्मै ।
वृषली । सत्यन्तं किम् । शुक्ला । सकृदित्यादि किम् । देवदत्ता ॥

गोत्रं च चरणैः सह * ॥

अपत्यमत्ययान्तः शाखाध्येतवाची च शब्दो जातिकार्यं लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कडी ।
बहुवृत्ती । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरवादिपाठात् ङीर्नी ङीष् बाध्यते । जातेः किम् । मुण्डा । अस्त्रीविषया-
त्किम् । बलाका । अयोपधात्किम् । क्षत्रिया ॥ योपधमतिषेधं ह्यगवयमुकयमनुष्यमत्स्यानामप्रतिषेधः * ॥
हयी । गवयी । मुकयी । हलस्तद्धितस्येति यजोपः । मानुषी । मत्स्यस्य ङभाक् * ॥ मत्सी ।

518. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति is thus defined :—

आकृतिमहणा जातिलिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।

सकृदाख्यात निर्माह्या गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained): आकृतिमहणाजातिः whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jāti. Or a jāti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature. Thus तदी 'a bank, a place near the river.' But :—(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् " Provided that it is not a word used in all genders " (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्माह्या, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

specially mentioned. Such a word would also be jāti. Thus वृषली "a low caste woman," which implies her sons, brothers &c. Why do we say not having all genders? Observe शुक्ला ॥ Why do we say "singly used implying others"? Observe देवता (3) गोत्रं च चरणैः सह "A word denoting Gotra descendant denoted by a grammatical affix and charan (or school) is also a jāti word." That is to say, a word formed with a Patronymic affix, and expressive of a person belonging to a particular branch of Vedic school, who studies a particular portion of the Vedas. As औपगवी, कवी बह्वृची ॥ In ब्राह्मणी the ङीष् is debarred by ङीन् as it is read in sarṅgaravādī class. (IV. 1. 73)

Why do we say "expressive of jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality.) Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness बलाका 'a mistress, a beloved woman.' Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.'

Vārt :—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words (which have a penultimate य्) viz., गवय 'the Bos Gaveans,' हय 'horse,' मुकय 'a sort of animal' मस्य 'a fish,' and मनुष्य 'a man.' Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 S. 472 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मसी ॥ The य् of *Matsya* is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङवाच्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. S. 499 All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41 S. 498) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vārtika.

Note :—The Loukika Gotra should not be confounded with the Grammatical Gotra. Charana is one who studies a particular shākhā of a Veda. Some explain however, that the word Gotra here means the Laukika Gotra of Clans. The above examples of कौटी meaning "a woman who reads the Veda as belonging to the Katha Shakhā" and बह्वृची "a woman who must read Rik verses," show that women were not debarred from the study of *Vedas* even in Pānini's time. The present day prohibition is of recent origin, not more than a thousand years or so. For we read :—

पुरा कल्पेषु तारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।

अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवचनं तथा ॥

"In ancient times women were invested with the sacred thread and girdle of a Brahmacharin and they were taught the Vedas and the Gayatri."

५१९ । पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाच्च । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

पाकाद्युत्तरपदाङ्गान्तिवाचिनः स्त्रीविषयावपि ङीष् स्यात् । भोवनपाकी । शङ्कुकर्णी ॥ शालपथी । खड्गपुष्पी । हासोफला । र्भमुली । गोवाली । भोवधिविद्ये रुढा एते ॥

519. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पर्ण 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and बाल 'youth.'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus औषधपात्री, शंकुकर्णी, बालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पा, दासीफली, रश्मिमूली, and गोबाली all these are rūdhī words expressing medicinal herbs.

When, however, the affix ङीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4 S. 454 ; such as संफला, भक्षकफला, सत्पुष्पा, भस्मूला &c.

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजातेः । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीष् स्यात् । दाक्षी । बोधधादि । उदनेयस्यापलं औदमेयी । मनुष्येति क्रिप् । तित्तिरिः ॥

520. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kunti,' दाक्षी 'Dakshī.' Thus अवन्ति + ड्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) 'भावन्त्यः men of Avanti.' In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 is elided. दाक्षी "the female descendant of Daksha." Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness विष्ट 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat.' Why do we say "of men"? Witness तित्तिरिः 'part-ridge.'

Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, S. 518 its repetition here indicates that ङीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ. Thus औदमेयी ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इङ् (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इङ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c., and does not denote a jāti.

५२१ । ऊङुतः । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्ताद्यापधान्तुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कुरुः ॥ कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यं ॥ तस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुङ् । अयोपधात्क्रिप् । अध्वयुः ॥ अग्नीजोतश्चरज्ज्वादीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ रज्ज्वादिपर्युवासादुवर्णान्तेभ्य एव । भलाढ्या । कर्कण्ड्या । अनयोदीर्घान्तस्वेडाप नौङ्धात्वारिति वि-
अत्तपुर चदामातिषेध ऊङः फलम् ॥ प्राणिजातेस्तु कृकवाङुः । रज्ज्वोदस्तु रज्जुः । इतुः ॥

521. After a nominal-stem ending in short उ not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ङङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words बहुव्यजाति and अयोपधान् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरु : 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मबन्धू : "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called," जीवबन्धू : "a woman of the Jivabandhu class."

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 in the feminine.

Note :—The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कर्, for a short उ would have also given the form करु (कुरु + उ = करु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कर्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, S. 891 in Bahuvrīhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

The indicatory letter ऊ in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sūtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175 S. 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sūtra VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मबन्धूः we could not have known the accent.

Why do we say "not having the letter ए as its penultimate"? Witness अर्धयुर्वाङ्मयी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vat :—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाङ्कः 'the bottlegourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाङ्का and कर्कन्धा are svarita accented on the final by VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c. The example अलाङ्का is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative

५२२ । बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियायूङ् स्यात् । भद्रबाहुः । संज्ञायां किम् । वृत्तबाहुः ॥

522. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhādrabāhū'. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

५२३ । पङ्गोश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गूः । श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च * ॥ चादृङ् । पुंयोगलक्षणस्य ङीष्ोपवादः । लिङ्गविशिष्ट-
परिभाषया स्वादेशः । श्वश्रूः ।

523. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गूः 'a female lame'.

Vart :—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter श्र of the word. As श्वश्रूः 'mother-in law'. This debars the पुंयोगा ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504 The case affixes are added to the base श्वश्रू on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c. see IV. 1. 1. S. 182.

५२४ । ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ । १ । ६९ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदगुरुत्तरपदं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तस्मादृङ् स्यात् । । करभोरुः ॥

524. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री "a woman with round thighs". The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विश्वकरे च कोरेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

५२५ । संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

अनौपम्यार्थे सूत्रम् । संहितोरुः । सैव शफोरुः । शफौ खुरौ ताविव संश्लिष्टत्वादुपचारात् । लक्षणाशब्दादर्शनाभावात् । लक्षणोरुः । वामोरुः ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह संहितौ ऊरु भस्याः सा संहितोरुः । सहेते इति सहौ ऊरु यस्याः सा सहोरुः । यद्वा । विद्यमानवचनस्यै सहशब्दस्य ऊर्ध्वतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)', शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.' The word lakshana here is a Taddhita-formed word meaning "she who has the mark". The affix अङ् is added to lakshana by its belonging to अर्शादि class V. 2. 129. S. 1933.

Vart :—So also with the words सहित and सह ॥ As सहितोरु. and सहोरु ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness though it literally means mere existence.

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकमण् स्त्रोः संज्ञायां स्त्रियामृङ् स्यात् । कद्रूः । कमण्डलूः । संज्ञायां किम् । कद्रुः कमण्डलुः । अच्छन्तोर्यं वचनम् ॥

526. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms. Thus कद्रूः 'a female named Kadrū wife of Kāśyapa,' कमण्डलूः 'Kamaṇḍalū.' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रु. 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलुः 'a water-gourd.'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवादेऽञो योऽकारस्तन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनी ङीन् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । बैरी । जातिरित्यनुवृत्तेः पुंयोगे ङीषेव । नृनरयोर्वृद्धिर्भेति गणसूत्रम् । नरी ॥

527. The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Śārngarava woman.' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, बैरी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debar the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 S. 518. &c., where it came after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504.

The न् would have taken ङीष् by IV. 1. 5 S. 306 and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛddhi before ङीन्, the form being नारी in both cases. This is by force of the sūtra नृनरा &c. read in the following list. Such sūtras are called gana-sūtras.

The following is a list of Śārngaravādi class words :—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण्, the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) from शृङ्गरु, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्रह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41. S. 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ङक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) except kamaṇḍaleya which is formed by ङक् (IV. 1. 135 S. 1141.) 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 नैज्जायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. and IV. 1. 99.

S. 1101. and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by डक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126.) 15 काव्य, 16 वैव्य are formed by ड्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189.) 17 एहि, 18 पयैहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह् 'to try', and परि+आ+इह् (Up IV. 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आस्त्र्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107).

○ औद्धान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76 S. 1455). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वृत्तण्डः are jāti words. 24 ओगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently ङगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङश्चाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङन्तात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ् इति ड्यङ्प्यङो सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बश्या । कारीव-
गन्ध्या ॥ पाद्यग्राम्पा वाच्यः * ॥ पौतिमाश्यां ॥

528. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix ड्यङ् or ड्यङ् (with final acute VI. 1. 163.)

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes ड्यङ् (as taught in IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 and ड्यञ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) as it is common element of both. Thus आम्बश्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya.'

Similarly ड्यङ् formed words, as, कारीवगन्ध्या, &c.

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter ण् immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराश्या 'a female descendant of Śarkarāksha,' पौतिमाश्या 'a female descendant of Pūti-māshya.'

५२९ । आवल्याङ् । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

अस्माकचाप् स्यात् । यञ् भेति । ङीपोऽपवादः । अवटशब्दो गर्गादिः । आवल्याङ् ॥

529. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word अवल्याङ् ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16 S. 471.) Thus आवटश्या 'are female descendant of Avaṭa.'

५३० । तद्धिताः । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चसमाप्तरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

530 The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pāṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

Note :—Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धितः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1. S. 180) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य आम्नौ ॥ अभादि पश्चाद् डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अभिम, आदिम, पश्चिम ॥ See Part IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृततद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

५३१ । युनस्तिः । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवन्शब्दान्तिप्रत्ययः स्यात्स च तद्धितः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवतिः । अनुपसर्जनादित्येव । बहवो युवानो यस्यां सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौतेः शब्दन्तान् ङीप् बोध्यम् ॥

531. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid.' By IV. 1. 5. S. 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, S. 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita : or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 S. 520 would not apply. But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths." The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवन् ॥ and is a different word altogether.

अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KĀRAKAS.

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः । मात्रशब्दस्य प्रत्येक योगः । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रं लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यं परिमाणमात्रे संख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उच्चैः । नीचैः । कृष्णः । श्रीः । ज्ञानम् । अनिष्टा नियतलिङ्गाश्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रं इत्यस्योदाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तद्वः । तदी । तदम् । परिमाणमात्रे, द्रोणो ब्रीहिः । द्रोणरूपं यत्परिमाणं तत्प्रातिच्छन्नो ब्रीहिरित्यर्थः । प्रत्यथार्थं परिमाणं प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु प्रतिच्छेद्यपरिच्छेद्यकभावेन ब्रीहौ विशेषणमिति त्रिविकः । वचनं संख्या । एकः । द्वौ । बहवः । इहोक्तार्थत्वाद्भिन्नेरप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532. Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I. 2. 45 S. 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

By the word "prātipadikārtha" (sense-of- the-crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word. The word mātra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sūtra.

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prātipadika—उच्चैः "aloft," नीचैः "below," कृष्णः Kṛishna, श्रीः Sṛi, ज्ञानम् "knowledge".

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c.) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Kṛishna &c.

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also. As तद्वः, तदी or तदम् "the (river) bank".

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्रोणो ब्रीहिः "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Drona" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a *general* sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure. The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the *base* (Drona) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su). But though the force of the affix सु after ब्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda-sansarga, as it was in the case of drona and su; but on the

contrary, in the case of *vrihi* and *su*, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base *vrihi*, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of *parichchhedaka* (measurer) and *parichchhedya* (measurable).

The word “*vachana*” means number ; as एकः one, द्वे two, बहवः many.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c, are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini ; they apply to the triads of *सुप्र* affixes, कटं करोति ‘he makes the mat,’ गामं गच्छति ‘he goes to the village’.

५३३ । संबोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह मयना स्यात् । हे राम ॥

533. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Thus हे राम O Rāma.

—:O:—

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534 The phrase ‘*kāraka*’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note:—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a *kāraka*. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent *kāraka*; ‘food’ is object *kāraka*; ‘vessel’ is a locative *kāraka*, fire is an instrumental *kāraka*, ‘furnace’ is the ablative *kāraka* and ‘master’ is the dative *kāraka*.

The word ‘*kāraka*’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (*hetu*) and occasion (*nimitta*). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be *kāra*kas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a *kāraka* to a verb.

५३५ । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म । १ । ४ । ४९ ॥

कर्तुः क्रियया आप्तुमिष्टतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । कर्तुः क्रिय । मापेप्स्यथ बध्नाति । कर्मण ईप्सिता माषा ननु कर्तुः । तमश्महणं क्रिय । पयसा औदनं शुङ्क्ते । कर्मैत्यनुवृत्ते । पुनः कर्ममहणमाधारीनवृत्त्यर्थम् । अत्रयथा गेहं प्रविशेतात्यत्र च स्यात् ॥

535. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कट्ट करोति "He makes the mat" ग्रामं गच्छति "he goes to the village". Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe गावश्चरति "he ties the horse in the gram field." Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word गाव takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पशुसोदनं भुङ्क्ते "he eats the food along with the milk." Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the sūtra I. 4. 46 S. 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛitti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because we do not take the anuvṛitti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvṛitti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गृहे प्रविशति "he enters the house," we could not say भोजनं पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तुं पिबति "he drinks saktu." By repeating the word in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix.

५३६ । अनभिहिते । २ । ३ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word in the following sūtras.

Note :—Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c, are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned by the voice of the verb, or by a Taddhita affix &c.

५३७ । कर्मणि द्वितीया । २ । ३ । २ ॥

अनुक्ते कर्मणि द्वितीया स्यात् । हरिं भजति । अभिहिते तु कर्मणि प्रातिपदिकार्थनाम इति प्रथमेव । आभिधानं तु प्रायण तिङ्कृतञ्जितसमासः । तिङ्, हरिः सेव्यत । कर्तुं लक्ष्म्या सेवितः । तद्धितः, जलेन कीनः बालः । समासः, प्राप्त आनन्दो यं स प्राप्तानन्दः । कृषिजिपतिर्नामभिधानं यथा । विषवृक्षाऽपि स्वार्थं स्वयं छन्दुमसंप्रतम् । सांप्रतमित्यस्य हि युज्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

537. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. i. e. when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari.", But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c., then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II. 3. 64.

The force of a case-affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes तिङ्; *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or *lastly* by compounds. (Thus this sūtra declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटे करोति 'he makes the mat': ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.') But the object can be denoted, otherwise. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिं सेव्यते "Hari is served." Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. S. 2679 and 2152. So also by the kṛit affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवितः "served by Lakshmi" sūtra III. 4. 70. S. 2833. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतम्: or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्तं आनन्दोद्यं प्राप्तानन्दः "Whom happiness has reached."

Sometime the case-relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipāta: as विषवृक्षोऽपि स्वयम् उच्यते स्वयम् उच्यते ॥ Here विषवृक्षः is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ स्वयम् उच्यते means, "is proper." It is not proper to cut himself the poison-tree that one has grown.

५३८ । तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

इप्सिततमवच्छिद्यथा युक्तं नाप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति । ओदनं भुञ्जानो विषं भुङ्क्ते ॥

538. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion. Thus ओदनं भुञ्जन् विषं भुङ्क्ते "he eats poison while he was hungry for rice" ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति "going to the village, he touches the grass."

Here विषं and तृणं are in the Accusative case or karma-kāraḥ, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent: but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case.

५३९ । अकथितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपावानाद्विशेषैराविवक्षितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

दुह्याच्चपण्डरुधिप्रच्छिद्विशालासुजिमथुषम् ।

कर्मयुक् स्यादवाधितं तथा स्यान्नृष्टवहाम् ।

दुहादीनां द्वावसानां तथा नाप्रभृतानां चतुर्णां कर्मणामप्युच्यते तद्देवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । गां वेदिषि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधाम् । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तण्डुलानोदनं पचति । गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति । ब्रजमवरुणजि गां । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनाति फलानि । माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं छुणाति । ग्राममजां नयति हरति कर्षति वहति वा ।

अर्थानिबन्धनेयं संज्ञा । बलिं भिक्षते वसुधाम् । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते वामिषते वृत्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्योगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति वक्षिष्यम् * ॥ कुरुरुद्वपिति । मासमास्ते । गोदोहमास्ते । क्रोशमास्ते ॥

539. And that *kāraka* which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called *karma*.

Ṭīkā :—In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' ण्ड 'to punish,' रुध 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ 'to ask,' क्षि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell,' शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ 'to churn' छु 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs नी, ह, कृण, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case.

As, गां वेदिषि पयः 'he milks the cow': बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali'; अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant"; similarly तण्डुलानोदनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice." गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money." ब्रजमवरुणजि गां "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow-pen." माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road." वृक्षमवचिनाति फलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree." माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma." शतं जयति देवदत्तम्, "He wins hundred from Devadatta." सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk." देवदत्तं शतं छुणाति :- "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति वहति वा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them." are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corollary that other verbs also, though not mentioned in the above list, but being synony-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects. Thus बलिं भिक्षते वस्त्रं or माणवकं धर्मं भाषते, अभिषत्ते or व्यक्तं &c.

Why do we say "a kāraka?" Observe माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छात् "He asks the father of the boy which is the road." Here माणवकस्य not being a kāraka retains the Genitive.

Vārtika. The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over. As कुरुष्व स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus." मासमास्ते "He stays for a month." गोशोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow." क्रोशमास्ते "He goes over one Krosa (two miles)."

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्मकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता सौ ॥ १५॥ ५२॥

गत्याद्यर्थानां शब्दकर्मणामकर्मकाणां चाणौ यः कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

रात्रूनगमयस्वर्गं देवार्थं स्वानेवेद्यत् ।

आशयणासृते देवान्देवमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥

आसयत्सज्जिते पृथ्वीं यः स मे श्रीहरिर्गतिः ॥

गतीत्यादि किम् । पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तेन ॥ अप्यन्यतानां किम् । गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञवत्तं समपरः प्रयुङ्क्ते । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञवत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ नीवहोर्न * ॥ नाययति दाहयति वा भारं शूत्रेण ॥ नियन्तृकर्तृकस्य वहेरतिषेधः * ॥ दाहयति रथं वाहान् सृतः ॥ आदिखाद्योर्न * ॥ भादयति खादयति वानं बहुना ॥ भक्षरहितार्थस्य न * ॥ भक्षयत्यन्नं बहुना । भक्षितार्थस्य किम् । भक्षयति वलीयहान् सस्यम् ॥ जल्पति प्रभृतीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः ॥ दूरोऽय * ॥ दर्शयति हर्षि भक्तान् । सूत्रे ज्ञानसमान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन स्मरति जिघ्रसीत्यादीनां न । स्मरयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन । ॥ शब्दायतेर्न * ॥ शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन । धात्वर्थसंगृहीतकर्मत्वेनाकर्मकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिन्नं कर्म न संभवति तेऽत्राकर्मकाः । न स्वाविवक्षितकर्माणोऽपि ॥ तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तामेत्यादौ कर्मत्वं भवत्येव । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्यादौ तु न ॥

540. That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

Thus in the verse above given :—

Causal.

Non-Causal

रात्रून-भगमयन् स्वर्गम्

रात्रवः स्वर्गम् भगच्छन्

He sent the enemies to Heaven.

The enemies went to Heaven.

वेदार्थं स्वान् अववेदयत्

He explained the sense of the Vedas to His own.

स्वे (स्वकीयाः) वेदार्थमविविदुः

His own understood the sense of the Vedas.

आशयत् च अमृतं देवान्

He made the Devas drink ambrosia.

देवा अमृतम् आभन

The Devas drank ambrosia.

वेदम् अभ्यापयद् विधिम्

He taught the Veda to Brahmā.

विधिः वेदमध्यैत्

Brahmā learnt the Vedas.

भासयत् सलिले पृथ्वीम्

He fixed the Earth in Water.

सलिले पृथ्वी भास्त

The Earth floated on water.

Why do we say 'verbs of motion &c.'? Observe पाचयति भोक्त्रं देवदत्तेन "He gets the food cooked by Devadatta."

Why do we say "of the Non-Causal"? Observe that in गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञवत्त Devadatta makes Yajnadatta go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Devadatta to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो देवदत्तेन यज्ञवत्तं गमयति 'Vishnumitra prompts Devadatta to cause Yajnadatta to go.' Here Devadatta is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. श्रूत्या भारं नयति वहति वा "A servant carries a load" becomes in causal श्रूत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart:—But वह, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as. वाहयति रथं वाहान् सूतः "The driver drives the chariot and the horses."

Vart:—The causals of the roots भद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमत्ति खादति वा "The boy eats his food," becomes in the causal, बटुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा ॥ "(He) causes the boy to eat his food".

Vart:—भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति भग्नं बटुना Why do we say "not in the sense of injury"? Observe भक्षयति वली वशीन् सस्यम् ॥ "He makes the bullocks to injure the crops".

Vart:—Enumeration should be made of जल्पयति &c. as जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta teaches his son the dharma'

Vart:—So also with दर्शयति; as दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् "He shows Hari to the devotees".

These vārtikas imply that the "verbs of knowledge" of the sūtra are general verbs, and not verbs denoting particular kinds of knowledge.

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रति 'he smells' &c. As स्मारयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell".

Vart:—Not so with the verb शब्दायति as; शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound".

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as. किंकरः पचरः पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकरं ॥ Thus in मासमासयति देवदत्तं, the word मासम् is in the accusative case; but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c.

Note:—Patanjali, in his Mahabhashya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sūtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) कंदति (कंद) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्वयति देवदत्तः ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन; कंदति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; कंदयति-शब्दाययति-देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots भु, ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, भृणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः आवयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प्, भाष् with आ and लप् with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged e. g.

Primitive.	Causal Active.	Causal Passive.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥ Rama goes to a village.	रामं ग्रामं गमयति ॥ (He) causes Rama to go to a village.	रामो ग्रामंगम्यते ॥ Rama is caused to go &c.
भूयः कटं करोति ॥ The servant prepares a mat.	भूयेन भूयं वा कटं कारयति ॥ (He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	भूयः कटं कार्यते ॥ The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमासते ॥ Govind sits for one month.	गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥ (He) makes Govind sit &c.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥ Govind is made to sit &c.

(a) But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa,

e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food : ' बटुमोदनं भोजयते or बटुमोदनं भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i. e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधायाचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधायाचयति '(God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth'. गोपेऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हरयति ॥ '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

५४१ । हृकोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृकोरणौ यः कर्ता स णौ वा कर्मस्थान् । हरयति कारयति वा भृत्यं भृत्येन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवादिहृशो शास्त्रेपदे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवादयते दर्शयते देवं भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541. The agent of the verb in its non-causal form, in the case of hri "to lose" and kri "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal.

Primitive.

Causal.

As हरति भारं भृत्यः ॥

हारयति भारं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥

The servant takes the load.

He causes the servant to take the load.

करोति कटं भृत्यः ॥

कारयति कटं भृत्यः or भृत्येन ॥

The servant makes the mat.

He causes the servant to make the mat.

Vart :—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and हृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal : as.

Primitive.

Causal.

अभिवदति देवं भक्तः ॥

अभिवादयते देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥

The devotee bows down to the Deity. He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity.

पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् ॥

दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः ॥

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king.

५४२ । अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अधिपूर्वाण्यमिषामाधारः कर्म स्यात् । अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥

542. That which is the site of the verbs शि 'to lie down,' स्था 'to stand,' आस 'to sit,' when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kāraka or object.

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अभ्यास्ते वा वै कुण्डं हरिः ॥ “ Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuṇṭha ”.

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्संघातपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रम्ये तं प्रदानमिति सूत्रादिह मण्डूकप्लुत्याऽन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणमनुवर्त्य व्यवस्थितविभाषाश्रयणात्कचिन्न । पापेऽभिनिवेशः ॥

543. That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश् ‘to enter,’ is also called karma-kāraka.

As अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् ‘he resorts to the good path’. This is an optional rule, as the word “option” of sūtra I. 4. 44. S. 580 should be read into it, though between I. 4. 44 S. 580 and the present sūtra I. 4. 47 S. 543 two other sūtras intervene, in which the anuvritti of option is not read. This leaping over intermediate sūtras and exerting its influence on a remote sūtra is based on the maxim of “frog-leap.” The option however, will be a settled option—“vyavasthita vibhashā”.

Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः “resorting to sin.” कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः “resorting to good”. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्वसः । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसनेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति-अधिवसति आवसति वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥ अनुक्त्यर्थस्य न * ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उभयवर्तसोः कार्या ऽध्याप्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥

द्वितीयाऽऽप्रेक्षितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते * ॥

उभयतः कृष्णं गोपाः । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् । उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः । अधर्धि लोकम् । अधोऽधो लोकम् ॥

अभितः परितः समयानिकषाहाप्रतियोगेऽपि * ॥ अभितः कृष्णम् । परितः कृष्णम् । ग्रामं समया । निकषा लङ्गाम् । हा कृष्णाभक्तम् । तस्य शोच्यत इत्यर्थः । खुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ॥

544. That which is the site of the verb वस् ‘to dwell,’ when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and ān, is called karma-kāraka.

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति वैकुण्ठं हरिः ‘Hari dwells in Heaven’.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means “fasting,” or does not denote “lying in a locality”. As वने उपवसति “he fasts in the forest” Here the verb “upavasati” governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Vārtika :—The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधः, अध्याधि, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative; sometimes other cases also. As उभयतः कृष्णगोपाः ‘on both sides of Krishna are the gopas’ सर्वतः कृष्ण ‘on all sides of Krishna’; धिक् कृष्णामक्तम् ‘fie to non-devotee of Krishna’ उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः ‘just over the lokas is Hari, अध्याधि or अधोऽधो लोकम् ‘just below the loka’.

Vart :—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning ‘round,’ समया, निकषा both meaning ‘near’ and हा ‘woe be to,’ and प्रति ‘to,’ govern, the accusative case; as, अभितः or परितः कृष्णम् ‘round Krishna’ ग्रामं समया ‘near the village’ निकषा लङ्काम् “near the Lankā”. हा कृष्णामक्तम् ‘woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ‘to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind’.

५४५ । अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

आभ्यां यागे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा खां मां हरिः । अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम् ॥

545. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarā, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix.

Note :—The anuvritti of dvitīya is understood here and not that of tritīya. Both these words antara and antareṇa are Nipatas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antara means “between,” while antareṇa means “besides that,” “without,” “exception,” “with reference to” “regarding”.

As. अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखं ‘there can be no happiness without Hari’ अन्तरा खां मां हरिः ‘Hari is between thee and me’.

Why do we say ‘when joined with?’ Observe अन्तरा सक्षयिणां न पादलिपुत्रं सुप्तस्य प्राकारः ॥

—————:O:—————

KARMAPRAVACHANIYAS.

५४६ । कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । १ । ४ । ८३ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

546. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya.

Note :—These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati*. As सुस्तुतं भवता "well praised by you." छु सिक्ते भवता "you have sprinkled well." Here छु is a *karma-pravachanīya* and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an *upasarga*, for had it been so, it would have changed the स् into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270). The word *karma-pravachanīya* is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, दि, वि, पु, &c, which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word *karmapravachanīya* is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

५४७। अनुलक्षणे । १।४। ८४ ॥

अक्षये द्योत्यनुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञापवादः ॥

547. The word *anu* when it denotes a sign, is called *karma-pravachanīya*.

The word *lakshana* means a sign; an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of,' or 'being indicated by'

This debars the designation of *gati* and *upasarga* with regard to *anu* meaning *lakshana*.

५४८। कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । २।३। ८५ ॥

एतेन शोभे द्वितीया स्यात् । अपमनु प्रावर्षत् । हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षितं धर्मयमित्यर्थः । पराधिहेताविति तृतीयाऽनेन बाध्यते । लक्षणस्थं भूतव्यतिना सिद्धे पुनः संज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात् ॥

548. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a *karmapravachanīya* (I. 4. 83).

As अपमनुप्रावर्षत् 'it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers'. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachanīya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

The third case affix ordained by the *subsequent* sūtra II. 3. 23. S. 568 even is debarred by the present sūtra, so far as अनु is concerned. This is because, though अनु would have been a *karmapravachanīya* by I. 4. 90 S. 552 it has been read again in I. 4. 84 S. 547.

Note :—Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been *karma pravachanīya* even by force of sūtra 552 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachanīyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8 S. 548), even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23. S. 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 i. e. the

present sūtra, by the maxim of परस्व I. 4. 2. S. 175 and would have caused a karma pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of hetu.

So also शाकलस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षन्=शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशाम्य देवः प्रावर्षन् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya". The force of a karmapravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशाम्य understood.

५४९ । तृतीयार्थे । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् ऋतेऽनुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । नदीमन्ववसिता सेना । नद्या सह संबन्धेत्यर्थः ॥ बिम्बवन्धनेक्तः ॥

549. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya, when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with.' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river".

The word अवसिता is derived from बिम्ब meaning 'to bind', with the past participial affix क्त ॥

५५० । हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीने ऋतेऽनुः प्रावत् । अनु हरिं सुराः । ह्रीनाइत्यर्थः ॥

550. The word अनु is karma pravachaniya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

As अनुहरिंसुराः 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note :—The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकदायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana'.

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, च ऋते उपेऽव्ययं प्राक्संज्ञं स्यात् । अधिके सप्तमी वक्ष्यते । हीने, उप हरिं सुराः ॥

551. The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as *हरिं दुराः* "The gods are inferior to Hari." In this sense *इष* governs the accusative case.

When *इष* means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior; examples of this will be given hereafter.

५५२ । लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यन्तः । १ । ४ । ६० ॥

एवर्षेषु विषयभूतेषु मत्यावय उक्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । लक्षणे, वृक्षं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा विद्योतते विद्यु-
त् । इत्थंभूताख्यानं, भेक्ता विष्णुं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । भागं, लक्ष्मीहरिं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । हरभोग इत्यर्थः ।
वीप्सायां, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा सिञ्चति । अन्नोपसर्गत्वभावाद् अन्त्यम् । एषु किम् । परिदिञ्चति ॥

552. The words *prati*, *pari* and *anu* are *karma pravachaniya* when used in the sense of ⁽¹⁾ 'sign' 'in the direction of' ⁽²⁾ 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') ⁽³⁾ division 'share of' and ⁽⁴⁾ 'pervasion' severally.

As ⁽¹⁾ वृक्षं प्रति—*परि* or *अनु* विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree'. ⁽²⁾ भक्तो विष्णुम् प्रति—*परि*-*अनु* "devotee towards Vishnu" ⁽³⁾ हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मीं 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari'. So with *परि* and *अनु* ॥ ⁽⁴⁾ वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति "he sprinkles one tree after another". So with *परि* and *अनु* ॥ Here these words, not being *upasargas*, do not change the *स* of *सिञ्चति* to *ष*, as required by VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270. Why in these senses only? Observe *परिदिञ्चति* ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

भागवर्जं लक्षणादावभिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । हरिमभि वर्तते । भक्तो हरिमभि । देवदेवमभिसिञ्चति ।
अभागे किम् । यदन्न मममभिस्यात्सीयताम् ॥

553. The word *abhi* is *karma-pravachaniya*, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'.

The illustrations given under the last *sūtra mutus mutandi* apply here also, with the exception of those given under head ३ ॥ As *हरिमभि वर्तते*, *भक्तो हरिमभि*; *देव देवमभि सिञ्चति* ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe *यदन्नमममभि स्यात् तद् सीयताम्* 'give that which falls here to my share' Here *abhi* is an *upasarga*, and therefore *स* of *स्य* is changed into *ष* by S. 2270.

५५४ । अधिपरी अनर्थकौ । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

उक्तसंतौ स्तः । कुतोऽध्यागच्छति । कुतः पर्यागच्छति । गतिसंज्ञाभाषाण्यतिर्गताविति निघातो न ॥

554. The words अधि and परि are karma-pravachanīya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति "whence has he come"? or कुतः पर्यागच्छति ॥ These words, though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachanīya, so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati, and thus produce results peculiar to those words. (See VIII. 1. 70. S. 3977) for by that rule they would produce accentlessness of the subsequent words. This is prevented.

५५५ । सुः पूजायाम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

सुसिक्तम् ॥ सुस्तुतम् । अनुपसर्गत्वात् षः । पूजायां किम् । सुषिक्तं किं तवाच । शेषोऽयम् ॥

555. The word सु is karma-pravachanīya in the sense of "respect," (when it means 'excellently')

As सुसिक्तं भवता, "excellently sprinkled by your honor." सु स्तुतं भवता "Well praised by your honor." By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुषिक्तं किं तवाच "has this your place been well sprinkled to-day" This is meant here as an irony.

५५६ । अतिरतिक्रमणे च । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अतिक्रमणे पूजायां चातिः कमप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् । अतिदेवान् कृष्णः ॥

556. The word अति, in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachanīya.

As अतिदेवान्कृष्णः "Krishṇa is above all gods".

Note :—The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is 'necessary' for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last.

५५७ । अपिः पदार्थसंभावनाऽन्वयसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

एषु द्योत्येष्वपि सन्तः स्यात् । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । अनुपसर्गत्वात् षः । संभावनायां लिङ् । तस्या एव विषयभूते भवने कर्तृबौद्धिकप्रयुक्तं बौद्धिक्यं द्योत्यन्नापि शब्दः स्यादित्यनेन संबध्यते । सर्पिष इति षष्ठी तु अपिशब्दबलेन गम्यमानस्य विन्शोरवयवावयविभावसंबन्धे । इयमेव ह्यपिशब्दस्य पदार्थद्योतकता नाम । द्वितीया तु नेह प्रवर्तते सर्पिषो विन्धुना योगो न त्वपिनेत्युक्तत्वात् ॥ अपि स्तुत्यादिष्वुम् ॥ संभावनं शक्त्युत्कर्षमाविष्कर्तुमशुक्तिः ॥ अपि स्तुहि । अन्वयसर्गः कामचारास्तुता ॥ धिग्देवत्तमपि स्तुत्याद्वृषलम् । गर्हा ॥ अपि सिञ्च्य अपि स्तुहि सप्रत्यये ॥

557. The word अपि is a karma-pravachanīya, when it implies, "the sense of word understood", ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

In the above senses of "somewhat," "even" "if you like", "even", and "and", the word अपि gets the designation of Karma-pravachanīya.

As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् "there may be a drop of ghee." Here since अपि is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 87. S. 2472).

There is Potential Mood with the force of संभावना in the above example. When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word अपि denoting 'scarcity' is related with the verb स्यात्. The word सर्पिषः in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु "a drop" which is understood here is related to सर्पिः, as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सर्पिषोऽपि बिन्दुः स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a "drop" to the whole "Ghee." This is the only way in which the word अपि can denote an *object* (padārtha): namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case-affix ordained by II. 3. 8. S. 548, does not apply here, and so the word सर्पिः is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सर्पिः is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दुः understood, and not with the Karma-pravachanīya अपि.

Secondly, when अपि has the force of sambhāvana; as अपि स्तुयाद् बिष्णुम् ॥ Vishnu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishnu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterable, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word अपि expresses "possibility" itself; while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word अपि being a Karma-pravachanīya, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65. S. 2270.

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् 'there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' मधुनोऽपि स्वात् ॥ Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mâtâ 'a measure' &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिचत् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment'. अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu". In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood. अव्यसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिच 'you may sprinkle, if you like.' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like.' The word गर्ह means 'censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग् देवदत्तमपि स्तुयाद् दुष्यन् ॥ The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिच 'praise as well as sprinkle,'.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

इह द्वितीया स्वात् । मासं कल्षाणी । मासमधीते । मासं शुद्धधानाः । क्रोशं कुदिला नदी । क्रोशमधीते । क्रोशं गिरिः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे किञ्च । मासस्य द्विधीते । क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्यतः ॥

558. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्षाणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं शुद्धधानाः । क्रोशं कुदिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं गिरिः 'the hill through one full kos'.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity' ? Observe मासस्य द्विधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्यतः ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kâraka.

—:0:—

KARTÂ

OR

THE AGENT KÂRAKA.

५५९ । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

क्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः कर्ता स्यात् ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks.' स्यात्की पचति 'the pot cooks.'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KĀRAKA.

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाविधौ प्रकृत्योपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । तत्प्रयुक्तं किम् । गङ्गायां घोषः ॥

560. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kāraka.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kārakās, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of the Ganges." रूपे गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i. e. on the sides of the well."

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली ॥

प्रकृत्याविध्य सप्तसंख्यानम् * ॥ प्रकृत्या चारुः । प्रायेण याज्ञिकः । गार्ग्येण गार्ग्यः । समेनैति । विषमेत्येति । द्वित्राणेन धार्यं क्रीणाति । सुखेन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561. In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed.

As रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली 'Bāli was killed by Rāma by an arrow.'

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्वित्राण, पंचक and साहस as प्रकृत्याचारुः प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण एति, द्वित्राणेन धार्यम्, क्रीणाति सुखेन दुःखेन वा याती आदि. &c.

५६२ । द्विवःकर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

विषः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात्प्राक्करणसंज्ञम् । अक्षेरक्षान्वा वीक्ष्यति ॥

562. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb द्विव 'to play' is called karma (object), as well as karana, (instrument)

Note.—The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this.

As अक्षान् वीक्ष्यति or अक्षै वीक्ष्यति 'he plays the dice or with the dice.'

५६३ । अपवर्गे तृतीया । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अपवर्गः फलप्राप्तिस्तस्यां शीत्यायां कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया स्यात् । अह्ना कोशेन वाऽह्नाकोऽधीतः । अपवर्गे किम् । मासमधीतो नायातः ॥

563. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

Thus; अह्ना कोशेनाहुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

Why is the word अपवर्ग read in the sūtra? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणाहुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनायातः 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvāka.'

५६४ । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

सहार्थेन युक्ते अप्रधाने तृतीया स्यात् । पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता । एवं सार्कसार्धसंयोगेऽपि । विनापि सयोगं तर्तीया । वृद्धोऽष्टमेत्यादिनिर्वेशात् ॥

564. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

As पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as सार्क, सार्ध, समं &c; as, पुत्रेण सार्धे 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 S. 93; वृद्धो युना &c.

Note.—Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्यगौः

५६५ । येनाङ्गविकारः । २ । ३ । २० ॥

येनाङ्गेन विक्रमेनाङ्गो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया स्यात् । अङ्गेना कायः । अक्षिसंवाधिकाया-
स्वाविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः । अङ्गविकारः किम् । अक्षि कायमस्य ॥

565. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्षया काणः 'blind of one eye' पाद्वन् खंजः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye is blind."

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

कांश्चित्प्रकारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जडामिस्तापसः । जडाज्ञाप्यतापसत्वविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥

566. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जडामिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'

Note.—अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाशिक्षात्रः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhūta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं ।

५६७ । संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्या कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पित्रा पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567. After the verb sam-jñā, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्याविसाधारणं निर्व्यापारसाधारणं च हेतुत्वम् । कारणत्वं तु क्रिया-मात्रविषयव्यपारनियतं च । दण्डेन घटः । पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः । फलमपीह हेतुः । अध्ययेन वसति । गम्यमानाणि क्रिया कारकाविभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । अल श्रमेण । श्रमेण साध्यं वास्तीत्यर्थः । इह साधनक्रियां प्रति श्रमः कारणम् । शतेन शतेन वस्तुन्याययति पयः । इतिन परिच्छिद्यत्यर्थः ॥ वाशिष्ठव्यवहारं वाणः प्रयोगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया * ॥ वास्या संयच्छते काशुकः । धर्मे तु भार्यायै संयच्छति ॥

568. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया वशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55 S. 2575.) which is "agent." Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण): or action (क्रिया), but where the *action* is not primarily taken into consideration.

The difference between *hetu* and *Karana* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*; while *karana* is confined to *action* only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily. This is expressed by the following verse:—

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।
अनाश्रिते तु व्यापारे निमित्तं हेतुरिष्यते ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a *hetu*, we have दण्डेन घटः = दण्डहेतुर्घटः "A pot made by the stick." Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve. But it is not absolutely necessary. The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well. So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of *hetu*. As an example of *guna-hetu*, we have पुण्येन गौरवर्णः "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners." Here "*while*" is an attribute or quality, the *hetu* of which is *punya*, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also. In short, *hetu* is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality; and which is not immediately connected with any *verb*. The *karana* is always so connected with a verb, and gives rise only to *action*, and not to a substance or quality.

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue." Here *punya* means the highest merit (*apūrva*) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c. So it is not a *karana*, for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing.

The FRUIT ALSO is *hetu* in the sense of this sūtra. As अश्वत्थेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction."

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to *kāraka*-inflection. As अलं श्रमण "no necessity of exertion." Here *Srameṇa* is in Instrumental *kāraka*, without any *verb* expressed, the understood verb being साध्यं नास्ति ॥ Here *श्रम* or exertion is *karana* or instrument to the verb साधन "accomplishment" understood. The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert." So also दातेन दातेन वत्सान् पाययति "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्यते संवच्छते काशुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her." वच्छ replaces दा by VII. 3. 78. S. 2440 But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्याये संवच्छति "He gives to his wife." See I. 3. 55 S. 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas.

In the above vārtika the words दातुः प्रयोगे "when the verb दा is employed" are redundant. Because, by I. 3. 55 S. 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances.

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THE DATIVE KĀRAKA.

५६९। कर्मणा यममिषेति सः संप्रदानम् । १।४।३२॥

दानस्य कर्मणा यममिषेति सः संप्रदानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

569. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Note:—Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb दा to give; and this we infer from the word संप्रदान which has the root दा in it

Note:—As दाश्यादाय गां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher." दायवकाशः भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

५७०। चतुर्थी संप्रदाने । २।३।१३॥

विप्राय गां ददाति । यममिषेति दत्तेषु । दानीषी विप्रः ॥

क्रियया यममिषेति सोऽयिसंप्रदानम् * ॥ पश्येते ॥

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा * ॥ पशुना दातुं यजते । पशुं दत्त्वा ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

570. In denoting the sampradāna-kāra (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

As विप्राय गां वदति 'He gives a cow to the learned.' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also See II. 3. 1 S. 536. Therefore we have the form हानीयानिमः also, where the affix हनीयर् is used with the force of sampradāna.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As पश्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband.'

Vart:—After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karana) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः सम्प्रदानं स्यात् । हरये रोचते भक्तिः । वन्द्य-
कर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचिः । हरिनिष्ठप्रीतेर्भक्तिः कवी । प्रीयमाणः किम् देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः
पथि ॥

571. In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच् 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As हृदये रोचते भक्तिः "devotion pleases Hari." Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. "Devadatta likes sweet-meat in the way." The word 'pathi' is here in the 7th case.

५७२ ॥ श्लाघहुङ्क्स्याशपां झप्स्यमानः । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे बोधयितुमिष्टः सम्प्रदानं स्यात् । गोपी स्मराङ्कुष्याय श्लाघते ह्वते तिष्ठते शपते वा ।
झप्स्यमानः किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि ॥

572. In the case of verbs ślāgh 'to praise,' hnu 'to take away,' sthâ 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradāna.

The word झप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As गोपीस्मरात् कुष्याय श्लाघत "Gopi praises Krishna," i. e. while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the co wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it) कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna." कृष्णाय वपते 'she reviles Krishna.'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय भ्लाषति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

५७३ । धारेरुत्तमर्णः । १ । ४ । ३५ ॥

धारयते: प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो उत्तमसंज्ञः स्यात् । भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः । उत्तमर्णः किम् । देव-
दत्ताय दातुं धारयति पथि ॥

573. . In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and ऋण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण 'debtor.' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः "Hari owes salvation to His devotee."

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय दातुं धारयति पथि 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village.' Here village is in the Locative case.

५७४ । स्पृहेरीप्सितः । १ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्पृहयते: प्रयोगे इष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात् । पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति । इप्सितः किम् पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति ।
इप्सितमाने इयं संज्ञा । प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परस्वास्कर्तृसंज्ञा । पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

574. In the case of the verb sprîh 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradâna.

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the Churâdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers.'

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest.' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradâna being confined to the object desired only.

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired. But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sūtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

५७५ । कृधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रति कोपः । १ । ४ । ३७ ॥

कृधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रति कोपः स उत्तमसंज्ञः स्यात् । हवि कुम्भति । ब्रूयति । ईर्ष्यति आसू-
यति । यं प्रति कोपः किम् । भार्यामीर्ष्यति मैनामन्योऽद्वाक्षीरिति । कोपार्णवः । ब्राह्मोऽपकारः । ईर्ष्याऽक्षमा ।

असूया गुणेषु दोषाविष्करणम् । ब्रूहादयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव गृह्यन्ते । अतो विशेषणं सामान्येन यं प्रति कोप इति ॥

575. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *druh* 'to injure,' *irshya* 'to envy,' *asūyâ* 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

As हृद्ये क्रुध्यति, वृह्यति, ईर्ष्येति or असूयति "he is angry upon, (*i. e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari." Here Hari is in the Dative case.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *irshya* jealousy; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भावोनीर्ष्येति 'he is jealous of his wife,' *i. e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word '*bhāryā*' is in the accusative case. The words वृष &c., here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger.' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "यं प्रति कोपः" in the *sūtra*.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोऽपसृष्टयोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

कोपसर्गयोरनयोऽपि प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । क्रूरमभिक्रुध्यति अभिवृह्यति ॥

576. But in the case of the verbs '*krudh*' and '*druh*,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma kāraka* or object.

क्रूरमभिक्रुध्यति अभिवृह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As संवदन्ताय क्रुध्यति.

Note :—This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word *upasrishta* means having an *upasarga* or preposition

५७७ । राधीक्षयोर्दस्य विप्रश्नः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः कारकं संप्रश्नं स्यात् । अक्षीयो विविधाः प्रश्नाः क्रियन्ते । कृष्णाय दापयति ईक्षते वा । पृष्टे गर्गः शुभाशुभं पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थः

577. In the case of the verbs *rādh*, 'to propitiate,' and *īksh* 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions ; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्याति-ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishna' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishna, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishna.

Note :—Another explanation of this sutra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As क्षिप्याय राधोति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

५७८ । प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य श्रुयोत्तर्योरे पूर्वस्य प्रवर्तनरूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता सम्प्रदानं स्यात् । विप्राय गां प्रतिश्रुणोति आश्रुणोति वा । विप्रेण मध्वं वशीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and āñ; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit : the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

As विप्राय गां प्रतिश्रुणोति—आश्रुणोति "he promises a cow to a learned man."

Note :—The compound verb प्रातश्चू and आश्रू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case.

५७९ । अनुप्रातिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणतिः कारकं पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतमुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् । होत्रेऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति । होता प्रथमं बोधति तमभ्वर्युः प्रोत्साहयतीत्यर्थः ॥

579. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रेऽनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri i. e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him.

Note :—The words अनुगर् and प्रतिगर् mean encouraging the invoker.

५८० । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ४४ ॥

नियतकाले श्रुत्या स्वीकरणं परिक्रयणं तस्मिन् साधकतमे कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । शतेन वाताय वा परिक्रीतः ॥ तादर्थ्यं चतुर्थी वाच्या * ॥ युक्तये हरिं भजति ॥ कल्पे संपद्यमानं च * ॥ भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते संपद्यते जायते इत्यादि ॥ उत्पात्तेन ज्ञापिते च * ॥ वाताय कपिला विशुत् ॥ हितयोगे च * ॥ ब्राह्मणाय हितम् ॥

580. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Sampradâna.

As वाताय परिक्रीतः or शतेन परिक्रीतः ॥

Note.—This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof'; as युक्तये हरिं भजति 'he worships Hari for the purpose of getting emancipation.'

Vart.—The verb कल्प and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते-संपद्यते-जायते &c, 'devotion tends to produce knowledge'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as, वाताय कपिला विशुत् ॥ 'The reddish lightening portends wind.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as ब्राह्मणाय हितं 'good for the Brahmanas.'

५८१ । क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः । २ । ३ । १४ ॥

क्रियार्था क्रिया उपपद् यस्य तस्य स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य तुमुनः कर्मणि चतुर्थी स्यात् । फलेभ्यो याति । कलास्याहर्तुं यातीत्यर्थः । नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय । नृसिंहमनुकूलयितुमित्यर्थः । एवं स्वयंभुवे नमस्कृत्यसाहावपि ॥

581. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there with another verb, denoting action performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10 S. 3175)

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,] is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

Thus फलैभ्यो याति = फलान्याहर्तुं याति 'he goes for fruits i. e. to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have नमस्कृत्य नृसिंहाय "we salute Man—Lion to propitiate Him." So also in स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्य &c.

५८२ । तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाववचनाच्चति सूत्रेण यो विहितस्तदन्ताद्यतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । यष्टुं यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11. S. 3180) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं याति ॥

Note :—The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलं वषड्योगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभिर्व्योगे चतुर्थी स्यात् । इत्ये नमः ॥ * उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी ॥ नमस्करोति देवान् । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । अग्नये स्वाहा । पितृभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्याप्त्यर्थमहणम् । तेन देव्यभ्यो शिरालं प्रभुः समर्थः शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभवादियोगे षड्यपि साधुः । तस्मै प्रभवति स एषां प्रामणीरिति निर्देशात् । तेन प्रभुर्बुभुक्षुवनत्रयस्येति सिद्धम् । वषडिन्द्राय । चकारः पुनर्विधानर्थः । तेनाशीविषज्ञायां परमपि चतुर्थी आशिर्वातं षष्ठीं बाधित्वा चतुर्थ्येव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

583. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with words namaḥ 'salutation,' svastī 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

As इत्ये नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान्, the word देवान् is in the Accusative case in accordance with the following Paribhâshâ.

Paribhâshâ—"A case-termination, which if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, possesses greater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same base, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring the

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामावायाति । धावतोऽश्वात्पतति । कारकं किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ शुश्रूषाविरामप्रमाद-
र्यानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पापाङ्गुलुप्सते विरमति धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति ॥

587. When the Apâdâna-kâraka is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

As, ग्रामावायाति 'he comes from the village'; धावताऽश्वात्पतति 'he falls off a galloping horse.'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sūtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls. (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

Vârtika :—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus पापाङ्गुलुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin,' धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति, 'he deviates from the path of Virtue.'

५८८ । भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां त्राणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपादानं स्यात् । चोराद् बिभेति । चोरात् त्रायते । भयहेतुः किम् । अरण्ये बिभेति त्रायते वा ॥

588. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चोराद् बिभेति "he is afraid of the thief," चोरात् त्रायते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief."

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते "he fears or protects in the forest."

५८९ । पराजेरसोढः । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजेः प्रयोगेऽसहाय्योऽपादानं स्यात् । अध्ययनात्पराजयते । ग्लायतीत्यर्थः । असोढः किम् । बाहून्पराजयते । अभिभवतीत्यर्थः ॥

589. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna.

When the verb जि "to conquer," with the preposition parâ has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable,' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते "he finds study unbearable."

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe राज्ञ् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies."

५६० । वारणार्थानामीप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविधातो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति । ईप्सितैः किम् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590. In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apâdâna.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley."

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field."

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधाने सति यत्कर्तृकस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति सत्पादानं स्यात् । मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौरात्र विदुक्षते । इच्छतिमरणं किम् । भर्तृनेच्छायां सत्यां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् ॥ देवदत्ताद् यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

591. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna.

Thus मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother," so that the mother may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न विदुक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves." Here the term chaurân is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen. As देवदत्ताद्यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यास्वीकारे वक्ता प्राक्कृतः स्यात् । उपाध्यायावधीते । उपयोगे किम् । नटस्य गाथां शृणोति ॥

592. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

Note:—The word व्याख्यातृ means "teacher," and उपश्रेण means acquiring knowledge in the regular way,

Thus उपश्यात्वादधीते "he learns from the preceptor."

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नदस्य गायं शृणोति 'he hears the song of the player,'

५९३ । जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः । १ । ४ । ३० ॥

आवमानंस्व हेतुरभावात् स्वात् । ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ॥

593. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan "to be born," is called Apādāna.

As ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out of Brahma.'

Note:—That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case.

५९४ । भुवः प्रभवः । १ । ४ । ३१ ॥

नवन् भूः । भुक्तुः प्रभवस्तथा । हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति । तच्च प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः ॥

ल्यप्तेषु कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादान्प्रेक्षते । भासनात्प्रेक्षते । प्रासादमारुह्य भासने अवशिष्टं प्रेक्षन् इत्यर्थः श्वशुराजिज्ञेति । श्वशुरं वीक्ष्येत्यर्थः ।

गम्बमासाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्त्यानां निमित्तम् । कस्मात्त्वं नद्याः ॥

यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तच्च पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्युक्ताध्वनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ कालासप्तमी च वक्तव्या * ॥ वनादुपासो योजनं योजने वा । कार्तिक्या आप्रहायणी मासे ॥

594. The source of the agent of the verb bhū, "to become," is called Apādāna.

The phrase 'of the agent' (kartuh,) is understood here. The word प्रभव means "the source or that from which anything arises." As हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति "the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas."

The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vari:—And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, भासने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = भासनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from the seat.' So also श्वशुराज् जिज्ञेति = श्वशुरं वीक्ष्य "He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law."

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kāraka inflection. As कलात् स्व नद्याः ॥

Note:—In questions, and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:— कुतो भवात् ? पाटलीपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra.'

Vart.:—That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case :—as, वनात् ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा “The village is one or two yojanas from the forest.”

Vart.:—After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As कार्तिक्या अग्रहायणी मासे ‘Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika.’ The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as मासे ॥

Vart.:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative ; as शरीरूमत् सङ्काशं चर्यादि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ॥

५९५ । अन्यारादितरैर्दिकशब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्तं । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थग्रहणम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्यम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतो वा कृष्णात् । आराद्वनात् । कृते कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन संप्रति देशकालवृत्तिना योगेऽपि भवति । चैत्रात्पूर्वः काल्युनः । अवयववाच्ययोगे तु न । तस्य परमाश्लेषितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्व कायस्थ । अञ्चूत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दत्वेऽपि अश्लेषितस्येति षष्ठी बाधितं पृथक्ग्रहणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् । आक्, दक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, दक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अपाशने पञ्चमीति सूत्रं कार्तिक्याः प्रभृतीति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रभृत्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवात्प्रभृति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरिः । अपपरिवहिरिति समासविधानाज्ज्ञापकाद्बहिर्योगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामाद्बहिः ॥

595. When a noun is joined with words meaning ‘other than’ or with ârât ‘near or remote’ or itara ‘different from’ or pite ‘without,’ or words indicative of the ‘directions’ (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having aũchu ‘to bend’ as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

The word अन्य in the sũtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i. e. all words meaning ‘other than.’ इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sũtra. Its use in the sũtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच “low,” then the sũtra does not apply.

As अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतो, कृष्णात् “different from Krishna,” आराद् वनात् “remote from or near to the forest”. (The word ârât meaning ‘near or remote’ would have taken the sixth case-affix by sũtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case-affix) कृते कृष्णात् ‘excepting Krishna.’ पूर्वो ग्रामात् ‘east of the village’ The word दिक् ‘direction’ includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as चैत्रात्

पूर्वः काश्यपः, "The month Phalguṇa is anterior to Chaitra." Here the direction denoting word पूर्वः governs the Ablative. But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative.' for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sūtra तस्य पर आग्रजितम् VIII. 1. 2. S. 83. Here परे does it not govern the ablative, and the sūtra is not तस्मात् परं &c. Thus पूर्व काश्यपः, here पूर्व does not govern the ablative.

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb अञ्च् are also विकृतव्यङ्ग्यः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the sūtra 609 does not come after them. उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रामात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer.' With अञ्चि we have प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आच् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with ञ्चि we have दक्षिणाञ्चि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

In commenting on the sūtra II. 3. 28. S. 587 Patanjali gives the example कर्तिक्याः प्रभृति, which shows that प्रभृति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case. Here प्रभृति means आरभ्यः ॥ Thus भवात् प्रभृति आरभ्यो वा ह्यस्यो हरिः "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards."

The word बहिस् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II. 1. 12 S. 666 which says "The words अप, परि बहिस् and indeclinables ending in अञ्चु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case." This rule of samāsa implies that बहिस् governs fifth case : as ग्रामाद् बहिस् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र ॥ Therefore we have करस्य करभोबहिः and not करान् ॥

—————:O:—————

The three particles अप, परि and आङ् govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachaniya. The next two sūtras describe when they are Karmapravachaniya.

५९६ । अपपरी वर्जने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एता वर्जने कर्मप्रवचनीयौ स्तः ॥

596. The words *apa* and *pari* are *karma-pravachaniya*, when meaning 'exclusion.'

Note:—The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपविगतेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः "it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta." So also परि विगतेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः ॥ In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3 10). When not having these senses, they are not *karma pravachaniya*. As ओदन् परिविदधानि ॥ "He waters the rice

thoroughly." Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स् into ष ॥

५९७ । आह् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आह् मर्यादायामुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनमहणादभिविधावापि ॥

597. The word āh "as far as", is karma-prava-
chanīya when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as
far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here
meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding)
Pātaliputra" आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra,"
आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः ॥ आसांकादयात्, आ मयुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal
prefix, it does not get this name.

The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit
inclusive (सह तेन) ॥ The construction of the sūtra would have been better
if it had been the same as II. 1. 13 S. 667 आह् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । १० ॥

एतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरेः परिहरेः संसारः । परिष्व वर्जने । लक्षणाशौ तु
हरिपरि । आहुक्तेः संसारः । आसकलाद्ब्रह्म ॥

598. The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed
when a word is governed by the karmapravachanīya apa, ān
or pari.

अप or परि हरेः संसारः "The samsāra is outside of Hari" Here the force
is that of exclusion.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read
along with अप; therefore, not here वृक्ष परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90 S. 552), or
हरि परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c. mentioned in I. 4. 90 S. 552.

So also आहुक्तेः संसारः = मुक्ति मर्यादीकृत्य "the samsāra has its sway up to
mukti, but not with it or beyond it." आसकलाद् ब्रह्म "Brahma is in every
thing." Here आ has the force of inclusion, = सकलमभिव्याप्य ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोः प्रतिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599. The word prati is karma-pravachanīya when
used in the sense of representative ('representative of')
or exchange ('in exchange for.')

*Note:—*That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained. is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णास्पति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतिवच्छति माषात् ॥

600. The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the 'karmapravachanīya' प्रति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्रति "Pradyumna is the representative of Krishna." तिलेभ्यः प्रतिवच्छति माषात् "he exchanges māsās for the sesamum."

६०१ । अकर्तृयुगे पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यदयं हेतुभूतं ततः पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शतावृद्धः । अकर्तारि किम् । शतेन बन्धितः ॥

601. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

As शतावृद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषाशुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

शुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । जाड्याज्जाड्येन वा बद्धः । शुणे किम् । धनेन कुलम् । अस्त्रियां किम् । बुद्ध्या मुक्तः । विभाषेति योगविभाषाशुणे स्त्रियां च कश्चित् । धूमादग्निमान् । नास्ति षटोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

602. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

As जाड्यात् जाड्येन वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' Why do we say 'when the noun expresses an attribute'? Observe धनेन कुलम् ॥ Why do we say 'not being of the feminine gender'? Observe बुद्ध्या मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill.'

This sūtra may be divided into two distinct sūtras, e. g. विभाषा and शुणोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ Thus we get two rules:—

1. The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing, whether material or attributive; whether feminine or masculine. This rule is of limited scope.

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative. As धूमावप्रिमाद्, "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery." नास्ति घटः कालद्वयः "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived."

2. The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

६०३ । पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

एभिर्योगे तृतीया स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च । अन्यतरस्यां यद्वयं सप्तद्वयार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनुवर्तते । पृथग् रामेण रामात् रामे वा । एवं विना नाना ॥

603. When joined with the words prithak 'without,' vinâ 'without' and nânâ 'without' the third case affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

As रामाद्गामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Râma.'

Note :—This sūtra may be divided into two parts :—(1) पृथग् विना नानानि (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ By this arrangement we can read dvitīya into the aphorism

विना वातं विना वर्षं विश्वत्मपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्धोषाश्च केनेनौ पादितौ ह्नुनौ ॥

The word anyatrasyām in the sūtra is for the sake of "collecting"—i. e. it includes the dvitīya as well as panchamī-vibhaktis. In the Ashtādhyāyī, the arrangement of the sūtras are 1. अपादाने पञ्चमी, 2. अन्यारादितरत्न &c. 3. तत्सर्थं &c. 4. एनपा द्वितीया 5. पृथग् विना &c.

Now in case the third-case-affix is not employed, then the second case-affix alone would be employed, because dvitīya is used immediately in the preceding sūtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come. But fifth is necessary (not optional); and thus the simultaneous employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible. Hence we say that the word anyatarasyāma of the sūtra must mean "aggregation or collection" Thus by frog-leap we draw in the anuvṛtti of pañchamī from sūtra II. 3. 28, S 587 while we draw in dvitīya from the sūtra immediately preceding the present. नाना has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the Amarakosha हिंस्र नाना च वर्जने (avyaya varga verse 3) as in नाना नारी निष्कृता लोकयात्रा ॥

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only. Therefore not here द्विरण् देवदत्तस्य 'without Devadatta.'

६०४ । करणे च स्तोकात्पञ्चकृत्कतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३३ ॥

एभ्योऽङ्गव्यवचनेभ्यः करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यौ स्तः । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा युक्तः । इव्ये तु स्तोकेन विधेय इतः ॥

604. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kricchhâra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects (i. e. they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives).

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा युक्तः and अल्पाभ्युक्तः or अल्पेनयुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c.' But स्तोकेन विधेय इतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance.

६०५ । दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्याद्याल्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे विधिर्यम् । ग्रामस्य दूरं दूरात् दूरेण वा । भन्तिकम् भन्तिकात् भन्तिकेन वा । असत्त्ववचनस्येत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दूरः पन्थाः ॥

605. After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

As. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and भन्तिकात्, भन्तिकेन or भन्तिकं ग्रामस्य ॥

This rule applies only when these words have their original prâtipadika singification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvritti of "when they do not denote (or qualify) material objects" is understood here also. Therefore the proper case-affix is employed here as दूरः पन्थाः ॥

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THE GENITIVE.

६०६ । षष्ठी शेषे । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिभावाविसंबन्धः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी स्यात् । राज्ञः पुरुषः । कर्मादीनामपि संबन्धमात्रविवक्षायां षष्ठ्येव । सतां गतम् । सर्पिषो जानाते । मातुः स्मरति । एषो दक्षस्यापस्कुरुते । भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः । फलानां लूप्ताः ॥

606. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c.

different from that of a word related to a verb (kāraka), and from that of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika)

As, राज्ञः पुत्रः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kārakas like karma (Accusative) &c. is intended to be expressed. As सतां गतम् = सत्पुरुष सम्बन्धिगमनम् "the going of the good, i. e. the going relating to the good." So also सर्पिषा जानीते "He knows about ghee" i. e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c. Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्पिः संबन्धिं प्रवर्तते ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पिः संबन्धि ज्ञानं ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother." एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते (see 614). "Fuel does good to water i. e. purifies it. Or heats it." The word edhodaka is either a samāhāra compound of एधाश्च उदकश्च; or एधांसिच उदकश्च ॥ The word दक is an abbreviated form of उदक ॥

So also भजे शम्भोश्चरणयोः 'I worship the feet of Shambhu.' and फलानां हृन्तः "satisfied with fruits."

६०७ । षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ शोध्यषष्ठी स्यात् । भक्षस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607 The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word.

As, भक्षस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.' This ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case.

६०८ । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ शोध्ये तृतीया स्यात् षष्ठी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेता ॥

निमित्तपयायपयागे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् * ॥ कित्सितं वसति । केन निमित्तेन । कसे निमित्तायेत्यादि । एवं किं कारणं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि । प्रायग्रहणावसर्वनाम्नः प्रथमाद्विनीये म स्तः । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हेतुः सेव्यः । ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

608. After a sarvanāman (I. 1. 27 S. 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed, as well as the third.

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Vart:—When the words निमित्ते or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kārana and hetu. किं कारणं, को हेतुः, किं प्रयोजनं &c. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्राय, the First and the second-case-affixes do not come after non-sarvanama words. As, ज्ञानेन, निमित्तेन हरिः सख्यः or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c.

६०६ । षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । विकशब्देति पञ्चम्या भववाङ् । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् ॥

609. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28 S. 1978).

The affix अतस्तुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28. S. 1978.

It.debars the fifth case affix ordained by V. 3. 27 S. 1974.

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् वा 'to the south or north. fore most, in or above the village.'

६१० । एतपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एतन्नतेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । एतपेति योगविभागात्पञ्चम्यपि । दक्षिणेन ग्रामं ग्रामस्य वा । एतदुत्तरेण ॥

610. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35 S. 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

As. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhā, we get the sixth case-affix also.

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात्पञ्चमी च । दूरं निकटं ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611. When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dūra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth.

As ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकृतं, अन्तिकं, ग्रामाद्यो, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

६१२ । ज्ञोऽविद्यर्थस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

आनतेरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे बोद्धत्वेन विवाहिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

Note:—The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रन्तः प्रतिहतो वा ॥ Compare I. 3. 54.

But not so here हरेरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

६१३ । अधीगर्थद्वयेणां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषां कर्मणि बोधे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातुः स्मरणम् । सर्पिषो दयनम् । ईशानं वा ॥

613. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As मातुः स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother.' सर्पिषो दय नं ॥ ईशानं वा 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गान्धाणामीडे 'he can not rule his limbs.

Note:—But not so here मातुर्युजैः स्मरति because युज here is not the object. The word बोध is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरे स्मरति is also allowed.

६१४ । कृजः प्रतियक्षे । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृजः कर्मणि बोधे षष्ठी स्याद्दुग्धाधाने एषो दक्ष्योपस्कारणम् ॥

614. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

As एषोदक्ष्योपस्कारणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, S. 2552 स is inserted).

Note:—When प्रतियक्ष is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कष्टं करोति ॥

The word बोध is also understood here. So that we have also एषोदक्ष्योपस्कारणे ॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिर्विजितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अज्वरिसंतप्योरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वरः । चौरसंतापी वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंज्ञांश्च ज्वरादि-कमित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा " the disease afflicts the thief " चौरस्यामयति भामयः ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated " with the exception of ज्वरय or संतापय ॥'

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कुलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word षष्ठी is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजांत रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथतेः शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो नाथनम् । आशिषीति किम् । नाथवकनाथनम् । तत्संबन्धिनी थाञ्चेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe नाथवकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जासिनिप्रहणनाटकाथपिषां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेषां शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्योज्जासनम् । निप्रौ संहत्तौ विपर्यस्तौ व्यस्तौ वा । चौरस्य निप्रहणनम् प्राणहणनम् । निहननम् प्रहणनं वा । नट असस्वन्दने जुगतिः । चौरस्योन्मादनम् चौरस्य क्राथनम् । वृषलस्य पेयणम् । हिंसायाम् किम् । धानपिषणम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs *jāsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, jointly, severally or in any order, *nāt* to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्योज्जासनम्, निग्रहयानं, निहननं, ग्रहणनं, प्राणिग्रहणं, उतस्यति, क्राथयति, विनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root नद् belonging to the Churādi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi. हन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root कथ takes in the causative vridhhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭādi, and is called there a मित् verb; all मित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix शिच् (IV. 4. 92). Thus क्राथ is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानोपपणम् 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note:—The word शेष is also understood here as चौरस्योज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति, चौरं विहन्ति ॥

६१८ । व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

शेष कर्माणि षष्ठी स्यात् । द्यूत कथविक्रयव्यवहारं चानयोस्तुल्यार्थता । शतस्य व्यवहरणं पणनं वा समर्थयोः किम् । शलाकाव्यवहारः । गणनेत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य व्यवहरणं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix श्राप्? It takes श्राप् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here शलाका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं 'praising the Brāhmaṇa' The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शत पणनं 'he stakes a hundred'

६१९ । दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

द्यूतार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयरूपव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शतस्य दीव्यति । तदर्थस्य किम् । ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति । स्तौतीत्यर्थः ॥

619. The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

Note :—The *yoga vihbāga*, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the *anuvṛitti* of *div* runs, and not of others.

६२० । विभाषोपसर्गे । २ । ३ । ५९ ॥

पुर्वयोगापवादः । शतस्य शतं वा प्रतिदीव्यति ॥

620. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an *upa-sarga*.

As शतस्य शतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'

Note :—But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism ; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शालाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile'

६२१ । प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने । २ । ३ । ६१ ॥

देवतासंप्रदानेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोः प्रेष्यब्रुवोः कर्मणां हविर्विशेषस्य वाचकाच्छब्दात्पृष्ठी स्यात् । अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदसः प्रेष्य अनुब्रुहि वा ॥

621. The object of the verb *preshya* and *brūhi* (imperative singular of *Divadi* verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

As अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदसः प्रेष्य अनुब्रुहि वा 'send to fire as oblation the goat, the fat, and the marrow.'

Note :—But not here :—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदोऽनुब्रुहि. Because the verb is not *preshya* or *brūhi*. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य, Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

This rule does not apply when the word *प्रस्थित* 'set out' qualifies the word *हविः* as ; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send for Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c

६२२ । कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे । २ । ३ । ६४ ॥

कृत्वोर्थानां प्रयोगे कालवाचिन्यधिकरणे शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्वोऽहो भोजनम् । द्विरहो भोजनम् । शेषे किम् । द्विरहन्यध्ययनम् ॥

622. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (*adhikarana*) after a word denoting time

(kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of *kritvasuch* (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

As पञ्चकृत्वाऽहोभोजनम् 'eating five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरहोभोजनम् 'he eats twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe आहि शेते 'he sleeps in the day'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहानि भुङ्क्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यापात्र्यां भुङ्क्त 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is not meant as द्विरहो भुङ्क्ते.

Why is शेष understood here? Observe द्विरहस्यशयनम्

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

क्रियोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृतिः । जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः ॥ शुष्ककर्मणि वेध्यते * ॥ नेताऽश्वस्य सुप्तस्य सुप्तं वा । कृति किम् । तादृते मा भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कटम् ॥

623. 'The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a *kṛit* affix (III. 1. 93), the *anuvṛitti* of शेषे ceases.

As कृष्णस्य कृति. "the doing of Krishna."

जगतः कर्त्ताकृष्णः "Krishna is the creator of the world."

But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.' Where it is neither agent nor object.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as नेता अश्वस्य सुप्तस्य सुप्तं वा ।

Why do we say 'kṛit'? Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वकट. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

Note:—Why do we say कृत् ? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with *kṛit*, while in connection with a conjugated verb (सिक्) the sixth case is debarred by II. 3. 69. S. 627 ; Observe कृतपूर्वी कटः ।

Here the object कर्तृ is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita.

६२४ । उभयमासौ कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तीर्धस्मिन्कृति सच कर्मण्येव षष्ठी स्यात् । आश्चर्यो गवां रोहोऽगोपेन ॥
स्त्रीप्रत्ययोरकाकारयोर्नाचं नियमः ॥

भेदिका विभिस्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगतः ॥ शेषे विभावा * ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विविचा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा । कश्चिद्विशेषेण विभाषानिष्ठन्ति । शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा ॥

624. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

Note :—“ When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental. As आश्चर्यो गवां रोहोऽगोपालकेन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd.” (Keil horn).

आश्चर्यो गवांरोहोऽगोपेन ‘the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.’

Vart :—‘ When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sūtra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in भक or अ (III. 3. 111. and III. 3. 102. भेदिका विभिस्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगतः “The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra.” Here in भेदिका we have भक, and in विभिस्ता we have अ.

Vārtika :—There is option in the remaining affixes. According to some when affixes are feminine other than भक or अ as, विविचा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा ‘the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.’ Some hold the option of this vārtika as unrestricted by any such condition ; as शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा “the dissertation on words by the āchārya.” Here anusāsanaṁ is neuter, and not feminine.

६२५ । कस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य कस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधस्याऽपवादः । राज्ञां मनो बुद्धः पूजितो मी ॥

625. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

This sūtra debars sūtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

As राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञामनौ बुद्धौवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

क्कस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । इदमेवामासितं शयितं गतं सुक्तं वा ॥

626. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II. 3. 69. S. 627. As इदमेवामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेवां शयितं गतं सुक्तं वा this is their sleeping.'

६२७ । न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृणाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । लोकेषाः । कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा मूर्द्धि हरिः । उ॥ हरिं विदुः । अलं करि-
ण्युर्वा । उक् । वैद्यान् वातुको हरिः ॥ कमेरानिवेधः * ॥ लक्ष्म्याः कासुको हरिः । अव्ययम् । जगत् सृष्ट्वा ।
सुखं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना हता वैद्याः । वैद्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः । खलर्थाः । ईषत्करः प्रपञ्चो हरिणा ।
तृप्तिनि प्रस्थाहारः शत्रुशान्त्वविविति तुषष्ठादाख्यातुनो नकारात् । शानन् । सोमं पवमानः । शानश्च । भा-
ष्यानं मण्डयमानः । शान् । वेदमधीयन् । तृन् । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा* ॥ घुरस्य घुरं वा द्विषन् ॥ सर्वोऽ-
र्थं कारकषष्ठ्याः प्रतिषेधः ॥ षष्ठे षष्ठी तु स्थोद्व । व्याघ्रणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

627. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक्, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क् and क्तवत्, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + उक् = लोक्.

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in श्, शान् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100), कान् (III. 2. 106 S. 3094) कृष्ट (III. 2. 107

S. 3095) कि- and किन् (III. 2. 172 S. 3151). Thus कुर्वन् or -कुर्वणो वा सृष्टि हरिः ॥ ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेषानः or पेषिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, रविर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168 S. 3148, as, हरिं विदधुः "des-irons of seeing Hari." The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुन् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term ; as, कस्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक् is ordained by (III. 2. 154 : S. 3134 as दैत्यान् पातुको हरिः ॥

Vart :—But there is no prohibition in the case of the word कातुक् in secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as लक्ष्म्याः कातुको हरिः ।

4. Indeclinables formed by कृन् affixes, as, जगत् सूद्धा सुखं कर्तुम् ॥

Vart :—This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclinables formed by तोष्टुन् (III. 4. 16 S. 3443) and कष्टुन् (III. 4. 17 S. 3444,) as पुरा सूर्यस्योर्वेतोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विष्णोर्विराजिन् (I. 1. 40.)

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क्त and क्तवत्तु ; as विष्णुना क्ता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् क्तवान् विष्णुः ॥

6. The words formed by खलर्थे affixes (III. 3. 126. S. 3305), as, ईषत्करो मयञ्चो हरिणा, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता.

7. The कृन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the कृ of कृन् (III. 2. 124. S. 3100) and the final न of नन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128 S. 3108) As सोमं पचमानः ॥ चानश्च (III. 2. 129 S. 3109) आत्मानं मण्डयमानः ॥ वाह् (III. 2. 130 S. 3110), अधीयन् and कृन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115), कर्ता लोकान् ॥

Vart :—Optionally so, when the root क्षिप् takes the affix कृ, as, क्षुरं or क्षुरस्य क्षिपन् ॥ The rule of this sūtra is a prohibition of kāraka Shashṭhi and not of Shesha Shashṭhi. That sixth-case affix will be employed. As ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

६२८ । अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्णययोः । २ । ३ । ६० ॥

भविष्यत्येकस्य भविष्यदाधमर्णयार्थेनश्च योगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । ततः पालकोऽवतरासी । व्रजं गामी । शतं शयी ॥

628. The sixth case affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity' and 'indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as पडुल, बुद्ध् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170. S. 3171, S. 3311), denotes both. Thus सतः पालकोऽवतरासी "He takes birth to protect the good." ओदनं भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, व्रजं गामी 'he has to go to Braja.' शतं शयी 'he owes hundred.'

६२६ । कृत्यानां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७१ ॥

बटी वा स्यात् । मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः । कर्तरीति किम् । गेयो मानवकः सामान् । भव्यगेयेति कर्तरि यद्विधानादनभिहितं कर्म । भव योर्गो विभज्यते ॥

629. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, S. 623 primary nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः.

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवकः सामान् ॥

Here by III. 4. 68 S. 2894, the kṛitya word गेयः can denote the agent also, and is not necessarily confined to the object, like other kṛitya formed words (III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as गेयानि मानवकेन सामानि ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus क्रष्टव्या मामं शाखा देवश्चेन, नेतव्या ब्रजं गावः कुण्डेन.

According to Patanjali the present sūtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhāga. As.

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

उभयप्राद्विवृति नति चातुर्वर्तते । तेन नेतव्या ब्रजं गावः कुण्डेन । सतः

629 A. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kṛitya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object.

Here the words उभयप्राद्वौ of II. 3. 66 S. 624 and न of II. 3. 69 S. 627 must be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेतव्या ब्रजं गावः कुण्डेन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word ब्रजं ॥

६२९ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

उक्तार्थः ॥

629 B. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the *kṛitya* affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case-affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent.

As गेयः माणवकः साम्राट् ॥

Patanjali :—Why have we used the word “kartari” in the sūtra? So that the affix may not come in the object. No, this cannot be the reason: for the *kṛitya*-affixes are employed in denoting bhāva Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never kartā (agent). (See. III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Thus being governed by the *kṛitya*, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case-affix. To this Kātyāyana gives the following answer :—

Vārtika :—The word “Kartari” is used in the sūtra, because the *kṛitya* words of the sūtra III. 4. 68 S. 2894 (*as*, भव्य, गेय &c.) express agent also (are used in Active construction); and their object being not expressly taught, those *kṛitya* words do not govern any object directly. As गेयो माणवकः साम्राट् ।

The object of the Passive Participles भव्य &c., not being taught, the “agent” of the *kṛitya* words is taken here.

How do you say “the object of the Participles bhavya &c., is not taught by the *kṛitya* affixes,” for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? आकट्यया मानं वाखा. The verb कृष्ट governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word kartari in the sūtra.

If this be so, we shall divide the sūtra into two. First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above.

६३० । तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाङ्ग्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थैर्योगे तृतीया वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी । तुल्यः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य कृष्णन वा । अतुलोपमा-
भ्यां किम् । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630. The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning ‘like to, or resemblance’; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्योः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य or कृष्णेन. Why do we say “excepting तुला and उपमा.” Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed. Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note :—Though the anuvṛitti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

६३१ । चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एतदर्थेयौगे चतुर्थी वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी आशिषि । आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयात् । एवं मद्रं भद्रं कुशलं निरामयं सुखं चो अर्थः प्रयोजनं हितं पथ्यं वा भूयात् । आशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । व्याख्यानस्यैवार्थग्रहणम् । मद्रं भद्रयोः पर्यायत्वादन्यतरौ न पठनीयः ॥

631. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words âyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional : in the alternative we have Genitive.

Var :—In the sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, चो, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no-option allowed; and the Genitive case is only employed.



६३२ । आधाराऽधिकरणम् । १ । ४ । ४५ ॥

कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया आधारः कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

632. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikarāṇa or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called ādhāra. As कदे आस्ते 'he is seated on the mat.' कदे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' The Adhikarāṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात् । अकाराद्दुरान्तिकार्येभ्यः । औपभ्लेषिको वैषयिकोऽभिधायकश्चेत्याधार
स्त्रिधा । कटे भास्ते । स्यात्प्रां पचति । मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति । सर्वस्मिन्नास्मास्ति । वनस्य दूरे भन्तिके वा ॥ दूरा-
न्तिकार्येभ्य इति विभक्तित्रयेण सह चतस्रोऽत्रविभक्तयः कलितः ॥

क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसङ्गनम् * ॥ अधीति व्याकरणे । अधीतमनेनेति विग्रहे इष्टादिभ्यश्चेति
कर्तरीनिः ॥

साधुसाधुप्रयोगे च * ॥ साधु कृष्णो मातरि । असाधुर्मातुले ॥

निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे * ॥ निमित्तमिह फलम् । योगः संयोगसमवायात्मकः ॥

चर्मणि क्षीपिनं हन्ति दन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्चरम् ।

केशेषु चमरीं हस्ति क्षीप्ति पुष्कलको हतः ॥ १ ॥

हेतौ तृतीयाऽत्र प्राप्ता तन्निवारणार्थमिदम् । सीमाऽण्डकोशः । पुष्कलको गन्धवृक्षः ।

योगविशेषे किम् । वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति ॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near.'

The location is of three sorts :—

1. Location of contact.
2. Location of object.
3. Location of pervasion.

As कटे भास्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्यात्प्रां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.
मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति. "He desires Liberation." सर्वस्मिन्नास्मास्ति. भन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य
'near or distant from the forest.' Thus the words दूर and भन्तिक take
four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh. See II. 3. 35
S. 605.

Vart :—Words formed by adding इत् to the past participle in क्त,
govern the locative of that which forms their object :—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed
in grammar.' It should be analysed as अधीतमनेन, and then is added इति by
See V. 2. 88 S. 1888.

Vart :—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards
whom goodness or otherwise is shown ; as साधुः कृष्णो मातरि 'Krishna is well
behaved towards his mother.' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill-behaved towards his un-
cle.'

Vart :—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or pur-
pose for which anything is done. The nimitta here means "fruit" ; yoga
means samyoga and samavāya. As in the above verse :—

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

Here the third case-affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu" The present vārtika prevents that. The word सीमा in the above verse means "testicle." The word पुष्कलकः means musk-deer. According to Padamanjari pushkalaka means "a spear or dart." सीमिन् पुष्कलकोहतः "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary."

Why do we say in this vārtika "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति "by wages he cuts the paddy."

६३४ । यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः समी स्यात् । गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः ॥ अर्हाणां कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हाणामकर्तृत्वे तद्वैपरीत्ये च * ॥ सस्य तरस्य असन्तं भासते । असस्य तिष्ठस्य सन्तस्तरन्ति । सस्य तिष्ठस्य असन्तस्तरन्ति । असस्य तरस्य सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥

634. By the action (bhāva) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु ह्यमानेषु गतः, हृत्वेऽस्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जडाभिः स भुङ्क्ते Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते स वेवदत्तः.

Vārtika:—In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non-doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the Locative case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted. As सस्य तरस्य असन्तं भासते "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting." &c.

६३५ । षष्ठी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनादराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । हवति हवतो या प्राजाजीत् । हवन्तं पुत्राधिक्यमनादरस्य संन्यस्तवानित्यर्थः ॥

635. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदन्तः रुदन्ति वा प्राव्राजौत् 'in spite of his weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c., रुदन्त पुत्रादिकपनादस्य संन्यस्तवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a San-yāsi,"

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतैः सप्तभिर्गोणे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । षष्ठ्यामेव प्रासायां पाक्षिकसप्तम्यर्थं वचनम् । गवां गोषु वा स्वामी । गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः । वा एवावुभयितुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636. The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvar 'lord', adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda an heir,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety' and prasūta 'be-gotten.'

Thus गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वरः 'master of cows.' So also गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः "born for the cows i. e. to help the cows."

Note :—These words naturally would have governed the Genitive ; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तस्तात्पर्येऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारितः । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवायां क्रिय् । आयुक्तो गौः शकटे । ईष्युक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637. In conjunction with the words āyukta engaged,' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

As आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari.'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्तो गौः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

६३८ । यतश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातिगुणक्रियासंज्ञाभिः सङ्गुहायिद्विदेशस्य पृथक्करणं निर्धारणे यतस्तत् षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । तृणां

नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुशीरा । गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावन् शीघ्रः । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः ॥

638. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class.)

A *nirdhârana* or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II. 2. 10.)

As नृणां नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः : "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men."

As गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुशीरा : 'among cows the black one gives much milk,' गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावन् शीघ्रः : "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest," छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः : "Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful."

६३९. पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागो विभक्तम् । निर्धार्यमाणस्य यत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आढ्यतराः ॥

639. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यः आढ्यतराः 'Mathuras are more rich than Pataliputra.'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्यां योगे सप्तमी स्यादर्चायां न तु प्रतेः प्रयोगे । मातरि साधुनिपुणो वा । अर्चायां किम् । निपुणो राज्ञो भृत्यः । इह तत्त्वकथनं तात्पर्यम् । अप्रत्यादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम्* ॥ साधुनिपुणो वा मातरं प्रतिपर्यनु वा ॥

640. In conjunction with the words *sâdhu* 'good,' and *nipuna* 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed ; provided that the word *prati* is not used.

Thus, मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्भृत्यो राज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

Vartika :—The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि, भन्तु &c., as साधुनिपुणो वा मातरं प्रति पर्यनुवा ॥

६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे तृतीया स्याच्चात्सप्तमा । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा हरो वा ॥

641. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra.

As प्रसति उत्सुको हरिणा हरो वा

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्तज्ञया लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमानात्तृतीयासप्तम्यौ स्तोऽपि-
करणे । मूलेनावहयेर्द्वौ भ्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले भ्रवणे इति वा । लुपि किम् । पुष्ये ज्ञानिः ॥

642. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Thus 'मूलेनावहयेर्द्वौ भ्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or भ्रवणे.

Note:—पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमस्मीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाभिः पल्लोद्वं मघासु पल्लोद्वम But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुष्ये ज्ञानिः Here there is no elision.

But why not in अद्यपुष्यः, अद्यकृतिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शक्तिद्वयमध्ये यौ कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यामेते स्तः । अद्य भुक्त्वाऽयं ह्यहे ह्यहाहा भोक्ता ॥ कर्तृ-
शक्तयोर्मध्येऽयं कालः । इहयोऽयं कोशे कोशाद्वा लक्ष्यं विधेत् । कर्तृकर्मशक्तयोर्मध्येऽयं देशः ॥ अधिक-
शब्देन योगे सप्तमीपञ्चम्याविध्येते । तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति यस्मादधिकमिति च सूत्रनिर्देशात् । लोके लोका-
द्वाधिको हेति ॥

643. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-

ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between to kârakas.)

Thus अद्य भुङ्क्ष्यामि द्युहे or द्युहशब्दाभोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. 'So also इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशान् क्रोशेवा लङ्ग्यं विधेयम् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the word अधिक governs the fifth and the seventh case-affixes. This is inferred from the Jñāpaka of sūtras V. 2. 45 S 1846, and II, 3. 9. S. 645 where Pāṇini uses the forms अस्मिन्नाधिकं and यस्मादधिकं ॥ Thus लोके लोकाद्वा अधिको हरिः ॥

६४४ । अधिरोश्वरे । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

स्वस्वामिभावसंबन्धेऽधिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

644. The word adhi is karmapravachanīya when used in the sense of 'lord' ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

Note:—The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मवत्तं पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मवत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchālas.

६४५ । यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपदार्थे हरेशुणाः । परार्थादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु स्वस्वामिभ्यां पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिभुवि रामः । अधिरामे भूः । सप्तमी शौण्डैरिति समासपक्षे तु रामा-
धीना । अपठक्षेत्र्यादिना खः ॥

645. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed.

As उपपदार्थे हरे शुणाः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions.'

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case-affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently. As अधि भुवि रामः or अधि रामेभू. "Rāma is lord of the world." By II. 1. 40 S. 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically ख) is added to the stem अधि by V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

६४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोती प्रावृत्तं वा स्यादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यदत्र मामधिकरिष्यति । विनियोज्यत इत्यर्थः । इह विनियोजनस्य श्रुतिरस्य गम्यते । अगतिरिति चोदात्तवतीति निघातो न ॥

946. The word *adhi* is optionally *karmapravachaniya* when the verb *kri* follows.

As यदत्र मामधि करिष्यति Here *adhikarishyati* means "directs, controls &c." Here the word *अधि* may be treated either as a *गति* or a *कर्मप्रवचनीय*. When it is a *गति* the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71. S. 3978. otherwise not.

अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AVYAYĪ BHĀVA COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS.

६४७। समर्थः पदविधिः। २। १। १॥

पदसंबन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थाश्रितो बोध्यः ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

Note:—This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Whereever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि ॥ The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धात्र्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (परङ्गवद् भावः) ॥

The word समर्थ means capable; and is of two sorts vyapekshā and ekar-thi bhāva. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called ekārthibhāva Sāmarthyam; while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense; is called vyapeksha sāmāthyam.—Thus राजपुरुषः a single compound word is an example of the first; while राजः पुरुषः of the second. In this second case राजः may be connected with other words also, as राजःपुरुषोऽश्वश्च “The king’s man and horse” But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with राज ॥

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 ‘a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words अस्ति, वर्तते &c. and forms tatpuruṣa compound;’ as, कष्टं श्रितः=कष्टश्रितः ‘who has had recourse to pain.’ But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense, there can be no

compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, भ्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and भ्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ ॥

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अद्यान = इध्यद्यान ॥ This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु इध्यद्यान त्वं चाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

६४८ । प्राकङ्कारात्समासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कङ्कारः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kada-rākarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated, 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुप् । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो विभज्यते । सुबन्त समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्वेष्टासिद्धार्थत्वात्कालि-
शब्दतिङ्भक्तोत्तरपदास्य समासः । स च ह्यन्वयेव । पर्यभूषयत् । अनुव्यञ्जयत् ॥

649. The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words viz., सह, सुप्, ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely

649 A. सह, (सुप्, समस्येत समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्यते from sūtra 3, and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुव्यञ्जन्, अनुप्रावर्षत, पर्यभूयत् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुपा (सह सुप् समस्यते) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुक्त्युक्तं वासा इयं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रतिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरेवयवस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्व चरादिति निर्वेशाद्भूतशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातः पूर्व भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ० ॥ जीभूतस्येव ॥

650. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्व चरद् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्व is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्व भूत.=भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Vartika :—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like.'

Thus जीमूतस्येव ॥ This samāsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8, S. 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own." A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46 S. 179); as कष्टभितः 'having recourse to pain'. राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टभितः = कष्टभितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक? Because when it gets any other name, such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ॥

SECTION II.

AVYAYIBHĀVA

६५१। अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

651. From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

Note :—This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last.

६५२। अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूह्यर्थाभावात्ययासंप्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाच्चानुपूर्व्ययोगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययेति । योगो विभज्यते । अव्ययं समर्थेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः ॥

652. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality,' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*,

The words **सुप्** and **सुषा** are understood in this sūtra. The words **वचन** should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this sūtra will be found under 658.

This sūtra should also be divided into two, namely, the word **अव्ययं** should form a sūtra by itself.

652. A. अव्ययं ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words **अप** and **दिशम्** may be compounded, when meaning **दिशयोर्मध्ये** ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind; the actual compound is shown in sūtra 657.

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशब्दे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

653. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

Note:—This defines or rather describes the *Upasarjana*. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called *Upasarjanam*.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया भिन्नातीत पतितगतत्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word **द्वितीया** is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words **भित्त**, **अतीते**, **पतित**, **गत**, **अत्यस्त**, **प्राप्त**, and **आपन्न** and forms *Tat-purusha*." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called *Upasarjana*. Thus **कदं** + **भित्तः** = **कदंभित्तः** ॥ Here the word **कदं** being *Upasarjana*, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30 S. 654 **उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्**, (In a compound the *Upasarjana* should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative *Tat-purusha*, the words standing in those cases will be *Upasarjana*. Thus **संकुलाखण्डः**, **यूपदारः**, **वृक्षभयम्**, **राजपुरुषः**, **आशौचौण्डः** ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called **प्रधान** or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्रयोज्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

*Note :—*The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभक्ते यन्नियतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ननु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

*Note :—*A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; *apūrva-nipāte*, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिश्च, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, निर्वाणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राज्ञः + कुमारीश्च = राजकुमारीश्च; राज्ञः + कुमार्यः = राजकुमार्यः, राज्ञः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनिः ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । अव्ययीभाषणे-
ह्रस्वस्यत्वम् ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that prātipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrihi or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाम्बी = निःकौशाम्बिः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः ॥

Other examples are:—अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वाः 'without a bedstead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभाषादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अहन्ताव्ययीभाषास्त्रुपो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना अमादेशः । दिशयोर्मध्ये अपदिशश्च ।
स्त्रीष्वेऽव्यये त्वपदिशं दिशोर्मध्ये विदिकिञ्चयामित्यनरः ॥

657. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayībhāva compound that ends in अ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra II. 4. 82. instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ ; as दिशयोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरदादि class, takes the samâsanta टच् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिशं is दिक् which is, however, feminine. It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I, Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ' ? Because after an Avyayibhâva compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अम् substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes ; as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhâva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution ; as उपकुम्भारामम् ॥

६५८ । तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अवन्ताद्व्ययीभावात्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलमभावः स्यात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशेन । अपदिशम् । अपदिशे । बहुलमङ्गणस्त्रुमङ्गुलमङ्गुलमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमभावः ।

विभक्त्यविरयमर्थः । विभक्त्यविरयिषु वर्तमानमव्ययं सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । विभक्तौ तावत् । हरो इत्यधिहरि । सप्तम्यर्थस्यैवात्र चोत्क्रोऽधिः । हरि ङि अधि इत्यलौकिकं विमद्वचनम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽव्यधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यास्तप्तमी ॥

658. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhâva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम् ; Ins अपदिशेन or अपदिशम्, Dat, Abl., and Gen. अपदिशम्, Loc. अपावशे or अपदिशम् ॥

Vârt :—The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhâva compound denotes prosperity (II. 1. 6. S. 652) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19 S. 673) ; as सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras' ; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas' ; similarly उन्नतजम् । लोहितजम् । एकविंशतिभारुजम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vârtika.

:0:

The meaning of sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 is now being given. "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c. is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayibhâva."

(1) Thus विभक्तिवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case-affix. The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sūtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुवन्त can be compounded with a सुप् ॥ Some explain अधिहरि as हरो अधिकृत्य ॥

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sūtra.

६५६ । अव्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८ ॥

अथ नपुंसकं स्यात् ॥ इत्थो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ गोपायतीति गाः पातीति वा गोपाः । तस्मिन्निवधिगोपम् । समीपे । कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम् । समया मामम् । निकषा लङ्काम् । आराधनादित्यत्र तु नाव्ययीभावः । अभितः परितः अभ्याराविति द्वितीयापञ्चन्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यात् । मन्त्राणां सञ्चयः सुमङ्गलम् । यवनानां व्युद्धिदुर्ध्वनम् । विगता कद्रिर्वृद्धिः । भक्षिकाणामभावो निर्भक्षिकम् । हिमस्यात्ययोऽतिहिमम् । अत्यगो ध्वंसः । निद्राऽसंप्रति न युज्यत इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिशब्दस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि । विष्णोः पश्चादनुविष्णु । पश्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नायं समासः । ततः पश्चात्स्थिते ध्वंस्ते इति भाव्यप्रयोगात् । योग्यतावीप्तापक्षार्थानतिवृत्तिसादृश्यानि अथार्थाः । अनु रूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अर्थमर्थे प्रति प्रत्यर्थम् । प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्तायां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागर्भे वाक्यमपि । शक्तिमनतिक्रम्य अथाशक्ति । हरेः सादृश्यं सहृदि । वक्ष्यमाणेन सहस्य सः । ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येणेत्यनुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण पुनपविति विभेदे ॥

659. An Avyayibhāva compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिहरि ॥

Note :—But for this rule, an Avyayibhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude-form is shortened by the rule S. 318; therefore, पा will be shortened to प when last member in a compound, as अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम् ॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (शुप् 'to protect,') or from पा 'to protect' with the noun गो; as गाः पाति = गोपा "protector of cows."

The word गोपा when derived from शुप् रक्षति is thus formed शुप् + आष (III. 1. 28 S. 2303) = गोपाय ॥ Now add to this root क्तिप्, thus गोपाय + क्तिप् = गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the य is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873) गोपा "protector." The second गोपा (गाः पाति) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of समीपवचन &c. of S. 652 :—

(2) समीपवचनं, as कृष्णस्य समीपं = उपकृष्णम्, 'near to Krishna.' But in समयग्रामम्, निकषा लङ्काम्, भारद् वक्तात् there is no avyayibhāva. Because by the vārtika अभितः परितः &c. (S. 544) the words समया and निकषा govern Accusative case. If there were compounding, there would have been no necessity of that vārtika. Similarly by sūtra वन्यारात् &c. S. 595, भारद् governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding.

3. सृष्टिवचनं;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधं 'well with the Magadhas.'

4. व्यष्टिवचनं;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्गवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.' The word vyridhi means विगता ऋद्धि "want of prosperity, adversity."

5. भाववचनं;—As निर्मेक्षिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्वशाकम् 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. भत्यवचनं;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; or अतिहिमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure."

7. असम्प्रतिवचनं;—As अतितैत्कम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i. e. time to awake.

8. वाङ्मातृभविवचनं;—As हति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे हतिहरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चाद्वचनं;—As विष्णोः पश्चात् = अनुविष्णु "after Vishnu." The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded; as Patanjali uses it separately in ततः पश्चात् संसृते see Mahābhāṣya on I. 1. 57 S. 50 and II. 2. 24.

10. यथार्थवचनं;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz., correspondence, 2. severalty or succession, 3. the not passing beyond something, 4. and likeness; thus (1) अनुकूपम् 'in a corresponding, or becoming or suitable manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object of signification.' The word प्रति is a karmapravachanīya also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) यथाशक्ति according, to one's ability.' (4) सहृ 'like Hari' Here सह is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11. भानुपूर्ववचनं;—As भानुश्रेष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. योगपरवचनं;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्रं is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sūtra, by which सह which has the meaning of युगपत् is changed to स ॥

६६० । अव्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्य सः स्यादव्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाहुम् । सहस्रः सख्यया सखि । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुनः सादृश्यमहणं शुण्भूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादित्यवमर्षम् । क्षत्राणां संपत्तिः सक्षत्रम् । ऋद्धेराधिक्यं समृद्धिः । अनुरूप आत्मभावः संपत्तिरिति भवः । तृणमप्यपरित्यज्य सतृणमस्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नत्वेव तृणभक्षणे तात्पर्यम् । अन्ते । अग्निमन्थपर्यन्तमधीते साम्नि ॥

660. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayībhāva, when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रं धेहि, but सहपूर्वाह्यम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

13. सादृश्यवचनः;—As सखि 'like a friend.' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहस्रि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sādrishya is secondary even.

14. संपत्तिवचनः;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.' The difference between समृद्धि and सम्पत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self."

15. साकल्यवचनः;—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' i. e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमस्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw.' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything.

16. अन्तवचनः;—As साम्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (i. e. the whole Veda).

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथाशब्दः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथाहरिस्तथा हरः । हरेरुपमानत्वं यथाशब्दो व्योतयति । तेन सादृश्य इति वा यथार्थ इति वा प्राप्तं निदिधिवते ॥

661. The indeclinable word yathâ, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayībhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामामन्त्रयस्व "invite every old Brāhmana." So also यथाध्यापकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated, As यथाहरिस्तथा हरः 'As is Hari

so is Hara ' Here यथा denotes comparison with Hari. Thus the compounding under cl. (10) when यथा means तादृश्य or under cl. (14), having the same meaning is prohibited here by.

६६२ । यावदवधारणे । २ । १ । ८ ॥

भावतः श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽव्युत्तप्रणामा यावच्छ्लोकम् ॥

662. The indeclinable word yāvat, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद्वनं ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': i. e., If there are five pots then invite five Brahmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāmansa.' यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामाः "Bowing the head down so many times as there are the verses," i. e. saluting the God with every verse.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्तं तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' i. e. I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten.

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिनामात्रार्थे । २ । १ । ६ ॥

शाकस्य जेषाः शाकप्रति । मात्रार्थे किम् । वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् ॥

663. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayībhāva.

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, शाकप्रति 'a little,' हूपप्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'It lightens in the direction of every tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Note :—Though the word सुप् was, by anuvritti from sūtra II. 1. 2, S. 3656, understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अव्यय which began with sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 658) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30, S. 654).

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा । २ । १ । १० ॥

धृतव्यवहारे पराजये एवायं समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं वृत्तं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664. The words *aksha*, 'a die for playing with,' *śalākā* 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and *sankhyā* 'numeral' are compounded with the word *pari*, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

Note :—This *समास* is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called *panchikā*, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus *अक्षपरि* 'an unlucky throw of dice.' *शलाकापरि*, 'an unlucky throw of of ivory pieces' ; so also *एकपरि* 'an unlucky throw by one over.'

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । एतस्मान्मर्थ्येव प्राचीनानां नित्यसमाससम् । सुप्सुपोति तु न नित्यसमासः । अव्ययमित्यादि समास विधानाज्ज्ञापकात् ॥

665. The word *vibhāṣhā* or option governs all the succeeding *sūtras*.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this ; for by the *jñāpaka* of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not *vibhāṣhā*. There is, however, an exception with regard to *सुप्सुपा* compounding. It is not *nitya*, because of the *jñāpaka* of the *sūtra* II. 1. 6. S. 652, for *सुपा* would have covered the case of *avyayas* also ; but the enunciation of a separate rule about *avyayas*, indicates that the previous rule *सुप्सुपा* is an *anitya* rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like *सुनद्र*, *ययावृद्ध*, *अक्षपरि* &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (*नित्य समास*), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

Note :—The compounds taught previous to this *sūtra*, like the technical terms *हि*, *वु*, *अ* &c., would be necessarily *nitya*, because no *वा* is read in those *sūtras*. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present *sūtra* "option

ally" Q. If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *nitya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sūtra? Ans. Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II. 1. 6, S. 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not *nitya*; because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c.

६६६ । अपपरिवहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसारः । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वनम् । बहिर्वनात् । प्राग्वनम् । प्राग्वनात् ॥

666. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahīḥ* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayībhāva*.

As अपविष्णु संसारः or अप विष्णोः संसारः "The *saṁsāra* is outside or away from *Vishṇu*." So also, परिविगर्तम् or परिविगर्तेभ्यः 'round about *Trigarta*,' बहिर्वनम् or बहिर्वनात् 'outside the village' प्राग् वनम् or प्राग् वनात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अञ्चु 'to go,' are उर्वञ्च 'north' प्राञ्च 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpaka*) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29 S. 595). But this is not universal, as we see in करस्य करमेव बहिः, here it governs the sixth case.

६६७ । आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । आहुक्ति संसारः । आहुक्तेः । आबालेभ्यः ॥

667. The word आङ् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, आपादलिपुत्रं or आपादलिपुत्रात् वृष्टौ देवः 'it rained up to *Pāṭaliputra*,' आकुमारं or आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः the fame of *Pāṇini* extends even to the boys.' So also आहुक्ति संसारः or आहुक्तेः संसारः; आबालं हरिमक्तिः or आबालेभ्यः ॥

६६८ । लक्षणनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आभिमुख्येति शब्दोक्तकावभिप्रती चिह्नवाचिनः सह प्राग्वात् । अभ्यग्नि शब्दभाः पतन्ति । अभिमभि । मसाम् अभिमभि ॥

668. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

The word *lakṣhaṇa* means a sign, goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 S. 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word. As अग्निं पतन्ति or अग्निमाग्निं पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्याग्निं पतन्ति, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

६६६ । अनुयत्समया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

यं पदार्थं समया द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणाभूतेनाहुः समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । अनुवनमक्षनिर्गतः । वनस्य समीपं गत इत्यर्थः ॥

669. The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुवनमक्षनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Note :—Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also: it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayībhāva* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

६७० । यस्य चायामः । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य वैध्यमनुना द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणाभूतेनाहुः समस्यते । अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी । गङ्गाया अन्तः । गङ्गावैध्यसहस्रवैध्योपलक्षितेत्यर्थः ॥

670. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges'. अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

६७१। तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो गावो यस्मिन्काले स तिष्ठद्गुर्दैनिककालः । आयत्तीगवम् । इह वाचा-
ह्वः पुत्रङ्गावविरहः समासान्तश्च निपात्यते ॥

671. And the words tishṭhadgu, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are Avyayībhāva compounds.

The words तिष्ठद्गु &c. are all irregularly formed Avyayībhāva compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the Avyayībhāva compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still ; i. e. the milking time." वहद्गु, आयत्तीगवम्. In आयत्तीगवम् there is the absence of the Present Participial affix क्त and in आयति (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the samāsānta affix अ ॥ All these are irregularities. खलेयवम्, खलेयुसम्, खलेयुसम्, लुप्तयवम्, लुप्तमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहृतयुसम्, संह्रियमाणयुसम्, समभूमि, समपहाति, क्षुपमम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, आयत्तीसनम्, प्राह्णम्, प्रथम्, प्रमुगम्, प्रहक्षिणम्, अपरवक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इह कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. e. g. कचाकाच ॥

६७२। पारे मध्ये वक्ष्या वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ वक्ष्यन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एतन्तत्त्वं चानयोर्निपात्यते । पक्षे वक्ष्यतिशुरुषः । पारेगङ्गादानय । गङ्गापारान् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमापि । गङ्गायाः पारान् । गङ्गाया मध्यात् ॥

672. The words pāra 'across,' and madhya 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms pāre and madhye, and the compound so formed is Avyayībhāva.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present sūtra ordains Avyayībhāva instead. The force of वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारेगङ्गादानय or गङ्गापारान् 'bring across the Ganges.' मध्येगङ्गात् or गङ्गामध्यात् 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase ; as गङ्गायाः पारान् or गङ्गाया मध्यात्.

६७३ । संख्या वंश्येन । २ । १ । १९ ॥

वंशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च । तत्र भवो वंश्यः । तद्व्यतिना सह संख्या वा सामस्येति । दो
शुनी वंश्यो द्विभुनि । व्याकरणस्य त्रिभुनि । त्रिभुनित्तत्त्वतामभेदविवक्षायां त्रिभुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति
भारद्वाजम् ॥

673. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva.

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As द्विभुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patañjali.' So त्रिभुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz., Pāṇini, Patañjali and Śākaṭyāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case : as द्विभुनि or त्रिभुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhāradwājas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

६७४ । नदीनिधेयः । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीनिः सह संख्या प्राग्बन्धः ॥ समाहारि चायानिष्यते * ॥ सप्तगङ्गा । द्वियमुनम् ॥

674. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

Iṣṭi:—According to Patañjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गा 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुन 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās.' See II. 4. 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं सुखन्तं नदीनिः सह निधेयं समस्यते संज्ञायाम् ॥ विभाषाधिकरिऽपि वाक्येन सज्ञानवगमादिह निरूपयमासः ॥ अन्यसप्तगङ्गा नाम देशः । लोहिसगङ्गा ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound and is an appellative ; the compound so formed being an Avyayībhāva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule : for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Gangam.' So also लोहितगङ्गा कृष्णगङ्गा, शनैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

६७६ । समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । ६८ ।

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

676. The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense.

Note :—This is an adhikāra or regulating sūtra.

६७७ । शब्दययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

शरत्शब्दययीभ्यश्च स्वात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरत्ः समीपमुपशरदम् । प्रतिविपाशम् । शरद् । विपाश । भनस् । मनस् । उपानह् । विष् । हिमवत् । भनडुह् । दिष् । हृष् । विश । चेतस् । चतुर् । त्यद् । तद् । यद् । कियत् । जरायाजरस् च । उपजरसम् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽश्नः ॥ यस्येति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अश्नः परमिति विमहे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । परोक्षे लिङिति निपातनात्परस्योकारादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्शआद्यानि । समक्षम् । भन्वक्षम् ॥

677. The affix tach comes after the words śarat &c, when forming an Avyayībhāva compound.

Thus शरत्ः समीपम् = उपशरदम्, प्रतिशरदम्, प्रतिविपाशम् ॥

Those words of शरत्शब्दययी class which end in a ह्य् consonant add invariably (नित्य) the tach, in spite of V. 4. 111. S. 682 The anuvritti of 'avyayībhāva' extends upto V. 4. 113 S. 852

I शरद्, 2 विपाश्, 3 भनस्, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानह्, 6 भनडुह्, 7 दिष्, 8 हिमवत्, 9 विरुक्, 10 विद्, 11 सद्, 12 विश्, 13 हृष्, 14 विश्, 15 चतुर्, 16 त्यद्, 17 तद्, 18 यद्, 19 कियत्, 20 जराया जरस् च (as उपजरसम्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽश्नः (as प्रत्यक्षं, परोक्षः, समक्षम्, and भन्वक्षम्, The second is Tatpurusha) 22 ययिम्, 23 सदृश् ॥

20. The word जरा assumes the form जरस् in the compound. As उपजरसम् ॥

21. The words प्रति, पर, तच् and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = प्रत्यक्षम् so also अश्नः परम् = परोक्षम् ॥ Here ओ replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Pānini himself in III. 2. 115 S. 2171. The form परोक्षा in परोक्षक्रिया &c. takes the affix अच् by V. 2. 127 S. 1933 so also समक्षम् and भन्वक्षम् ॥

६७८ । अनञ्च । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् स्यात् ॥

678. The affix *ṭach* comes after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in *अन्*, as the final of the compound.

Thus उप + राजन् + टच् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which the अन् of राजन् should be elided.

६७९ । नस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नान्तस्य भस्य ढेलोपः स्याच्छित्ते । उपराजम् । अध्यात्मम् ॥

679, Of the stem *bha*, the final *न्* with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a *Taddhita* affix.

Thus उपराजम्, अध्यात्मम् ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०९ ॥

अनन्तं यत्क्लिबं तदन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् वा स्यात् । उपचर्मम् or उपचर्म ॥

680. The affix *ṭach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is *अन्*

Note—The word *अन्* is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i.e. last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous sūtra had made it compulsory.

Thus उपचर्म or उपचर्मम् ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्यान्नहायणीभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा टच् स्यात् । उपनवम् । उपनवि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपामहायणम् । उपामहायणि ॥

681. The affix *ṭach* comes optionally after an *Avayayibhāva* ending in *nadî*, *paurṇamâsî*, and *âgrahâyaṇî*.

Thus नद्याः समीपम् = उपनवम् or उपनवि, उपपौर्णमासम् or उपपौर्णमासि, उपामहायणम् or उपामहायणि ॥

६८२ । झयः । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् । उपसमिधम् । उपसमिन् ॥

682. The affix *ṭach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in a letter of *jhay* class (a mute letter)

Thus उपसनिधम्, or उपसनित् ॥

Note :—The ऋश् here means the pratyāhāra ऋश् i. e. all the Mute consonants,

६८३ । गिरेश्च सेनकस्य । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

गिरेन्ताड्व्यधीभावाद्भवा स्यात् । सेनकमहणं पूजार्थम् । उपगिरम् । उपगिरि ॥

683. The affix त्च comes after an Avyayibhāva compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka.

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (pujārtha), for the anuvritti of the word अन्वतरस्याम् "optionally" was understood here already.

Here end the Avyayibhāva compounds,

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS

६८४ । तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राग्बहुव्रीहिः ॥

684. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II 2. 23, S. 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sūtras.

Form this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 S. 829 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra.

Note :—The Karmadhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds.

६८५ । द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुर्मेति पठित्वा चकारकत्वेन संज्ञाद्वयसमावेशस्य सुवच्यत्वात् । समासान्तः प्रयोजनम् । पञ्चराजम् ॥

685. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

This sūtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dwigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that टच् affix of samāsānta may be added ; as पञ्चराजम् ॥

Note :—The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 S. 676 &c. should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra ; as sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730 already defines Dwigu. Thus पञ्चराजम् V. 4. 91 S. 788 fem पञ्चराजि (IV. I. 15, 21 S. 470), an aggregate of 5 princes.' According, to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as अ is not part of राज but of the whole compound.

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA.

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नेः । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तं श्रितादिप्रकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्णं श्रितः कृष्णश्रितः
दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ गम्यासीनाधुपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ मामं गमी मामगमी । भन्नं बुधुधुः भन्नबुधुधुः ॥

686. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words *śrita* 'who has had recourse to,' *atīta* 'gone by' *patita* 'who has fallen upon,' *gata* 'who has gone to' *atyasta* 'who has passed,' *prāpta* 'who has obtained,' and *āpanna* 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णं + श्रितः = कृष्णश्रितः 'who has had recourse to Krishna.' So also दुःखं + अतीतः = दुःखातीतः 'who has passed over sorrow.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As मामगमी ; भन्नं बुधुधुः = भन्नबुधुधुः ॥

६८७ । स्वयं केन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न संबध्यते अयोग्यत्वात् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्यं स्वायंकृतिः ॥

687. The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्यं = स्वायं कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिकं द्वितीयान्तं कान्तप्रकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्दायाम् । खट्वाकरो आत्मः
नित्यसमासोऽयम् । नहि वाक्येन निन्दा गम्यते ॥

688. The word *khatvā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

As खट्वाकरोः or खट्वाकृतः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

Note :—The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word, as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

There is no compounding when 'censure' is not meant. As खट्वामारुहः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmâcharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वामारुहः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

६८६ । सामि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689. The indeclinable word *sâmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As सामिकृतम् 'half-done.'

Note :—The word सामि being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the *anuvṛitti* of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

६९० । कालाः । २ । १ । २८ ॥

क्तेनेत्येव । भनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं वचनम् । मासप्रमितः प्रतिपद्यन्त्रः । मासं परिच्छेदुमारब्धवामि-
त्यर्थः ।

690. The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month).

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालाः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sûtra I. 1. 68, S. 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१ । अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काला इत्येव । अकान्तार्थं वचनम् । मुहूर्तं सुखं मुहूर्तसुखम् ॥

691. Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i. e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism ; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्'.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.'

५ मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.'

—————:O:—————

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA

६९२ । तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्ततृतीयाकम् । तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणवचनेनार्थवचनेन च सह प्राप्यम् । शङ्कुलाखण्डः शङ्कुलाखण्डः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः । तत्कृतेति किम् । अक्षणा कायः ॥

692. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

As शङ्कुलाखण्डः = शङ्कुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sūtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अक्षणा कायः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्षणा in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding.

Note :—The words सुप, सुपर are understood here : and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.

६६३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकखनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमतेः प्राग्बन् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । पितृसमः । जनार्थः । मासानं कार्षापणम् । मासविक्रमम् । वाक्यलङ्घः । आचारनिपुणः । शुद्धमिश्रः । आचारश्लक्ष्णः । मिश्रमहयं सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसन्धावित्यत्रानुपसर्गमहयान् । शुद्धसमिश्रा धानाः ॥ अवरस्योपसर्गयानम् * ॥ मासिनावरा मासावरः ॥

693. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pūrva 'prior,' sadṛśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' anārtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and ślakṣṇa 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्व = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' मासानम् कार्षापणं, मासविक्रमं 'a Karshāpana coin less by a māśā' वाक्यलङ्घः 'bandying words,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' शुद्धमिश्रः 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI. 2. 154 S. 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact." This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have शुद्धसमिश्रा धानाः ॥

Vart:—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

६६४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ॥

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृदन्तेन बहुलं प्राग्बन् । हरिणा आतो हरिचितः । नखैर्भिन्नो नखभिन्नः ॥ कृदहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् * ॥ नखनिभिन्नः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । भिक्षाभिरुषितः । हेतावेपा तृतीया । बहुलमहणं सर्वोपाधिष्वभिचारार्थम् । तेन दात्रेण लूनवानित्यादि न । कृता किम् । कष्टे पञ्चतितराम् ॥

694. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a kṛit

affix ; and the compound so formed is called Tatpuru-
sha.

As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखभिन्नः 'divided by the
nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe,' शरिणाघातः = शरिणातः ॥

Vart :—The word कृन् here includes not only simple kridantas, but
words preceded by a Gati or a kārakā even. As not only नखभिन्नः but नखनिभिन्नः
also.

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*'?
Observe भिक्षाभिनिवितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that
of हेतुः mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 S. 566 and not that of II. 3. 18. S. 561.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules
and conditions. Observe शत्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle,' परशुनाछिन्नवान्
cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is com-
pounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—
as, पावहारकः and गले चोपकः. Why do we say with a kridanta? See काष्ठैः पचति
संराम् where पचति संराम् is a verb and not a kridanta noun.

Paribhasha :—"A kṛit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed in
Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has
been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix ; but moreover, should a Gati,
or a noun such as denotes a case-relation, have been prefixed to that word-
form, then the kṛit-affix must denote the same word-form together with the
Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it."

६६५ । कृत्यैराधिकार्यवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

स्तुतिनिष्पादकमर्थवादवचनमधिकार्यवचनं तत्र कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृत्ये प्राग्वत् । वात-
च्छेद्यं तुणम् । काकपेया नदी ॥

695. A word ending with the third case-affix when
it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded op-
tionally with a word ending in a *kṛitya* affix, when an *exaggera-
ted statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and
the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As वासच्छेद्यं तुणं 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind.) It
is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse ; denoting weakness.

So also काकपेयानदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak,
into it and drink while sitting on the bank. In this sense it is praise. It
may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow
may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.)

६६६ । अन्नेन द्रव्यजनम् । २ । १ । ३४ ॥

संस्कारकद्रव्यवाचकं तृतीयान्तमन्नेन प्राग्वत् । दध्ना ओदनो दध्योदनः । इहान्तभूतोपसेकक्रिया-
द्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

696. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a *condiment*, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is द्रव्यजनः; as दध्योदनः = दध्ना उपासिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood

६९७ । भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् । २ । १ । ३५ ॥

गुडेन धानाः गुडधानाः । मिश्रणक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient*, is compounded with a word meaning, *victuals*, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery ;'

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्यः, its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणम् ॥

Note :—The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

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THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६६८ । चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः । २ । १ । ३६ ॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तायां यत्तद्वाचिताऽर्थादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राग्वत् । तदर्थेन प्रकृतिविकृतिभाव एव गृह्यते । बलिहितमहणाऽज्ञापकान् । शूपाय वारु शूपवारु । नेह । रन्धनाय स्थाली । अश्ववासाय वस्तु षष्ठीसमासाः ॥ अर्थेन निव्यसमासो विशेष्यलिङ्गता चेति धन्वव्यम् * ॥ द्विजायार्थं द्विजार्थः शूपाः । द्विजार्थं यवावः । द्विजार्थं पयः । भूतनमिः । मेहितम् । गन्धुलम् । मेरुक्षितम् ॥

698. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is *for the purpose of what* ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *sukha*

'pleasure' and *rakshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप्, सुपा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jñāpaka of the words *bali* and *rakshita* used in this sūtra. As दूपाय दारुः = दूपदारुः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). But not so here. रन्ध्रनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' So also or अवहननायोऽसुरखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing.' The words like अश्वघात &c. are Genitive compounds.

From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of.' The word तदर्थार्थे is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to.' See VI. 2. 44. S. 3777. For accent see VI. 2. 45 S. 3779.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, द्विजार्थः सूपः "soup for the twice-born" ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmins;' and द्विजार्था दवागुः 'gruel for the twice-born.' So also ब्रूत बलिः 'a sacrifice for bhūtas' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोराक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

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THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६६९ । पठ्यमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

चोराङ्ग्यं चोरभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभीभिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीतः । वृकभीतिः । वृकभीः ॥

699. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As चोराङ्ग्यम् = चोरभयं 'fear from thieves'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः ॥

Note:—This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra II. 1. 32 S. 694 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also : ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अश्वर्षं सुसुप् ॥

७०० । अपेतापोद्धमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतैः सहात्वं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । सुखापेतः । कल्पनापोद्धः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गापत्रस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासादापतितः ॥

700. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *patita* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोद्धः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः "freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32. S. 694.

Why do we use the word अल्पशः 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case:—प्रासादान् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion.' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

७०१ । स्तोकाण्तिदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि केन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकाण्मुक्तः । अल्पाण्मुक्तः । अन्तिकादागतः । अभ्याशादागतः । दूरादागतः । विप्रकृष्टादागतः । कृच्छ्रादागतः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dūra* 'far,' and also the word *kricchhra* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *ka*, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकाण् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.' अल्पाण्मुक्तः ॥

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance,' कृच्छ्रादागतः 'come with difficulty.' कृच्छ्राल्लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2. S. 959 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

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THE GENITIVE TATPURUSHA

७०२ । वष्टी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः ॥

702. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः पृथ्यन्तं समस्यते । तुजकाभ्यां कर्तरीत्यस्य प्रतिप्रसवादयम् । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । देवपूजकः ॥ शुक्लाक्षरेण तरलोपशेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तरबन्तं यद्गुणवाचि तेन सह समासस्तरपथत्यलोपश्च । न निर्धारण इति पूरणगुणति च निषेधस्य प्रतिप्रसवादयम् । सर्वेषां श्वेततरः सर्वश्वतः । सर्वेषां महत्तरः । सर्वमहान् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वाच्यम् * ॥ इध्मस्य व्रश्चनः इध्मव्रश्चनः ॥

703. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II. 2. 15 S. 309 in the case of याजक &c. ; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition.

(याजकादि)

1. याजक ॥ 2. पूजक ॥ 3. परिचारक ॥ 4. परिवेषक ॥ 5. परिवेषक ॥
6. ज्ञापक or ज्ञातक ॥ 7. अभ्यापक ॥ 8. उत्साहक or उत्साहक ॥ 9. उद्धर्तक ॥
10. होतृ ॥ 11. भर्तृ ॥ 12. रथगणक ॥ 13. पत्तिगणक ॥ 14. पोतृ ॥ 15. हर्तृ ॥
16. वक्तृ ॥

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree ; and सर the sign of comparison is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गौः 'a cow whitest among all.'

Vart—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix ; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65 S. 623 states the conditions when a kṛit-formed word governs the genitive case. Thus इध्मप्रव्रश्चनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so ? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 50, S. 606 is a 'pratipadavidhāna' genitive ; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition ; see Vārtika under II. 2. 10 S. 704.

७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते । नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम् ० ॥ सर्पिषां ज्ञानम् ॥

704. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa).

As नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men.'

Note :—With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhāraṇa.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41. S. 638.

Vart :—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50 S. 606. is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samāsa. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषां ज्ञानम्, मधुनो ज्ञानम् ॥

७०५ । पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूरणार्थः सदावेभिश्च षष्ठी न समस्यते । पूरणे । सतां षष्ठ ।

गुणे । काकस्य काण्ड्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः । यदा प्रकरणाद्विना स्तत्ता इति विशेष्यं ज्ञातं तदेवद्वयहरणम् । अनित्याऽथ गुणन निषेधः । तदक्षिप्य संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिनिर्वेक्षात् । तेनार्थगौरवं बुद्धिमान्धमित्यादि सिद्धम् ।

सुहितार्थास्तृप्यर्थाः । फलानां सुहितः । तृनीयासमासस्तु स्थावेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सन् । द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा । किकर इत्यर्थः ।

भाव्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा । पूर्वोत्तरसाहचर्यात्कृत्यमेव गृह्यते । तेन सदुपरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः ।

तव्यः । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् । तव्यता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः - ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तत्तकस्य सर्पस्य । विशेषणसमासस्त्विह बहुलमहणम् । गोर्धेनोरित्यादिविद्वोदाद्यवसीत्यासीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे अरितार्थानां परत्वाद्वाधकः षष्ठीसमासः प्राप्तः सोऽन्यत्वेन वार्यते ॥

705. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127 §. 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix *tavya*, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सत्तमैवः 'sixth amongst the goods'; (2) काकस्य काल्प्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लः 'The Brahmana has white teeth.' This illustration is to be given when by context the word वन्ताः is understood.

The prohibition about *guṇa*-compounding, is however not universal : for we find Pāṇini himself making such a compound in the following sūtra तद्विशेषं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I. 2. 53 S. 1295. Here the word संज्ञाप्रमाणस्य is a *guṇa*-compound, the word प्रमाणस्य being *guṇa*. So the compounds अय्यगौरवम्, बुद्धिमान्द्वयम् are valid.

(3) The word सु हित means तप्त or satisfied. फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तप्तः The Instrumental compound however is not prohibited. As फलेन तप्तः = फलतृप्तः ॥ The difference is in accent. It is *ādyudātta*, while a genitive compound would have been final *udātta*.

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa ;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa.'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा ॥

The word *avyaya* in the sūtra means the Kṛidanta Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable. This we infer from the fact that the word *avyaya* here is associated with Kṛidanta words both before and behind. Namely सन् is a Kṛit affix and तस्य is also a kṛit affix, therefore अव्यय which is in the middle, must refer also to a kṛit-formed Indeclinable. Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kṛidanta, as तस्य उपरि = सदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakshita. According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradata, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable. But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound सदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् ॥ When however the affix is तस्यन् having the indicatory न् (III. 1. 96) there is compounding ; as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यम् 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' स्वकर्तव्यम् 'One's duty.' The difference is in accent. (VI. 1. 185. S. 3729)

(7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pāṭaliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य of the sūtra composer Pāṇini.' So also सत्तकस्य सर्वस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनेः । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sūtra II. 1. 57 S. 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sūtra ; the difference between that sūtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound, the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

In the case of तस्यत् the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent. तस्यत् is final svarita as it has an indicatory त् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तस्यत्, and कर्तव्यम् by तस्य ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृतुत्तत्कर्तव्यत्स्वरः but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udātta would have remained in the middle.

In the phrase गोर्धेनोः, the गो is a jāti word, and धेनु is read in sūtra II. 1. 65 S. 744, and so there ought to be compounding : is it so ? Now the compounding is ordained by II. 1. 65 S. 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sūtra is set aside by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोर्धेनोः should be compounded by II. 2. 8 S. 702. But this sūtra itself is set aside by the present sūtra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धेनोः either by II. 2. 8 S. 702, or II. 1. 65 S. 744. In fact, II. 1. 65 S. 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth ; while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which itself is limited by the present sūtra.

७०६ । केन च पूजयाम् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः कस्तद्वस्तेन पृष्टी न समस्यते । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धः पूजितो वा । एवंपूजित इत्यादौ तु भूते क्वास्तेन सह तृतीयासमासः ॥

706. A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding.'

The affix क् is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. S. 3089. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां नतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

But in राजपूजितः "honored by the king," the affix kta denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound.

७०७ । अधिकरणवाचिना च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

क्तेन वशी न समस्यते । इवेषामासितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

707. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

As इवेषा मासितं गतं भुक्तंवा 'here they have sat, gone or eaten.

Note:—When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76 S. 3087)

७०८ । कर्मणि च । २ । २ । १४ ॥

इमयमात्रौ कर्मणीति या वशी सा न समस्यते । आश्वर्यो गवां शोशोऽगोपेन ॥

708. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II. 3. 66 S. 624.

As आश्वर्यो गवां शोशोऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Note:—The anuvṛitti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 S. 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i. e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent.

७०९ । तुज्जकार्भ्यां कर्तरि । २ । २ । १५ ॥

कर्तर्यतुज्जकार्भ्यां वष्टया न समासः । अर्पां सटा । वज्रस्य भर्ता । ओशनस्य पाचकः । कर्तरि क्तिम् । इक्ष्णां भक्ष्यामिक्षुभक्षिका । पत्यर्थभर्तृशब्दस्य तु याजकादित्वात्समासः । भूपर्ता । कथं सद्धि वदानां निर्मातुञ्जिसुषनविधातुश्च कलह इति । शेषवष्टया समास इति कैयटः ॥

709. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when

the force of the affixes is that of an agent.

As अर्पां सृष्टा 'the creator of waters' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunder-bolt.'

Note:—The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes trich and aka. The affix कृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 183, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element व are अक; such as ण्वुञ्ज or वुञ्ज or वुन (sūtra VII. 1. 1.)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of बाजक (II. 2. 9. S. 703) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.' Thus भूभर्ता "the lord of world." How do you explain the compound त्रिभुवनविधातुः in the sentence घटानां निर्मातुस् त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds." According to Kaiyyata it is compounded as shesha shashthi and it is not a pratipada vidhāna shashthi.

The above are examples of words formed by कृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक; thus ओदनस्य पाचकः 'the cooker of rice'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe हस्तभक्तिकां मे धारयति.

७१० । कर्तरि च्चि । २ । २ । १६ ॥

कर्तरि षष्ठ्या अकेन न समासः । भवतः शायिका । नेह नृअनुवर्तते । तद्योगे कर्तुरभिहितस्येन कर्तृषष्ठ्या भभावात् ॥

710. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

As भवतः शायिका 'your honors' repose.'

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II. 3. 65 S. 623. The anuvritti of कृच् is not to be read into this sūtra. Because a कृच् formed word always denotes an agent, and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus सृष्टा is a word formed with कृच् affix. It means "creator," and in अर्पां सृष्टा हरिः the agent हरिः can never take the Genitive case in connection with सृष्टा denoting the agent. But with अक (ण्वुञ्ज III. 3. 111 S. 3288) we have सर्जिका where हरिः can take the Genitive case, as हरेः सर्जिका "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतथोरर्थयोरकेन नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यते । उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा । संज्ञायामिति भोव ण्वुल् । जीविकायाम् । इन्तलेखकः । तच्च क्रीडायां विकल्पे जीविकायां वृत्तिकायां कर्तरीति निषेधे प्राप्ते वचनम् ॥

711. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with *aka*, when this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka (lasorā vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed.' Here ण्वुल् denotes mere action by III. 3. 109 S. 3286, and forms a Name. As an example of livelihood we have इन्तलेखकः "one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth." नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Note:—This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. The anuvṛitti of the word 'na' which began with II. 2. 10 S. 704, does not extend further. The affix कृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोदनस्य भोजकः.

उद्दालक पुष्पाणां भञ्जिका ॥ Here neither the ण्वुल् denotes the agent nor the genitive पुष्पाणां is a कर्तरि षष्ठी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sūtras can not apply. Now the compounding will be the usual genitive compound by sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702 which is optional, and to set aside that usual *optional* compounding, the present sūtra is ordained which makes the compounding *compulsory*. Similarly इन्तलेखकः ॥ In this the *aka* अक denoting the agent could not have been compounded with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sūtra; therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sūtra-kāra has made this present sūtra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable*. In other words, the present sūtra sets aside the *option* of II. 2. 8. S. 702 in the case of उद्दालकपुष्प भञ्जिका, and the *prohibition* of II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of इन्तलेखकः ॥

७१२ । पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे । २ । २ । १८ ॥

अवयवविना सह पूर्वविद्यः समस्यन्ते एकत्वसंख्याविशिष्टबन्धव्ययी । षष्ठीसमासापवादः । पूर्वकायस्य पूर्वकायः । अपरकायः ॥

एकदेशिना किम् । पूर्वैर्नाभेः कायस्य । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्ववत्प्रत्ययानाम् ।

सर्गोऽप्येकेशोऽह्ना समस्यते संख्याविषायेति ज्ञापकात् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । केचित्तु सर्वोऽप्येकेशः कालेन समस्यते न त्वद्वैतः । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापेक्षत्वात् । तेन मध्यरात्रः । उपारताः पश्चिम-
रात्रमाचरा इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712. The words *pūrva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Note:—The word '*ekādhikaraṇa*' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word '*ekadesin*.' This debarb the Genitive *Tat-purusha* compound ordained by II. 2. 9 S. 702 which would have placed the words '*pūrva*' &c, last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

This is an *aṣṭavāda* or exception to Genitive compounding under II. 2. 8 S. 702. Thus पूर्व+कायस्य=पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body';

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नामः कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्ववक्त्राणां 'the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (*adhikaraṇa*) is not unity (*eka*). But the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening' are correct, because the word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238.

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the *jñāpaka* of sūtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238 is not confined to अह्न only, but applies to all words denoting *time*: as the *jñāpaka* is general, and not merely limited to a particular word. As a result, we get compounds like मध्य रात्रः and पश्चिमरात्रः in the examples given in the text above.

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

सर्गोऽप्येकेशोऽह्ना समस्यते संख्याविषायेति ज्ञापकात् ॥ एकविंशत्यवयवत्ववचनम् * ॥ एकदेशितमास-
विषयकोऽयमुपसर्जनसंज्ञानिवेधः । तेन पञ्चमस्य ह्येव सिद्धयति । अर्धं विष्पल्याः अर्धविष्पली ।
ज्जिबे किम् । मामार्धः । द्वयैक्य एव । अर्धं विष्पलीनाम् ॥

713. The word अर्धं when it signifies 'exactly equal parts i. e. halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case, is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sūtra. I. 2. 44 S. 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिसमास that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in पञ्चानां खट्वानां समाहारः = पञ्चखट्वी ॥ Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by गोक्षियो &c. I. 2. 48 S. 656 The result of which is that the compound gets ङीप् ॥

But in अर्धे पिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली the word पिप्पली in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vārtika applies to it, because it is ekadesi; and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars II. 29; as अर्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्धे कोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्धः 'half the village' नगरार्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्धे पशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्धे पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एतान्येकदेशिना सह प्राग्वद्वा । द्वितीयं भिन्नाया द्वितीयभिन्ना । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीयं भिन्नाया भिन्नस्य । अन्यतरस्यामहणसामर्थ्यात्पूरणमुपेतं निषेधं वाधित्वा षष्ठे षष्ठीसमासः । । भिन्नाद्वितीयम् ॥

714. The word dvitīya, 'second,' tṛtīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purussha.

Note :—This also debars II. 2. 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. S. 703 also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयभिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra II. 2. 9 S. 703 we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं.

Why do we say "which signifies a thing that has parts?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य.

By force of the word अन्यत्रस्याम् "optionally" read in this sūtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the the great option (Mahāvibhāsa of sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665), we infer that the sūtra II. 2. 11 S. 705 is set aside in the case of these words, and so we can form usual compounds also under sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702. For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II. 2. 11 S. 705. Thus we have द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II. 2. 8. S. 702 and by the present sūtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms.

७१५। प्राप्तपक्षे च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पक्षे द्वितीयाभितति समानः । प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः । जीविकाप्राप्तः । आपन्नजीविकः । जीविकापन्नः । इह सूत्रे द्वितीयया अ इति द्वित्रया अकारोऽपि विधीयते । तेन जीविकां प्राप्ता जी प्राप्त-जीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715. The words prāpta 'obtained,' and āpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purussha compound.

The anuvṛtṭi of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekādhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24 S. 686. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः.

In this sūtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीयया + य; and the sūtra ordains अ substitution also, in case of feminine gender, Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sūtra

should be translated thus :—" The words प्रातः and आपन्न are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound ; and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine." Thus जीविकां प्रातः स्त्री = प्रातःजीविका. Here प्रातः is not upasarjana, and no sūtra would have shortened this. Similarly आपन्नजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sūtra II. 1. 24 S. 686, then we have जीविकां प्रातः स्त्री = जीविकाप्रातः ॥

७१६ । कात्याःपरिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छिन्नवर्षिना सुवन्तेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । ब्रह्म-
जातः । द्वयोरहोः समाहारो ब्रह्मः । ब्रह्मो जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः
सिद्धये षड्भूनां तत्पुरुषस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ हे भवनी जातस्य यस्य स ब्रह्मजातः । अहोऽह इति षड्यमाणाऽ
तेषां । पूर्वत्र तु न संख्ययाः समाहार इति निषेधः ॥

716. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'month old' (born a month ago.) So also सवत्सरजातः 'a year old' and ब्रह्मजातः 'Two days old.' This is a compound of two words ब्रह्म and जातः, as ब्रह्मो जातस्य यस्य = ब्रह्मजातः ॥ The word ब्रह्म itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वयोरहोः समाहारः = ब्रह्मः ॥ Thus हि + भवन् + षच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) = हि + भव + अ (अच् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789) ब्रह्मः ॥ Now this ब्रह्मः is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be हे भवनी जातस्य यस्य सः, then the form will be सवत्सरजातः; and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time. For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously. To obviate this difficulty we have the following.

Vārtika :—Enumeration should be made of a Tat-purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured. So we can compound हे भवनी जातस्य into ब्रह्मजातः ॥ The भवन् is changed to भव् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. But in the first case, we form a Samāhara compound, and so V. 4. 89 S. 793 applies, and we have no भव् substitution.

THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डेः । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वह्य । अक्षेषु शौण्डः अक्षशौण्डः । अधिशब्दोऽयं पठ्यते । अक्ष्युत्त-
पवाविति ख । ईश्वराधीनः ॥

717. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words *śaunḍa* 'skilled' &c. and the com-
pound is Tat-purusha.

Note :—The word शौण्डेः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates
a class of words beginning with *śaunḍa*.

As अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' A word ending with
अधि will take the affix ख (ईन by V. 4. 7. S. 2079) and will be a तत्पुरुषं com-
pound. Thus ईश्वराधीनः

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words :—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव,
4 ध्याड, 5 मधीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पड, (or अधिपड)
10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 अपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संख्याड, 15 अन्य, and 16 समीर.

७१८ । सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

एतैः सप्तम्यन्तं प्राग्वत् । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । आतपशुष्कः । स्थालीपक्वः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

718. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words *siddha* 'perfected,' *śushka* 'dried,'
pakva 'cooked' and *bandha* 'bound,' and the resulting
compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in *sānkāśya*.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.
स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel.'

७१९ । ध्वाङ्क्षणे क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते निन्दायाम् । तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष इव तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्षः । तीर्थकाक
इत्यर्थः ॥

719. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the word *dhvāṅksha*, 'a crow,' (and with
synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied ; and the re-
sulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वाङ्क्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i. e., a very greedy
person ; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

Note :—When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as तीर्थेष्वांशस्तिष्ठति. 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

७२० । कृत्यैर्ऋणे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यप्रत्ययान्तैः सह प्राग्वहावयवके । नासदेयम् ऋणम् । पूर्वाह्णे मेघं साम ॥

720. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

Note :—This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix ऋण and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, नासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI. 3. 14. S. 972. Otherwise we have नासदेयं ॥

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following case also :— पूर्वाह्णे मेघं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.'

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं ध्रुवा प्राग्वत् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञानगमात्रित्यसमासोऽयम् । अरण्येतिलकाः । वने कसेयकाः । हलन्तास्तप्तम्या इत्यलुक् ॥

721. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called Tat-purusha samāsa.

A sanjñā is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an Invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; any thing which does not answer to one's expectation. So also वने कसेयकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with sūtra

VI. 3. 9. S. 966. The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.

७२२ । क्तेनाहोरात्रावायवाः । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अहो रात्रिवायवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । पूर्वार्द्धकृतम् । अपररात्रकृतम् । अवयव-
महयं किम् । आह्नि दृष्टम् ॥

722. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वार्द्धकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपररात्रकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अह्नि दृष्टम् 'seen in day.'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रोच्येतस्सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । तत्रभुक्तम् ॥

723. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10S. 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.'

Note :—By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25. S. 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन प्राग्वन्निन्दायम् । अवतप्ते नकुलस्थितं त एतत् ॥

724. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground' (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man):
चापलम् ॥

Note:—The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

७२५ । पात्रेसमिताद्यश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते क्षेपे । पात्रेसमिताः । भोजनसमये एव संगता । नतु कार्ये । गेहेशूरः । गेहेनर्ही । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । चकारोऽवधारणार्थः । तेनैषां समासान्तरे घटकतया प्रवेशो न । परमाः पात्रेसमिताः ॥

725. The words like pâtre-samita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

Note:—All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udatta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

Thus the following is the list of the words:—पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time)). 3 उदुम्बरनशः 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 भवदकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूः, 17 गेहेनर्हीः, 18 गेहेक्षेत्री, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेनेही, 22 गेहेशाही, 23 गेहद्वजः, 24 गेहेधुष्टः, 25 गर्भेतृप्तः, 26 आखनिकबकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्षेत्री, 30 गोष्ठेपट्टः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेन्दिरिदिरा, 34 कर्णेशुरचुरा ॥ The force of च in the sūtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमाः पात्रेसमिताः, and it cannot form part of another compound.

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येणेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । एकशब्दस्य विकसंख्ये संज्ञायामिति नियमवाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं ज्ञातः पश्चादुल्लिख्यः ज्ञातादुल्लिख्यः । एकनाथः । सर्वयाज्ञिकाः । जरप्रैयादिकाः पुराणमीमांसकाः । नवपाठकाः । केवलवैयाकरणाः ॥

726. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pūrvakāla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purāṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

Note:—These compounds could have been formed by the rule II. 1. 57 S. 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sûtra II. 1. 50 S. 727.

The phrase सुप सुपा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकार्यं) or abiding in a common substratum

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrva kālā is not to be taken (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c, the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it.

As, ज्ञातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृष्टसनीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' बन्धप्ररूढम् 'burnt and healed.' एकनाथः 'having one master.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वयाज्ञिकाः "all the members of a sacrifice." सर्वमनुव्याः 'all men.' जरद्वस्ती 'old elephant.' जरन्वैयायिकाः 'old logician' जरवृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणमीमांसकाः old Mimansakas. पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवपाठकाः "New students." नवावसथम् ॥ केवल वैयाकरणाः "Only grammarians."

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः गारी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42.)

७२७ । दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकार्येनेत्यापादपरिसमाधेराधिकारः । संज्ञायामेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम् । पूर्वेषुकामशशी । सप्तर्षयः । नेह । उत्तरा वृक्षाः । पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः ॥

727. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter. This sūtra makes a niyama, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmagamī-in-the-east,' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' and पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative. See IV. 2. 107.

७२८ । तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे च वाच्ये विकसंख्ये प्राग्बद्धा । पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः । पूर्वशालः । समासे कृते विकल्पपूर्वपदावसंज्ञायां अ इति अ । ॥ सर्वनामो वृत्तिमात्रं पुंवङ्गावः* ॥ अपरशालः । पूर्वा शाला प्रिया अस्म्यति त्रिपदं बहुव्रीहौ कृते प्रियाशब्दे उत्तरपदे पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुषः । तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उदात्तः । पूर्वशालाप्रियः । विश्वु समाहारे नास्त्यनभिधानान् । संख्यायास्तद्धितार्थे । षण्णां मातृणामपत्यं षाण्मातुरः । पञ्च गावां धनं यस्याति त्रिपदं बहुव्रीह्यावधान्तरतत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे मति ॥ इन्द्रतत्पुरुषयोः उत्तरपदं नित्यसमासवचनम्* ॥

728. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita-affix अ) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) = पूर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 and VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Vart:—The sarvnamāns become Masculine when parts of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds; Krit, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekshesha and Sanādyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly अपरशालः ॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्व शालाप्रियः or अपरशालाप्रियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

If we make a Bahuvrīhi compound of the three words पूर्वा शाला मित्रा यस्य, where the word मित्रा is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वा शाला) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशाला ॥ Here the औ of शाला is udātta by VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, and this udātta will be retained in the Bahuvrīhi also, As पूर्वशालामित्रः ॥ Had the शाला and मित्रा been compounded first, and then the compound शालामित्र further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrīhi, then by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735, पूर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वशालामित्रः ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it.

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as षाण्मातुरः "a son of six mothers," a name of Kārtikeya. Here the Taddhita affix अण् is added by IV. 1. 115 S. 1118. In compounding पञ्चगावोधनं यस्य as a Bahuvrīhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II. 1. 11. S. 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vārtika applies :—

Vart :—The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpurusha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words. Therefore पञ्च and गावः must be necessarily compounded first as a samāhāra, there being no option possible here; and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrīhi with धने ॥ The compound of पञ्च + गो gets the affix ढच् by the following :—

७२९ । गोरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गोलात्तत्पुरुषाद् ढच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधनः ॥

729. The affix ढच् comes after गो standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound.

Thus पञ्च + गो + ढच् = पञ्चगवः ॥ पञ्चगवधनः ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows.'

Note :—Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पञ्चभिर्गोभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चगुः ॥ (Here the affix ढक् V. 1. 37 S. 1702 is elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 and hence the samāsanta affix ढच् is not added). So also द्वागुः ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision' ? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpurusha, will not debar the samāsānta affix : as पंचम्यो गोभ्य वा गते = पंचगो + दच् + रुच्य (the tach is added by this sūtra, and the taddhita रुच्य to denote तत् आगतः by IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) = पंचगौरुच्यम्, पंचगौमयम्, or दशगौरुच्यम्, दशगौमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पंचगवधनः ॥ But if the option of II. 1. 11 S. 665 be applied, and पंच + गो be not compounded as a Tatpurusha, then there will be no samāsānta दच्, and the Bahuvrīhi will be पंचगोधनः ॥ This is on the view that the vārtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृषच् च मिथे अस्य = वाग्दृषद्विभ्यः ॥ So also छत्रोपानद्विभ्यः ॥ Here वाक् and दृषच् are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samāsānta दच् by V. 4. 106 S. 930.

—:0:—

THE DVIGU COMPOUND.

७३० । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगु । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्धितार्थेऽन्त्योक्तः संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः स्यात् ॥

730. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्धितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound.

The word taddhitārtha of sūtra II. 1. 51 S. 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpurusha, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below. They are of three sorts, namely (1) Tadditārtha dvigu, as दशकपालः, " an offering prepared in ten cups, formed by the affix अण् of IV. 2. 16 which is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1217; 1080. (2) upapada dvigu, as, पंचनाभविभ्यः, and (3) samāhara dvigu, as, पंचपत्नी ॥ The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्विवचनः समाहार एकवत्स्यात् । स नपुंसकमिति नपुंसकत्वम् । पञ्चानां गवां समाहारः पञ्चगवम् ॥

731. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52 S. 730) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning ' the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. This Samāhāra Dvigu is always Neuter by II. 4. 17 S. 821. As, पञ्चगव 'an aggregate of five cows,' (IV. 1. 21.).

Why do we say " a Samāhāra Dvigu is singular " ? When it is a Taddhitārtha Dvigu it is not singular. As पञ्चसु कपलिवु संस्कृताः = पञ्चकपाजाः ; similarly पञ्चभिः गोभिः क्रीताः = पञ्चगवः पदाः ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्सयमानानि कुत्सनैः सह प्राप्तवत् । वैद्याकरणसूचिः । मीमांसकदुर्दुरुहः ॥

732. Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As वैद्याकरणसूचिः " A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (स्व) when asked any question." So also मीमांसकदुर्दुरुहः " an evil conducted mimānsaka," From $\sqrt{\text{दुह}}$ दृष्ट्वे with the prefix दुर् and the Uṇādi कृद ॥

Another example of such compounds is शस्त्रिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobriatory signification as such. Therefore, it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोब्राह्मणः ' the bad Brāhmaṇa ' &c.

७३३ । पापणके कुत्सितैः । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रावयवः । पापनापितः । अणककुलालः ॥

733. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and apaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) ; by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound ; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtra I. 2. 43 S. 653 and II. 2. 30, S. 654 that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः ' a contemptible barber ' पाप or अणक-कुलालः ' a contemptible potter.'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

यन इव शयानो यनशयामः । इह पूर्वपदं तत्सदृशे लाञ्छयिकमिति सूचयितुं लौकिकविषये इवशब्दः प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वनिपातनिबन्धार्थं सूचकः ॥

734. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna; and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्यामः कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Kṛiṣṇa black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुसुमश्वेती 'lily-white,' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding,' लघोप-परिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattā' or फला इव तन्दुलाः 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

In analysing the above compound घनश्यामः we must use the word इव, as घन इव श्यामः, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamāna word should stand *first*.

७३५ । उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे । २ । १ । ५६ ॥

उपमेयं व्याघ्रादिभिः सह प्राशस्त्याधारणधर्मेत्याप्रयोगे सति । विशेषस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूचम् । पुरुषव्याघ्रः । नृलोमः । व्याघ्रादिराकृतिगणः । सामान्याप्रयोगे किम् । पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः ॥

735. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of last sūtra 734 by which the substantive (upamāna) would have stood first; by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength)

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*.

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमा- words, but never with सामान्य बचन ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence :—पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव बलः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलम्, कराकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ।

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. भालु = A bear. 4. वृषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिम् = An elephant. 10. तृक्ष = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रूह = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽम्

1. मुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. कराकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः ॥

७३६ । विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

भेदकं समानाधिकरणेन भेदेन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । नीलशुणलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलमद्वयनाक्तचिह्नितम् । कृष्णसर्पः । क्वचिन्न । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden ; as, रामोजामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jamadagni') : भर्तुनः कार्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.' Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमधीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिपातानिवृत्तार्थमिदम् । पूर्ववैयाकरणः । अपराध्यापकः ॥ अपरस्यार्थे पञ्चभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥
अपरश्चास्यार्थश्च पञ्चार्थः । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वा परंत्वात्नेन समासे वीरैक इति हिं
रवात् । बहुलमहणाऽविध्यति ॥

737. The case-inflected words *pūrva* 'prior,' *aparast*, 'other,' *prathama* 'first,' *charama* 'last,' *jaghanya* 'hindmost' *samāna* 'equal,' *madhya* 'middle,' *madhyama* 'middle,' and *vīra* 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

This sūtra is also a *niyama* rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound. Thus पूर्ववैयाकरणः ॥ अपराध्यापकः ॥

Vari—The word पञ्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्थ ॥ As अपर + अर्थः = पञ्चार्थः ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीरः where *vīra* stands not first, for II. 1. 49 S. 726 with regard to *eka* is superseded by the present sūtra with regard to *vīra*, and the compound ought to be वीरैकः ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II. 1. 57 S. 736.

७३८ । श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यादिषु ल्यर्थवचने कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः ॥

738. The case-inflected words *śreṇī* 'class' &c., are compounded with words *kṛita* 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

Vart :—The words *श्रेणि* &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चिच् (*chvi*). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = श्रेणीकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

Note :—The class of words called कृतादि are *ākṛiti-gaṇa* and cannot be known a priori. This *Samāsa* is also an invariable *Samāsa* by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in *chvi* (चिच्) are called *gati* (I. 4. 61.)

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called *areṇī* or guild. The *samāsa* is *nitya*. As श्रेणीकृतम् The lengthening here is by VII. 4. 26 S. 2120.

७३६ । क्तेन नञ्चिशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ २ । १ । ६० ॥

नञ्चिशिष्टेन क्तान्तेनानञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते । कृतं च तत्कृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवशीर्षा
सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्योपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ॥

739. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ, is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' i. e. partly done and partly not done.

Note :—The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by मुद् and ह्ङ् augments.

As अशित + अनशित = अशितानशितम् ॥ So also क्लिष्टाक्लितम् ॥

Vart :—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i. e. an era making king. So also देवब्राह्मणः = देवपूजको ब्राह्मणः "A Brāhmaṇa who 'worships any deva."

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सद्देयः । वक्ष्यमाणेन महत् आकारः । महावैयाकरणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । ब्रह्माद्भुत इत्यर्थः ॥

740. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सद्देयः 'a good physician. The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुषः 'a great man ;' परमन्वयः 'the highest person ;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person ;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टो गौः कर्दमान् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out "

७४१ । बृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गोबुन्दारकः ॥ व्याघ्रादेराकुंतिगणत्वादेव सिद्धे सामान्यप्रयोगार्थे बच्चनम् ॥

741. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words *vṛindāra-ka* 'eminent,' *nāga* 'serpent or elephant,' *kūñjara* 'elephant,' and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' The *Vyāghradī* class (II. 1. 56 S. 735) being an *Akritigaṇa*, the forms like *go-vṛindāraka* could well have been obtained under that *sūtra*, the making of it a separate *sūtra* is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II. 1. 56. S. 735.

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने । २ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कतरकः । कतमकलापः । गोत्रं च चरयोः सहेति जातित्वम् ॥

742. The words *katara* 'which or who of two' and *katama* 'which 'or who of many,' when used in asking questions about the *jāti* (IV. 1. 63. S. 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As कतरकः and कतमकलापः 'which of the two is *kāṭha*, and which of these *kālāpa*?' Here *Gotra* and *charaṇa*, are *jāti*, as defined previously in IV. 1. 63. S. 518.

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word *जातिपरिप्रश्ने* in the aphorism; since the word *कतम* is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word *कतर* will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word *कतम* has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining *jāti*; as कतरो भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is *Devadatta*.' and कतमो भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is *Devadatta*.' Here there is no questioning about *jāti*, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

कुत्सितो राजा किराजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743. The word *kim* 'what,' when implying contempt, is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects.' किं सखा योऽभिदुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix इष् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्राराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. S. 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्यराजा = किंराजः 'whose king;' किंसखः ॥ Or को राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४ । पोदायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेद्वक्त्रणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रिया-
व्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः । २ । १ । ६५ ॥

744. A case-inflected word denoting a jāti, is compounded with the words potā 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grīṣṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milk-cow i. e. a cow which has calved recently,' vasā 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇi 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravakṭri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyāpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow'; and the resulting compound is called Tatpuruṣha.

For examples see under sūtra 746.

७४५ । तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

745. A Tat-puruṣa compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

Note:—"Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-puruṣa). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of karmadhāraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikarāṇa), whereas in other Tat-puruṣas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

AR, परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udātta accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130, S. 3864 (the word राज्यम् has udātta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly वाचिका + वृन्दारिका = वाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI. 3. 42. S. 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya) by the next sūtra :—

Note :—Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As वाचिका + भार्या = वाचिकभार्या ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore the word वाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुंस्त्वकर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । इ । इ । ७४७ ॥

746. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारय जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुंस्कात्पर ऊङभावो यस्मिन्मयाभूत् पूर्व पुंम् ।
 पूरणीप्रियविश्वप्राप्तः पुंस्त्वकात्प्राप्तेन विधीयते । महानवमी । कृष्यचतुर्दशी । महात्रिया । तथा कोपवदिः
 प्रतिविज्जः पुंस्त्वकावः कर्मधारयादौ प्रतिपसूयते । पाचकस्त्री । इत्तभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौम्रभार्या ।
 लुकेशभार्या । ब्राह्मणभार्या । एवं पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभपोटा । पोटा
 छात्रिसलक्षणा । इभयुवतिः । अग्निहस्तोक्तः । उद्विष्यत्कतिपयम् । ग्राष्टिः सङ्कल्पमूला, गोगृष्टिः ।
 धेनुर्नवप्रसूतिका, गोधेनुः । वशा वल्ग्या, गोवशा । वेदन् गर्भवातिनी, गोवेदन् । बन्कयथी तद्वयवत्सा,
 गोवन्कयथी । कठप्रयक्ता । कठश्रेष्ठियः । कठाध्यापकः । कठधूर्तः ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras (VI. 3. 40 S. 841 &c.) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate ऊ (VI. 3. 37 S. 838) Thus वाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38 S. 839 Thus इत्तवृन्दारिका, इत्तजातीया, इत्तदेशीया, पञ्चमवृन्दारिका, पञ्चमजातीया, पञ्चमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39: S. 840 सौम्रवृन्दारिका, सौम्रजातीया, सौम्रदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, S. 841 as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, S. 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine. (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply to खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

This sūtra ordains masculinisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sūtras VI. 3. 34 S. 831 &c. (e. g. if the second word is an ordinal, द्विय, &c.). Thus the ordinal नवम becomes in the feminine नवमी ॥ महती आसौनवमी = महानवमी ॥ Here महती has become masculine, inspite of the prohibition of VI. 3. 34. so also कृष्यचतुर्दशी ॥ Similarly महात्रिया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 37 S. 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form." The present sūtra is an exception to this prohibition also. Thus पाचकणी ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 38 S. 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral." The present sūtra makes an exception to this also. As. इत्तभार्या, पंचमभार्या and not इत्ताभार्या &c. पंचमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 39 S. 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the vṛddhi of the first syllable." The present sūtra is an exception to this also. As सौम्यभार्या and not सौमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 40 S. 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to this also. As सुकेशभार्या and not सुकेशीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 41 S. 842 says "a feminine word expressing jāti does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to it also. As ब्राह्मणभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words जातीव and ऐसीव ॥ As, पाचकजातीव and पाचकऐसीव ॥

Now we shall give examples of sūtra II. 1. 65. S. 744.

As इमषोढा 'a young female elephant' षोढा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c. इमषुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदध्वन् कतिपयन् 'a little butter milk,' गोमुष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहत, गोवष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kāṭha,' कठभोजिन्य, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

७४७ । प्रशंसावचनैश्च । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एतैः सह जातिः प्राग्वत् । गोमत्तल्लिका । गोमन्चार्थिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गोवोद्धः । गोतल्लजः । प्रशस्ता गौरित्यर्थः । मत्तल्लिकादयो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यनिष्ठाः । जातिः किम् । कुमारी मत्तल्लिका ॥

747. A case-inflected word, denoting a jāti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढी) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow.' गोमतल्लिका 'an excellent cow' गोमन्वर्द्धिका 'an excellent cow.' गोवोद्धः and गोतल्लजः ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.' Words like प्रशस्त, शोभन, रमणीय &c., which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like शुचि, श्रद्ध &c., are not to be taken here. In गो + उद्ध there is अवह् by VI. 1. 123.

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.' Here there is no compounding. "मतल्लिका, मन्वर्द्धिका, प्रकाण्डं, उद्ध, तल्लज are praise denoting words." (Amarakosta).

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनिर्णयार्थं सूत्रम् । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया युवतिशब्देऽपि समस्यते । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवत्यामेव जरतीधर्मापलम्भेन तद्रूपारोपास्तानामाधिकारणम् ॥

748. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-puru-sha.

The sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound:

Note:—The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the apthorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि मह्यम् ॥

'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवखलतिः ॥ So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरत् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old).

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोज्योष्णम् । तुल्यध्वतः । सदध्वतः । अजात्या किम् । भोज्य भोजनः । प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्यादिं अणसमासोऽपि न ॥

749. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote jāti, being in the same case with them ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सहश्वेतः 'equally white.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a jāti'? Observe भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57. S. 736.

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह प्राग्बद्ध । कृष्णसारङ्गः ॥

750. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope.

७५१ । कडाराः कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये वा पूर्वे प्रयोज्याः । कडारजैमिनिः । जैमिनिकडारः ॥

The words kadârah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍârjaiminiḥ or Jaiminikaḍârah. 'The tawny Jaimini.' So also गडुलशाण्डिल्यः or शाण्डिल्यगडुलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । इह गणे श्रमणा प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः पठ्यन्ते । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव ज्ञापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic".

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender ; with the words which appear as masculine, e. g. श्रम्यापक श्रमिरुपक, पांडत

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.' In fact, this is the sūtra from which we infer the existence (jñāpaka) of the above paribhāṣā of लिङ्विहित &c

श्रमणादिः ।

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone 'abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. सापसी = A hermit, "devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. खपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

७५३ । अतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

अतुष्पाज्जातिवाचिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राग्वत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * अतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhinī, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Part :—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here :—कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣhī or Svastimatī.'

Note :—Why do we say 'quadrupeds ?' Observe ब्राह्मणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । मयूरो व्यंसको मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसको धूर्तः । उद्वक्त्रायाक्च उच्चावचम् । निश्चितं च प्रच्युतं च निश्चप्रचम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य सः अकिञ्चनः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं यस्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजान्तरं । चिदेव चिन्मात्रम् ॥

आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये * ॥ असंज्ञात पिबत्येव सततं यथाभिधीयते सा अभिधीयता । पच्यतश्चज्जाता । खातमांशता ॥

एहीडादयोऽप्यपशव्ये * ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्मणि तवेहिडम् । एहिपचम् । उद्धर कोष्ठादुत्सृज वेहीति यस्यां क्रियायां सा उद्धरोत्सृजा । उद्धरविधना । असातत्यार्थमिह पाठः ॥

अहि कर्मणा बहुलमासीदप्ये कर्तारं चाभिरुधाति । * ॥ अहीत्येत्कर्माणां बहुलं समस्यते आभीक्ष्येण स्यात् समसेन चेतर्कताभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ अहिजोडः । अहिस्तम्बः ॥

754. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च्च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसकः is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसकः ॥ So also उदक् चावाक्च = उद्यावचम् । निश्चितं च प्रश्नित च = निश्चप्रश्नितम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य = अस्तिकिञ्चनः ॥

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक ॥ 2. छात्र व्यंसक ॥ 3. कम्बोजवुण्ड ॥ 4. धवनवुण्ड ॥ 5. हस्तगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पार्वगृह्य or पार्वगृह्य ॥ 7. लाङ्गुलेगृह्य or लाङ्गुलगृह्य ॥ 8. पुनर्वाय ॥

GANĀ SŪTRA एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1. एहीडं वर्तते ॥ 2. एहियं वर्तते ॥ 3. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4. अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5. प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6. एहिस्वागता ॥ 7. अपेहिस्वागता ॥ 8. एहिहितीया ॥ 9. अपेहिहितीया ॥ 10. प्रेहिहितीया ॥ 11. एहिकटा ॥ 12. अपेहिकटा or अपेहिकटा ॥ 13. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहिकटा ॥ 14. आहरकटा ॥ 15. प्रहिकर्मा ॥ 16. प्रोहिकर्मा ॥ 17. विधमचूडा ॥ उद्धमचूडा ॥ 18. उद्धरचूडा ॥ 19. आहरचेल ॥ 20. आहरवसना ॥ 21. (आहरसेना) ॥ 22. आहरवनिता ॥ 23. (आहरवितना) ॥ 24. कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ 25. उद्धरोत्सृजा ॥ 26. उद्धरावसृजा ॥ 27. उद्धमविधमा ॥ 28. उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा ॥ 29. उत्पतनिपता ॥ 30. उद्यावचम् ॥ 31. उद्यमोचम् ॥ 32. आचोपचम् ॥ 33. आचपराचम् ॥ 34. नखप्रचम् ॥ 35. निश्चप्रचम् ॥ 36. अस्तिकिञ्चन ॥ 37. छात्राकालक ॥ 38. पीत्वास्थिरक ॥ 39. भुत्त्वाञ्जित ॥ 40. प्रोष्यपापीयान् ॥ 41. उत्पथपाकला or व्याकुला ॥ 42. निपत्यरोहिणी ॥ 43. निषण्णश्यामा ॥ 44. अपेहिप्रघसा ॥ 45. एहिघिसा ॥ 46. इहपञ्चमी ॥ 47. इहहितीया ॥

G. S. जहिकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1. जहजोङ् ॥ 2. जहजोङ्म् ॥ 3. जहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4. (जहिस्तम्बः) ॥ 5. उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or उम्ब ॥

G. S. आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातसे ॥

I. अभीतापिबता ॥ 2. पञ्चभुज्जता ॥ 3. खादतमोदता ॥ 4. खादतवसता ॥ 5. खादताचमता ॥ 6. आहरनिषया ॥ 7. आहरनिषिकरा ॥ 8. आचपनिषिकरा ॥ 9. उत्पचविपचा ॥ 10. भिन्धिलक्षणा ॥ 11. कृन्धिविचक्षणा ॥ 12. पचलक्षणा ॥ 13. पचमच्छदा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1. अकुतोऽभयः ॥ 2. कान्तिर्णकः ॥ 3. कन्दिशिकः ॥ 4. नाहोपुरुषिका ॥
5. अहमहमिका ॥ 6. यदृच्छा ॥ 7. एहिरेखाहिरा ॥ 8. जन्मजावष्टुजा ॥ 9. ब्रव्यान्तरम् ॥
10. भवश्यकार्यम् ॥

Gana-sūtra :—A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant. As अस्मीनपिबता “the place where constantly is heard the cry “eat ye”, “drink ye.”—a feast where people are called to eat and drink. Similarly पचतवृजता “cook-roast”—a kitchen. खातमोदता ॥

Gana-sūtra :—The compounds एहीडं &c. are formed when they refer to some other object. Thus एहीड is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीडं are used. So also एहिपचम् ॥ So also उज्जरोत्सृजा meaning “उज्जरोकाष्ठो उज्जरोत्सृजेहि” इति यस्यो क्रियायां ॥ So also उज्जमविधमा ॥ These are words which do not denote “constant action”.

Gana-sūtra :—The finite verb जहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent. As जहिजोड. “He who constantly repeats jahi-jōḍa.” Similarly जहिस्तम्बः ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकुतोभयः, another kingship is राजान्तरम्; that which is purely Intelligence is called चिन्मात्रम् ॥

७५५ । ईषद्वृत्ता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषत्पिङ्गलः ॥ ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755. The word *ishat* ‘a little,’ is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a krit-affix; and the compound is *Tatpurusha*.

Vart :—It should be stated that the word ईषन् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कडारः ‘a somewhat proud,’ ईषत्पिङ्गलः ‘a little brownish,’ ईषद्विकटः ‘a little hideous,’ ईषदुन्नतः ‘a little raised,’ ईषन् पीतम् ‘a little yellow,’ ईषद्भक्तम् ‘a little red.’

Note :—Why do we say ‘with words expressing qualities’? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्यः; there is no compounding here.

७५६ । नञ् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

नञ् सुपा सह सम्भवे ॥

756. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As ब्राह्मणः=अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man) The *न* of *न* is elided by VI. 3. 73 : which is given below.

७५७ । नलोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नमो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणः ॥

757. The *न* of the Negative particle *नञ्*, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a *न* is inserted after *न* by the following :—

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

लुप्तनकारान्नञ उत्तरपदस्याजर्वेनेडागमः स्यात् । अनञ्चः । अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहाय्यं विकल्प्यते । रत्तोहागमलक्षणेदेहाः प्रयोजनमिति बहुतायामसंहितमिति च भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् । तेनानुपलब्धिविवादाऽविप्लवमित्यादि सिद्धम् ॥ नमो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे * ॥ अपचसि त्वं आत्म ॥ नैकधेयादौ तु नशब्देन सह सुप्सुपोति समासः ॥

758. After the above *न*-elided *नञ्* (i. e. after *अ*) is added the augment *नुद्*, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञ्चः 'an animal which is not a horse.' Why do we use सकात् "after such a नञ्" ? Otherwise नुद् would have been the augment of नञ् and not of the subsequent word, for the sūtra would have read thus नुडचि ॥ Adding नुद् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added before अ but after it, against I. 1, 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 S. 134 will cause the doubling of the final न of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

When the force of नञ् is that of "absence," i. e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayī bhāva. For in an Avyayībhāva., the sense of the first term is prominent ; in a Tatpurusha the sense of the Second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahābhāshya, we find the compound असन्देहाः in the sentence रत्तोहागमलक्षणेदेहाः प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar ; similarly असंहितं in बहुतायामसंहितं a vārtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like अनुपलब्धिः, अविवादः, अविप्लवः &c.

Part:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अपचसि एवं ज्ञात्वा 'thou cookest very badly O knave.'

In the expression नैकधा &c. 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II. 1. 4 S. 649.

७५६ । नभ्राणनपाञ्चवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्र-
कृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पाठिति शत्रन्तः । वेदा इत्युत्पन्नतः । न सत्या असत्याः न असत्या नासत्याः । न पुञ्चतीति नमुचिः । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न खमस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयोः पुंसकभावो निपातनात् । न क्षरतीति नक्षत्रम् । क्षीयते क्षरितर्वा क्षत्रमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्रः । क्रमेर्जः । न अक्रमस्मिन्निति नाकः ॥

759. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative । नभ्राजते = नभ्राद् "a dark cloud," formed by क्तिप् and नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् "a grand son." Formed by णत् affix. न वेति = नवेदा, formed by अस्तु ॥ सस्य साधनः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः "Ashvins." न मुञ्चति = न मुचिः "a demon slain by Indra." formed by क्तिन् इन् affix (Uṇādi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलेः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix. न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७७ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नम् प्रकृत्या वा । नगाः अगाः पर्वताः । अप्राणिष्विति किम् । अगो वृषलः क्षीतेन । नित्यं क्रीडिष्यतां नित्यमिष्यतुवर्तमाने ॥

760. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to नम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being. Observe अगो वृषलः क्षीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here. See II. 1. 17, S. 711.

In the next sūtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood. Its anuvritti comes from II. 2. 17 S. 711,

७६१। कुगतिप्रादयः । २। २। १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन निर्व्यं समस्यन्ते । कुत्सितः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः । गतिभेदव्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

761. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction ; and the resulting compound is Tatpuruṣha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60 S. 23.) as, उररीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) यद्वरीकरोति ॥

Note:—So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुस्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also ह्र and अति meaning 'respect' in ह्रस्पुरुषः 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; आ means a 'little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish.'

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्णं or कदुष्णम्, कवोष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम्, and आबद्धम् ॥

७६२। ऊर्यादिच्चिडाचश्च । १। ४। ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्युः । ऊरीकृत्य । उररीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पदपदाकृत्य ॥ कारिका-
शब्दस्वोपसंख्यानम् ८ । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762. The words uri, 'assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū, kri or अस्) are called Gati.

In this sūtra the word gati is understood from I. 4. 60 S. 23.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57 S. 2117 and 2128); uri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words ऊरी and उररी mean 'to assent and spread.' As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 S. 761 and VII. 1. 37 S. 3332).

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य 'having made white what was not white.'

So also the words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य "having made the sound pat."

Vārtika :—The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति.

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kārīkā means "action."

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खाङ्कृत्य । अनितिपरं किम् । खाङितिं कृत्वा निरधीवत् ॥

763. A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

Note :—The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ; अन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खाङ्कृत्य "having made the sound khāṭṭ." खाङ्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783), यत्खाङ्करोति (VIII. 2. 71.)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाङितिं कृत्वा निरधीवत्.

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764. The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य 'having honored' (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783).

Note :—Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः ॥

७६५ । भूषणोऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अलंकृत्य । भूषणे किम् । अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः । पर्याप्तमित्यर्थः । अनुकरणमित्यादि त्रिसूत्री स्वभावात्कृन्विषया ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332). Why do we say 'when अलं means ornament'? Observe अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः 'he goes having eaten enough.'

This sūtra, with the two sūtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein.

Note :—The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—‘prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.’ The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament.

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हस्य । मध्ये हस्वेत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हस्वा गतः । हतं परिग्रहा गत इत्यर्थः ॥

766. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘non-accepting,’ in composition with verb.

As अन्तर्हस्य गृहगतः “he went away having abandoned home.”

Note :—The word परिग्रह means ‘taking’ or ‘accepting,’ अपरिग्रह means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely ‘rejecting,’ ‘abandoning.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning to abandon’? Observe अन्तर्हस्वा वृषिकां जयेनोगतः “the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.”

७६७ । कणमनसी अद्धाप्रीतिघाते । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहस्य पयः पिबति । मनोहस्य । कणेशब्दः सप्तमीप्रतिरूपको निपातोऽभिलाषातिशये वर्तते । मनःशब्दोऽप्यत्रैव ॥

767. The words kane and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of ‘reaction by satiation.’

The word अद्धा-प्रीतिघात means ‘satisfaction of desire.’ As कणेहस्य पयः पिबति “he drinks milk to his heart’s content or till he is satisfied” So also मनोहस्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहस्वागतः “he went away with food or mind satisfied.” Here the word कण means the small particles of rice. The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes ‘eager desire.’ So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽव्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768. The word purah “in front of,” when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have
पूः पुरौ, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डगतः.

Note:—The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix अस्ति forms पुरस्, and by I. 1. 38 S. 448 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for pūrva). The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 S. 761 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 S. 3783 (3) to change the: ५ into स् by VIII. 3. 40 S. 154.

७६६ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति मान्तमव्ययं गतिसंज्ञं स्वीकृतं । अस्तंगव्य ॥

769. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39 S. 449); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगव्य साविता पुनर्येति '(the sun) having set, rises again'; अस्तंगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished.' यदस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown.'

७७० । अचछ गत्यर्थवद्देशु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अचछगात्य । अचछोद्य । अभिमुखं गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अव्ययं किम् । जलमच्छ गच्छति ॥

770. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अचछ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word आभि । As अचछगात्य, and अचछोद्य । Why do we say when an Avyaya? Observe जलमच्छ गच्छति.

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदः कृत्य अदः कृतम् । परं प्रत्युपदेशे प्रत्युदाहरणम् । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771. The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु.

Note :—The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ । १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिरोभूय ॥

772. The word *tiras* when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called *gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i. e., standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरःकृत्य । तिरस्कृत्य । तिरः कृत्वा ॥

773. The word *tiras* meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called *gati*, when the verb *kri* follows.

This is an example of *प्राप्त-विभाषा*. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156).

Note :—The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42 S. 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञौ स्तः । उपाजेकृत्य । उपाजे कृत्वा । भन्वाजेकृत्य । भन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधारेत्यर्थः ॥

774. The words *upâje* and *anvâje* both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called *gati* when used along with the verb *kri*.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा 'having given support.' भन्वाजे कृत्य or भन्वाजे कृत्वा.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥ ऋथं इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत्य । साक्षात्कृत्वा । लवणकृत्य । लवणं कृत्वा । मानसत्वं निपातनात् ॥

775. The words sākshāt, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vart:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix च्चि is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा; लक्षणकृत्य or लक्षणकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before." The च्चि in लक्षणं &c. is an anomaly or nipātana.

७७६ । अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अशुभमयेत्यर्थः । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्यर्थः । अनत्याधानमुपश्लेषणं तत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणिं शेते ॥

776. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati, when the verb kri follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. That is "having so determined in his mind." When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति "he ponders having placed the word in his mind."

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृमि वा गतिसंज्ञाः द्युरनत्याधाने । मध्येकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाचं नियम्यत्यर्थः ॥

777. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा; पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा । निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा. "Having controlled the speech."

Note:—But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.'

७७८ । नित्यं हस्ते पाणानुपयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृमि । उपयमनं विवाहः । स्वीकारमात्रमित्यन्ये । हस्तेकृत्य । पाणौकृत्य ॥

778. The word हस्ते 'in the hand,' pānau 'in the

hands' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri,' in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married.'

Note :—But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः 'he went out having taken in his hand a kâreshâpana (a coin).

The word उपग्रसन means "marriage." According to others it means "merely acceptance."

७७९ । प्राध्वंबन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वमित्यव्ययम् । प्राध्वंकृत्य । बन्धनेनानुकूलं कृत्वेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थनादिना त्वानुकूल्यकरणे । प्राध्वं कृत्वा ॥

779. The indeclinable word prâdhvam, followed by the verb kri, is always called gati, when used in the sense of "binding."

The word प्राध्वम् ends in न and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वंकृत्य "having bound properly and so made agreeable." But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा "having made agreeable, by prayer &c."

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७९ ॥

जीविकामिव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदामिव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्ये किम् । जीविकां कृत्वा ।

प्रादिग्रहणमगत्यर्थम् । सुपुरुषः । अत्र दार्ष्टिक्यानि ॥

पादयोः गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगम आचार्यः ॥ प्राचार्यः ॥

अत्याद्यः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो नात्ममतिमालः ॥

अवादयः कृष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया* ॥ अवकृष्टः कोकिलः प्रा अवकोकिलः ॥

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया* ॥ परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय धर्षय्ययनः ॥

निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या* ॥ निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्ब्या निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधः* ॥ वृक्ष गति ॥

780. The words jîvikâ and upanishad, followed by the verb kri, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य "having made it, as if it was a means of living"; उपनिषत्कृत्य—"having made it like an upanishad." Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe जीविकां कृत्वा "having made his livelihood."

PRĀDI SAMĀSA.

Having given above illustrations of gati-samāsas; we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c. by II. 2. 18. S. 761. The प्र &c., as used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुपुरुषः ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following vārtikas, which treat of Prādi Samāsa :—

Vart:—The word प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a former teacher'; so also प्रपितामहः "who precedes the grand-father i. e. a great-grand-father." प्रमातामहः ॥

Vart:—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाग्र = अतिखट्वः (I. 2. 44 and 48 S. 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.' So also अभिमुखः (= अभिगतो मुखं) उद्गैलः, प्रत्यक्षः ॥

Vart:—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix; as अवकुटः कौकिलया = अव कौकिलः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring. So also परिशील (= परिशीलो वीरूपा), संवर्ष (संवर्षो वर्मणा).

Vart:—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix; as परिश्रानोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययनः 'weary of study.' अलंकुमारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; So also निर्वाणसिः ॥ So also उत्कुलः (= उत्क्रान्तः कुलात्) and निर्गुलम् (निर्गतमंगुलिभ्यः) ॥

Vart:—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थाविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वासपीइव 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya'; as वृत्तं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree,' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother,'

UPAPADA-SAMĀSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ६२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते पदे कर्मणीत्यादि वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्वाचकं पदोपपदसंज्ञं स्यात्तास्मिन् सत्येव
ब्रह्ममाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

781. Here (in this Third Book of Pāṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. S. 2913 कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. (Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + कर् + कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.)

७८२ । उपपदमातिङ् । २ । २ । १६ ॥

उपपदं सुबन्तं समर्थेन निवृत्त्यं समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्चायं समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भं अस् कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भूत् । नाडि लुङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशान्माङ् उपपदम् । अतिङ्प्रमाणं ज्ञापयति सुपेत्येतन्नेहानुवर्तत इति । पूर्वसूत्रेऽपि गतिग्रहणं पृथक्कृत्या-
तिङ्प्रमाणं तन्मापक्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्रा-
कमुत्पत्तेरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याप्ती । अश्वक्रीती । कच्छपी ॥

782. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92 S. 781), which ends with a case-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ + अस् (genitive) + कारः "the maker of pot" for kṛit words govern Genitive. This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech.

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe मा भवान् भूत् ॥ Here the word मा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III. 3. 175 S. 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist. Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भूत् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant ; since the *anuvṛitti* of the words सुप् सुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the aphorism II. 2. 18 S. 761. The following Paribhāṣhā also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्तिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras III. 2. 18 and 19 S. 2932 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus व्याप्ती ॥ The word व्याप्ति is formed by the affix क added under III. 1. 136 S. 2898 as qualified by the vārtika under III. 1. 137 S. 2899. The compounding of वि + व्याप्ति + प्री is a Gati samāsa, for वि and व्या are Gati with regard to the verb प्रा ॥ Had this compounding taken place after प्रा had become a noun प्र and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till प्र had taken the feminine affix दाप् also, and it would not have taken डीप् ॥ Because the word प्र by itself does not denote any jāti. So the feminine प्रा will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short अ, it will not take jāti डीप् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद् alone in the above Paribhāṣhā, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when प्रा is compounded with the noun प्र, we get प्राप्र ; then for the compounding of प्राप्र with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the प्रा when preceded by व्या, the word व्या प्रा may be treated as an *upapada* (and not *gati*), but the word वि cannot be treated as an *upapada* by any rule. So the word *gati* is properly used in the above Paribhāṣhā.

So also अद्वक्त्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वन क्रीयते सा = अद्वक्त्राती ; add डीप् (IV. 1. 50 S. 506) and we have अद्वक्त्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix दाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अद्व the form would have been अद्वक्त्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case डीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

This word अद्वक्त्रीती is an example of kāraka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृता &c., (II. 1. 32. S. 694),

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन पिबति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III. 2, 4, S. 2916, by Yoga-vibhāga. Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun प taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken टप् and not ङप् ; similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमैवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमैव तुल्यविधानं यदुपपद्यते तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वादुङ्कारम् । नेह । कालसमयवेलासु तुष्टम् । कालः समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमैवेति किम् । अमे भोजम् । अमे भुक्त्वा । विभाषामे प्रथमपूर्वोव्यति कस्यानष्टौ ॥ अमा चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and खमुङ्).

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणङ्कारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुष्टम् added by rule III. 3. 167 S. 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word "only" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, S. 3345 declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अमे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अमेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अमेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अमेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्तरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपपदस्तृतीयाथानित्यादीन्नुपपदान्यनन्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकेनोपपदं भुङ्क्ते । मूलकोपपदम् ॥

784. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47 S. 3368 &c.,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47. S. 3368 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपर्वशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकनोपर्वशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.

Note :—For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c S. 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 S. 3381 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्ता as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāshā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्नुपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्चैः कृत्य उच्चैः कृत्वा । अव्यये यपाभि-
मेतेति क्त्वा । तृतीयाप्रभृतीनीति किम् । अलं कृत्वा । खलु कृत्वा ॥

785. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvā; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्ता which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृत्वा. Here the affix क्ता is added by sūtra III. 4. 59 S. 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्ता is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्; other wise not, See VII. 1. 37.

Why do we say 'an upapad ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c.? अलं कृत्वा, or खलु कृत्वा. Where there is no composition.

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययवैरङ्गुल्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽच् स्यात् । हे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्य अङ्गुलम्
दाह । निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786. The affix aḥ comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word aṅguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it.

Thus हे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्य = अङ्गुलम् दाह ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it : as निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो = निरङ्गुलम्, अव्यङ्गुलम् ॥

Note :—This compounding takes place by II. 1. 51. This is a TaddhitArtha compound, the taddhita affix माचच् being elided by the Vārtika प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्

"there is always the elision of the affix माञ्चच् denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed". See V. 2. 37 Vārt).

७८७ । अहःसर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एभ्यो रात्रिश्च स्याच्चात्संख्याव्ययादेः । अहर्ग्रहणं द्वन्द्वार्थम् । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्वे रात्रेः पूर्वेरात्रः । संख्यातरात्रः । पुण्यारात्रः । द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिमतिरात्रः ॥

787. The affix अच् comes after the word rātri, when preceded by ahan, or sarva, or a word denoting a portion of night, or saṅkhyāta or punya, when the compound is Tatpurusha, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word rātri.

The anuvritti of संख्याव्ययादेः is drawn in to this sūtra by force of the word च "and" of the sūtra. The word अहन् forms a Dvandva compound ; as अहश्च रात्रिश्च = अहोरात्रः "day and night." So also सर्वरात्रः, पूर्वेरात्रः 'the first part of night'. These are formed by II. 2. 1. S. 712. So also संख्याता रात्रिः = संख्यातरात्रः ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 57 S. 736. So also पुण्यारात्रिः = पुण्यरात्रः ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable : as, द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारः = द्विरात्रः, अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिश्च = अतिरात्रः ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसखिञ्चयष्टच् । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतदन्तात्तत्पुरुषादृच् स्यात् । परमराजः । अतिराजी । कृष्णसखाः ॥

788. The affix षच् is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi, when standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound.

Thus परमराजः ; अतिराजी, कृष्णस्य सखा = कृष्णसखाः, ॥

Note :—Why not so here मन्त्राणां राज्ञी = मन्त्रराज्ञी instead of मन्त्रराजि ॥ For according to the maxim "a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender" (प्रातिपदिकप्रकरणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम्) ; the stem राजन् would denote the feminine also. To this we reply, that the construction of the sūtra shows that the feminine राज्ञी is not to be taken. Because अहन् being a prosodially lighter word than राजन् ought to have been placed first in the compound. Its not being so placed indicates that that form राजन् only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into आ in compounding with अहन् ; i. e. राजा + अहन् ; and not राज्ञी + अहन् ॥

In fact, the above Paribhāṣhā is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have मद्राज्ञी ॥ See also the next sūtra

७८९ । अह्नोऽहोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेव परतोऽह्नि लोपः स्यान्नान्यत्र । उत्तमाहः । द्वे अहनी भूतो ह्याहीनः क्रतुः । तद्धितार्थे द्विभ्यः । तमधीष्टइत्यादि कारे द्विगोर्वैत्यनुवृत्तौ रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्चेति खः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वात्नेह । मद्राणां राज्ञी मद्रराज्ञी ॥

789. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus उत्तमाहः (V. 4. 91 S. 794 with टच्) ॥ द्वे अहनी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = ह्याहीनः क्रतुः (with ख V. 1. 87 S. 1751).

Vart :—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with टच् V. 1. 79 S. 1743). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvān, before ख, in VI. 4 169 S. 1671.

In the sub-division of तमधीष्टः (V. 1. 80 S. 1744) reading the anuvṛitti of द्विगोर्वा (V. 1. 86. S. 1750) in the sūtra रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्च (V. 1. 87. S. 1751), we get the affix ख ॥ The Paribhāṣhā relating to gender being anitya, (see 788 above) we have no टच् here in मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी ॥

७९० । अहोऽह्नि एतेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्यः परस्याहन्नाहस्याह्नादिभ्यः स्यात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790. For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V. 4. 87 S. 787. (and taking the affix tach mentioned in V. 4. 91 S. 783).

Note :—When the affix टच् follows अहन्, and the latter is preceded by the words सर्व &c., then अह्ना is substituted for अहन् ॥ By the term एतेभ्यः "these words", is meant the numerals (with the exception of एक V. 4. 90 S. 794) the In declinables, the words सर्व, संख्यान् and words denoting a part of a day, for these are the words mentioned in the sūtra, V. 4. 87 S. 787. The word अहन् is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpuruṣa

compound of अहन् with अहन् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V. 4. 90, S. 794 Thus ह्योरह्नोर्भवः = अह्नः, अह्नः, अहरतिकान्तः = अह्नः, निरह्नः ॥ So also सर्वाह्नः, (VIII. 4. 7 S. 791) पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्नः, संख्याताह्नः (according to some संख्याताह्नः V. 4. 90).

७६१ । अहोऽन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अन्तपूर्वपदस्थद्विफापरस्याऽह्नादेशस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । सर्वाह्नः । पूर्वाह्नः । संख्याताह्नः । ह्योरह्नोर्भवः । कालाह्नम् । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्य इति ङञो लुक् । अह्नः । स्त्रियामन्तत्वाङ्गात् । अह्ना । अह्नमियः । अह्नः

791. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i. e. the letter र).

Thus सर्वाह्नः पूर्वाह्नः "fore-noon"; अपराह्नः "after-noon" But in संख्याताह्नः no change.

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरह्नः, दुरह्नः ॥

The word अह्न is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. The word अह्न being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घादी शरत् ॥ The word अह्नः in the sūtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthânins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वने (VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039), वाहने (VIII. 4. 8 S. 1052), याने &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samâsânta affix ङच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788), and अह्न substitution by V. 4. 88.

The word दीर्घादी is a Bahuvrîhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix ङच् does not apply to it. The feminine ङीप् is added by IV. I. 28, S. 462 there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134 S. 234.

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe ह्योरह्नोर्भवे = अह्नः ॥ This is a Tadditârtha Dvigu compound formed by II. 1. 51; S. 728 the affix ङञ् of कालाह्न ङञ् (IV. 3. 11, S. 1381) is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

In the Feminine, there will be टाप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As अह्ना ॥ So also अह्नमियः and अह्नः ॥

७६२ । क्षुब्धादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३६ ॥

एषु णत्वं न स्यात् । दीर्घादी प्रावृट् । एवं चैतदर्थमह्न इत्यहन्तात्तुकारणक्रेयो न कर्तव्यः । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति णत्ववारणाय क्षुब्धादिषु पाठस्यावश्यकत्वात् । अहन्तादिति तत्परकरणमिह । परागतमहः पराह्नः ॥

792. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

Note :—The 'not' of sūtra VIII. 4. 34 S. 2840 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभानि, so also in क्षुभनीतः, क्षुभन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57. S. 50. So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, S. 857 and VIII. 4. 26 S. 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन् and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥ The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥ नृन्तु, नृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परितर्त्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 So परिमन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287 शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शरामिः, र्भोजनः ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः. आचार्यानी ॥ इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभा (क्षुभानिं), 2 नृनमनः, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन्, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दन 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयन्ति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परितर्त्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिमन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शरामिः, 23 र्भोजनः, 24 आचार्यद्वयत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभा, 25 नृन्तु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य-भोगीन, 29 चतुर्हयन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मर, आकृतिगणः ॥

Thus दीर्घाद्धी प्रावृद्ध ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्ना *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnādi class, in order to prevent the ण change required by VIII. 4. 11 S. 1055.

In the sūtra VIII. 4. 7 S. 791 we read "when preceded by a word ending in short अ"; therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no ण change; as पराहः (परागतमहः) ॥

७९३ । न संख्यादेः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे वर्तमानस्य संख्यादेरह्नादेशो न स्यात् । संख्यादेरिति स्पष्टार्थम् । द्वयोर्होः समाहारो व्यहः । इयहः ॥

793. This substitution of *ahna* for *ahan*, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity.

This substitution is prohibited in the case of *Samāhāra-Tatpurusha*. Thus द्वयहोः समाहारः = व्यहः, so also इयहः ॥ Here rule V. 4. 91 applies.

There can be no samāhāra Tatpurusha compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word संख्यादेः in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary ; but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness

७९४ । उत्तमैकाश्यां च । ५ । ४ । ९० ॥

भा-भ्यामह्वादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्त्यार्थः । पुण्यशब्दमाह । पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाहः । उत्तममहणमुपान्यस्यापि संप्रहार्यमित्येके । संख्याताहः ॥

794. And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i, e. पुण्य) and eka, this substitution does not take place.

The word उत्तम means 'last' ; and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V. 4. 87. S. 787. The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैचित्र्य ; the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाभ्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word सुदिन is a term of praise. एकाहः ॥ Some include the penultimate word संख्यात also in the prohibition. According to them संख्याताहः is the proper form and not संख्याताहः ॥

७९५ । अश्वानामुरसः । ५ । ४ । ९३ ॥

उस् स्यात् । अश्वानामुर इव अश्वोरसम्, मुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795. The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when it has the sense of 'the most excellent of its kind'

Thus अश्वानां उरः = अश्वोरसम् "the most excellent of horses".

Note :—The word अश्व means 'the principal' : as the word उरस् is the principal member of an animal, so by metonymy it has come to mean 'the principal'.

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent". Observe देवदत्तोरः = देवदत्तोरः "the breast of Devadatta".

७९६ । अनोद्भवायः सरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः । ५ । ४ । ९४ ॥

उभ्यामजातौ संज्ञायां च । उपानसम् । अमृताशमः । कालायसम् । मण्डूकसरसमिति जातिः । महानसम् । पिण्डाशमः । लोहितायसम् । जलसरसमिति संज्ञा ॥

796. The affix tach comes after anas, asman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, it denotes a jāti or a name.

Thus उपानसम्, अमृतारमः, कालायसम्, and मण्डुकसरसम्, are examples of जाति words, while महानसम्, पिण्डारमः, लोहितायसम्, and जलसरसम् are examples of संज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say “when meaning a jāti or a sañjñā? Observe सदनः, सहरमाः, सस्तरः ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटाभ्यां च तक्षणः । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षा ग्रामतक्षः । साधारण इत्यर्थः । कुत्र्यां भवः कौटः स्वतन्त्रः । सचासौ तक्षा च कौटतक्षः ॥

797. The affix तक्ष comes after taksha, when preceded by grāma and kauṭa, in a Tatpuruṣa compound.

The anuvritti of jāti and sañjñā does not run into this sūtra. Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा = ग्रामतक्षः, बहूनां साधारणः ‘the public carpenter of all’ कुत्र्यां भवः = कौटः “independent.” कौटः तक्षा = कौटतक्षः meaning स्वतन्त्रः कर्मजीवी, न कस्यचिद्व्याप्तिबद्धः ‘and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one’.

७९८ । अतिः शुनः । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराहः । अतिश्वो सेना ॥

798. The affix तक्ष comes after the word śvan preceded by ati, in a Tatpuruṣa compound.

Thus अतिक्रान्तः श्वानम् = अतिश्वो वराहः “the boar that surpasses the dog” i. e. अश्वत् “very swift”. So अतिश्वो सेना “the dog-surpassing soldier i. e. more devoted to his master than a dog” or “a servile army, as mean as a dog.”

७९९ । उपमानादप्राणिषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

अप्राणिष्वपि उपमानवाचिनः शुनश्चत्स्यात् । आकर्षः श्वेव आकर्षश्वः । अप्राणिषु किम् । वानरः श्वेव वानरश्वा ॥

799. The affix तक्ष comes after the word śvan ending in a Tatpuruṣa compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it.

Thus आकर्षः श्वेव = आकर्षश्वः ‘a dog-like bow.’ This compounding takes place by II. i. 56. S. 735.

Why do we say “when the thing compared is not a living being”? Observe वानरः श्वेव = वानरश्वा “a dog-like monkey”.

८०० । उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सकथनः । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥

चादुपमानात् । उत्तरसकथम् । घृगसकथम् । पूर्वसकथम् । फलकमिव सकथि फलकसकथम् ॥

800. The affix *ṭach* comes after *sakthi*, when preceded by *uttara*, *mṛiga*, and *pūrva*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it.

By the force of the word *च* in the *sūtra*, we read in the word *उपमानात्* also. Thus *उत्तरसकथम्*, *घृगसकथम्*, *पूर्वसकथम्* ॥ So also in *फलकमिव सकथि* = *फलकसकथम्* ॥

८०१ । नावो द्विगोः । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

नौशाब्दान्ताद्द्विगोऽष्ट् स्यान्न तु तद्धितलुकि । द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतः द्विनावरूप्यः । द्विगोर्लुगनपश्य इत्यत्र अर्धस्यस्थापकर्षणाद्वलादेन लुक् । पञ्चनावप्रियः । द्विनावम् । त्रिनावम् । अतद्धितलुकीति किम् । पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः पञ्चनौः ॥

801. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *nau*, when at the end of a *Dvigu* compound, but not so, when the *Taddhita* affix is elided.

Thus *द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतः* = *द्विनावरूप्यम्*, *द्विनावमयम्* (IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) The elision of IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word *अचि* of IV. 1. 89 S. 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant.

So also *द्वे नावौ समाहृते* = *द्विनावम्*, so also *त्रिनावम्* ॥ Thus *द्विनावधनम्*, *पञ्चनावप्रियः* are also formed.

Why do we say 'when in a *Dvigu* compound'? Observe *राजनौ*: "the king's ship". The phrase *अतद्धितलुकि* "when a *Taddhita* affix is not elided" of *sūtra* V. 4. 92 S. 729 applies here also. Therefore *दृच्* does not apply in *पञ्चभिर् नौभिः क्रीतः* = *पञ्चनौः*, *दशनौः* ॥

८०२ । अर्धाश्च । ५ । ४ । १०० ॥

अर्धान्नावदृच् स्यात् । नावोऽर्धम् । अर्धनावम् । क्लीयस्व लोकात् ॥

802. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *nau*, When preceded by the word *ardha*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus *नावो अर्धं* = *अर्धनावम्* ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2, 2. S. 713. The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II. 4. 26 S. 812; for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (*लोकाभ्यस्ये लिंगस्य*) ॥

८०३ । खार्याः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विगोर्थाच्च खार्यादृज्वा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803. To the word khârî, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix tach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians.

The words द्विगोः and अर्धत् are both understood here. Thus द्वे खार्या समाहते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्धे खार्याः = अर्धखारम् or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलिः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

दञ्श स्यात् द्विगो । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलिं । अतद्धितलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतो द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥

804. The affix tach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound.

Thus द्वावञ्जली समाहृतौ = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also त्र्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विगोः is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply. Thus द्वयोरञ्जलिः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V. 4. 92 S. 729)." is understood here also. Therefore the affix दञ् does not apply here : द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ (V. i. 28).

Note :—The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V. 4. 101 S. 803 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus in the alternative v have द्व्यञ्जलिप्रियः ॥

८०५ । ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

ब्रह्मान्तान्त्वयुरपाद्विच्च स्यात्समासेन जानपदत्वमाख्यायते चेत् । सुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः ॥

805. The affix tach comes after the word brahmaṇa in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country.

The word जानपदः is equivalent to जनपदेषु भवः 'belonging to a country.' This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country. Thus सुराष्ट्रेषु ब्रह्मा = सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मा, and अवन्तिब्रह्मः "a Brāhmaṇa of Surashtra or Avanti." This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound

Note:—Why do we say “when referring to the name of a country” P Observe देवब्रह्मा नारदः ‘Narada the bard of the gods’

८०६ । कुमहद्भयामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा टच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुत्सितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्मः । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806. The affix *taçh* comes optionally after the word *brahman* preceded by the words *कु* and *महत्*, in a *Tatpuruṣa* compound

Thus *कुब्रह्म* or *कुब्रह्मा*, ‘a bad Brahmana’. The word *ब्रह्मन्* is a synonym of *ब्राह्मण* “a Brāhmaṇa”.

८०७ । आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्मः । महाब्रह्मा । महादेवः । महाजातीयः । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महत् सेवा महत्सेवा । लाक्षणिकं विहाय प्रतिपक्षोक्तः सन्महति समानो ग्रहीष्यते इति चेत् महाबाहुर्न स्यात् । तस्मात्क्षणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्योक्तिं परिभाषा नेह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणमहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आसिति योगविभागादात्वम् । प्रागेकादशस्य इति निर्वेशाद्वा । एकादश । महतीषादस्य पुवस्कर्मधारयेति पुंवङ्गावे कृते आत्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महदात्वे घासकरविशिष्टेषूपसंख्यानं पुंवव्भावश्च * ॥ असमानाधिकरण्यार्थमिदम् । महतो महत्या वा घातो महाघातः । महाकरः । महाविशिष्टः ॥

अष्टनः कपाले हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपालः ॥

गवि च युक्ते * ॥ गोशब्दे परे युक्त इत्यर्थे गम्येऽष्टन आत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागवं शकटम् । अष्टप्रत्यन्ववेत्यत्राजिति योगविभागाद्बहुव्रीहावप्यच् । अष्टानां गवां समाहारः अष्टगवम् । तद्युक्तत्वाच्छकटमष्टागवामिति वा ॥

807. For the final of *महत्* is substituted *आत्* (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before *जातीय* ॥

As *महाब्रह्म* or *महाब्रह्मा*, *महादेवः*, *महाजातीयः* ॥ Why do we say ‘before a word which is in apposition with it’? Observe *महत् सेवा* = *महत्सेवा* “the service of the great man”: the two words are not in apposition. Obj. We shall explain the compound *महत्सेवा* by saying that the rule of *आ* substitution applies to those compounds only of *महत्* which are ordained specially by II. 1. 61 S. 740 and not to the general compounding of *महत्* with any noun.

And as *महत्सेवा* can not be compounded under II. 1. 61 S. 740 so there will be no *आ* substitution here.

Ans.—Not so ; for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहुः which is also not a compound under II. 1. 61 S. 740 but a Bahuvrīhi, and which according to your explanation, ought to be महूबाहुः ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paribhāshā does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sūtra. Therefore, the present sūtra applies to all compounds of महत्, where it is in apposition with the second word.

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश ? Either by yoga-vibhāga, taking आत् as a separate sūtra ; or because Pāṇini himself uses it in V. 3. 49 S. 1995.

In महती + जातीय, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महत् by VI. 3. 42 S. 746 ; and then the त् is changed to आ by the present sūtra, and thus we get महाजातीय ॥

The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61 S. 740. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrīhis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samānādhikaraṇa in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpuruṣa compounds of mahat, taught under II. 1. 61 S. 740, but not to Bahuvrīhis like महाबाहुः ॥ In महद्भूतश्रद्धा = अमहान् महान् सेपत्रः, the long आ is not substituted; as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final महत् before घास, कर and विशद, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्या करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टाकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked.' As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in अत् is for the sake of distinctness.

The affix अच् of V. 4 75 S. 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhāga ; though the compound is Bahuvrīhi ; अष्टन् + गो = अष्टा + गो + अच् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टगवम् (Samāhāra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टगवम् because they are yoked there to,

८०८ । द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः । ६ । ३ । ४७ ॥

भास्यात् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । द्व्यधिका दशति वा । द्वाविंशतिः । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशतिः ।
अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः किम् । द्विवाः । द्व्यशीतिः ॥ प्राक्शतादिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । द्विशतम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश(=द्वौ च दश च or द्वि बाधिका दश). द्वाविंशतिः ; द्वाविंशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विवाः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred, Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम् अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रैल्लयः । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

त्रिशाब्दस्य त्रयस् स्यात्पूर्वाविषये । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशतिः । बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिदश त्रिदशाः । सुजयं बहुव्रीहिः । अत्राति तु त्र्यशीति । प्राक् शतादित्येव । त्रिशतम् । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रिदशाः which is a Bahuvrīhi. (II. 2. 25 S. 843) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

द्व्यष्टनोऽस्त्रयः प्रायुक्त वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदौ परे । द्विचत्वारिंशत् । द्वाचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । त्रिचत्वारिंशत् । त्र्यचत्वारिंशत् । एवं पञ्चाशत्पष्ठिसप्ततिनवतिषु ॥

810. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयः पञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत्, अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This is also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

So also with पञ्चाशत्, षष्ठि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकादिश्लोकस्य चातुक् । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

एकार्निम् प्रकृत्या स्यात्कस्य च अदुगागमश्च । नञो विशत्या सह सगासि कृते एकशब्देन

सहं हृतीयेति योगविभागात्समासः । अनुनासिकविकल्पः । एकेन नविंशतिः एकात्रविंशतिः । एका-
द्वविंशतिः । एकानविंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

यद्यप्यस्य दत्तवशात्सत्परपदार्थः दृश्यं च धातु इति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडश । षोडश । षोडा । षोडा ।
षड्धा ॥

811. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकने नविंशतिः = एकात्रविंशतिः, एकात्रविंशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II. 1. 30 S. 692 by the method of yoga-vibhāga taking हृतीया as a separate sūtra. The nasal is optional, so we have एकाद्वविंशतिः also, meaning "nineteen." The augment अदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकान् न विंशतिः and एकान् न विंशति by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116.

Vart:—The final of षड् is changed to ड before दत्, दृश, and धा (meaning 'location'); and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् दन्ता अस्य = षोडश; so षोडश; षड्धा or षोडा कुह ॥ The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of धातु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact, it has the force of an affix here. The rule, therefore, does not apply to these:—षड् दधाति or दधति = षड्धा ॥

—:0:—

THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS.

८१२ । परवह्निङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परपदस्येव लिङ्गं स्यात् । कुक्कुटमयूयाविने । मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ । अर्धपिप्पली ॥
द्विगुप्रामाप्रज्ञाजैर्पूर्वगतेसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पञ्चकपालः पुरोडाशः ।
प्रामो जीविकां प्रामजीविकः । आपन्नजीविकः । अलं कुमार्यै अलंकुमारिः । अत एव शापकात्समासः ।
निष्कौशाग्निः ॥

812. The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction. As कुक्कुटमयूयाविने 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism : As अर्धपिप्पली, अर्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali.'

Vārt :—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with *मात्र.आपन्न* and, *बलं*, and (3) compounds with Gati words *i. e.* Prādi compounds ; as, *पंचकपालः* 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups'; *मात्र जीविकः* (*मात्र + जीविका*) 'has obtained living,' *आपन्नजीविकः* ॥ *बलंकुमारी*, 'who is a suitable match for the girl.' There is no special rule of Pāṇini by which *बलं* can be so compounded. We *infer* such a rule, by the implication (*jñāpa-ka*) of this *vārtika*. *निष्कौशान्भिः* 'gone beyond Kauśambi.'

८१३ । पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ । २ । ४ । २७ ॥

द्विवचनमतन्त्रम् । अश्ववडवौ । अश्ववडवान् । अश्ववडवैः ॥

813. The gender of the compound of the word *aśva* 'horse' and *vadava* 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12. S. 916, in that case it will be neuter. *अश्ववडवाविनौ* ; *अश्ववडवान्*, *अश्ववडवैः* &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

८१४ । रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि । २ । ४ । २९ ॥

एतदन्तो ह्यन्तत्पुरुषौ पुंस्थेव । अनन्तरत्वात्परवाङ्मितापवादोऽयं परत्वात्समहारनपुंसकतां बाधते । अहोरात्रः । रात्रिः पूर्वभागः पूर्वरान्नः । पूर्वार्द्धः । अहः ॥ संख्यापूर्वं रात्रं क्लीबम् ॥ द्विरात्रम् । त्रिरात्रम् । गणरात्रम् ॥

814. The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with *rātra* and *ahna* and *aha* are spoken of in the masculine.

This debars the neuter gender of *Samāhāra* even (II. 4. 17 S. 821) because it is a subsequent sūtra to that in the order of Pāṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II. 4. 26 S. 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II. 4. 17. S. 821. Thus *अहोरात्रः* ॥

These words refer to *kṛit* and *Samasānta* affixes. Thus the word *रात्र* is formed by *रात्रि + अच्* (V. 4. 87 S. 787) *अह* is formed by V. 4. 88 S. 790 and *अह* by V. 4. 91. S. 788. The general rule II. 4. 26 S. 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्रः ; *द्विरात्रः* ; *त्रिरात्रः*, 'A space of two or three nights' *पूर्वार्द्धः*, *अपरार्द्धः*, *मध्याह्नः* 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' *अहः* 'two days' *त्रयहः*, 'three days.'

Vārt:—The word रात्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as द्विरात्रम् &c., गयारात्रम् ॥ गयानां बहूनां रात्रीणां समाहारः = गयारात्रम् ॥

८१५ । अपथं नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ ३० ॥

नपुंसक इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथी देशः । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशाग्नेह । अपन्याः ॥

815. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sūtra and not Dvandva.

अपथमिवम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road.' But अपथोदेशः (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi, the word is masculine; so also अपथाः where the rule does not apply, because the sūtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samāsānta affix. So where there is no samāsānta affix, the form is अपन्याः also. The samāsānta is optional by V. 4. 72 S. 957.

८१६ । अर्धचाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चादयः चाब्दाः पुंसि स्त्रीष्वे च स्युः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एवं तीर्थं, शरीरं, मण्डं, पीड्यम्, वेहं, अङ्कुशं, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816. The words 'ardharcha' &c., may be masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वजः or ध्वजम् 'a flag'. So also तीर्थः or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage'; शरीरः 'the body'; मण्डः 'a shed'; पीड्यः 'nectar'; वेहः 'the body,' अङ्कुशः 'a goad for an elephant'; कलशः 'a jar' &c.

Note:—These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies, सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकोऽप्ययौ वा बहुवद्भवति । ब्राह्मणः पूज्याः ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः ॥

817. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of asishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मणः पूज्याः or ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः

Note:—It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्ना यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववत् ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववत्सो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kâsyapa may also be called kâsyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रह्मियवौ 'the rice and barley:' the rule does not apply.

An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रह्मिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

८१८ । अस्मदो द्वयोश्च । १ । २ ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽस्मदो बहुवचनं वा स्यात् । वयं ह्यमः । पक्षेऽहं ब्रवीमि । आवां ह्यव इति वा ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधः * ॥ पटुरहं ब्रवीमि ॥

818. The plural of the pronoun asmad, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ह्यमः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ह्यवः 'we two speak' or वयं ह्यमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute :—as पटुरहं ब्रवीमि. 'I Patu am speaking,' Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९ । कल्युनीप्रोष्ठपदानो च नक्तत्रे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुत्वप्रयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्यात् । पूर्वे कल्युन्यौ । पूर्वाः कल्युन्यः । पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे । पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः । नक्तत्रे किम् । कल्युन्यौ माणविके ॥

819. And the dual of Phalgunī and Proshthāpadā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च्च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word इत्यः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshthāpadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual) ; or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshthāpadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunī and proshthāpadā are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नेक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३ ॥

बहुत्वं द्वित्ववद्भवति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसू च तिष्यपुनर्वसू । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखादुराधाः । गच्छेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasū, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखादुराधाः 'the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Note:—There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasū. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू, पुष्यपुनर्वसू सिद्धपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasū."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इक्ष्मिणि.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular"; for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend further.

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारे द्विद्वन्द्वश्च नपुंसकं स्यात् । परवङ्क्षिप्तापवादः । पञ्चशवम् । दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदा द्वियुः स्त्रियामिटः^१ ॥ पञ्चमूली ॥

आबन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चखट्वी । पञ्चखट्वम् ॥

अनो नलोपश्च वा द्वियुः स्त्रियाम् * ॥ पञ्चतल्ली । पञ्चतत्तम् ॥

पाञ्चाद्यन्तस्य न * ॥ पञ्चपात्रम् । त्रिभुवनम् । चतुर्गुर्म् ॥

पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामङ्गः क्लीबतेश्च * ॥ पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् ।

पथः संख्याव्ययार्थः* ॥ संख्याव्ययार्थे परः कृतसमासान्तः पथशब्दः क्लीबमित्यर्थः । त्रयाणां त्रयास्त्रिपथम् । विरूपः पन्थाः विपथम् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह सुपन्थाः । अतिपन्थाः ।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् * ॥ मृदु पचति । प्रातः कमनीयम् ॥

821. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II. 4. 1. S. 731 and II. 4. 2. S. 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note.—This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26. S. 812.

As, पञ्चशवम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' दन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' निरोधविम् 'head and neck.'

Vart.—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short ऋ, is employed in the feminine gender only ; as पञ्चमूली.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in **आप्** affix, is optionally feminine ; as, **पञ्चखट्वम्** or **पञ्चखट्वी**.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in **अन्**, is optionally feminine and the **न** is elided ; as, **पञ्चनक्षम्** or **पञ्चनक्षी**.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in **पात्र** &c., **पञ्चपात्रम्** ; **चतुष्टयम्** ; **विशुवनम्**.

Vart:—The Neuter gender is employed after the word **अह्** preceded by **पुण्य** or **सुदिन** ; as **पुण्याहम्** 'sacred day' ; **सुदिनाहम्** 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word **पथ** ending with the *samāsānta* affix (V. 4. 72 S. 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an *Avyaya* ; as **विपथम्**, **चतुष्पथम्**, **विपथम्**, **सुपथम्**. But not so in **सुपन्था** and **अतिपन्था** : where the *samāsānta* has not been added, because of the prohibition of V. 4. 69 S. 954.

Vart:—The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant.

As **मृदु पचति** 'he cooks soft' (anything in general that he does cook), **प्रातः कम्पनीयम्** 'in the morning it is pleasant.'

—————:0:—————

८२२ । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

822. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle *nañ*, and of the *Karmadhāraya* compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following *sūtras*.

Note:—This is a governing *sūtra* and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be Neuter.

८२३ । संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु । २ । ४ । २० ॥

कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषः । क्लीबं स्यात्सा चेतुशीनरेऽशोऽपन्नायाः कन्थायाः संज्ञा । सुशमस्यापस्थानि सौशम्यः । तेषां कन्था सौशमिकन्थम् । संज्ञायां किम् । वीर्यकन्था । उद्गीनरेषु किम् । हासिकन्था ॥

823. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *kanthā* 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the *Uśīnaras*.

As, सौशमिकन्यम् 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śūshama.'

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe वीरणकन्या. Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśīnaras? Observe दाक्षिकन्या

Note :—This debars the rule (II. 4. 25. S. 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

८२४ । उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमान्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् सयोरुपज्ञायमानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरादिः प्रायश्च वेदाख्यातुमिष्यति । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञ ग्रन्थः । नन्वोपक्रमं द्रोणः ॥

824. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñâ' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञग्रन्थः 'the book i. e. the grammar which is Pāṇini's invention'; नन्वोपक्रमं द्रोणः 'the measure Drona first introduced by the king Nanda.'

Note :—Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवज्ञोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञज्ञोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used, as वाल्मीकिश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.'

८२५ । छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्पूर्वपदार्थबाहुल्ये । इक्षूणां छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनोति विकल्पस्यायमपवादः । इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य इति तु भासमन्तानिषादिन्य इत्याहप्रश्लेषो बोध्यः ॥

825. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.'

The sūtra II. 4. 25 S. 828 gives *optional* neuter; this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness. In the sentence "इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य" there is also shortening, there is वा between ikshuchâyâ and nishâdinyah. Another reading is इक्षुच्छाय निषादिन्यः ॥

८२६ । सभा राज्ञाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपर्यायपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्थैवेत्येते * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

अमनुष्यशब्दो रूढ्या रक्षःपिशाचादीनाम् । रक्षःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ* 'court' is neuter ; provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word *Rājâ*, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रगुप्तसभा the word is not neuter ; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा ; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1, 68, S. 25.

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśāchas.' The word is neuter. The word non-human has a technical significance meaning "a Rākshasa or a monster &c."

८२७ । अशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

संघातायी या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसंघात इत्यर्थः । अशाला क्लिब । धर्मसभा । धर्मशालेत्यर्थः ॥

827. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ*, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies.' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house'? Observe धर्मसभा ; here सभा means a house or an institution.

८२८ । विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं वा स्यात् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । ब्राह्मणसेना । यवसुरम् । यवसुरा । कुक्ष्यच्छायम् । कुक्ष्यच्छाया । गोशालम् । गोशाला । श्वनिशम् । श्वनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारय इत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दृढसेनो राजा । असेना । परमसेना ॥

828. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words *senâ* 'army,' *surâ* 'wine,' *chhâyâ* 'shadow,' *sâlâ* 'house' and *niśâ* 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle *nañ* (II. 2. 6) and the *karmadhâraya* compound.

As *ब्राह्मणसेना*, *ब्राह्मणसेनम्* 'the Brâhmaṇa army,' *बबसुरम्*, *बबसुरा* 'the barley wine,' *कुडचच्छायम्*, *कुडचच्छाया* 'the shadow of the wall,' *गोशालम्*, *गोशाला* 'the cow house,' *इदृनिशम्*, *इदृनिशा* 'tomorrow night.' But *दृढसेनोराजा*, *असेना* 'non-army,' *परमसेना* 'good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a *karmadhâraya* compound. For II. 4. 19 S. 822 applies here also

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpurusha Compounds.

अथ बहुव्रीहि समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIX.

BAHUVRĪHI COMPOUNDS.

८२९ । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । २३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । द्वितीयाभितेत्यादिना यस्य विकस्य विशिष्य समासो नोक्तः सः शेषः प्रथमान्तमित्यर्थः ॥

829. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

*Note :—*A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above i. e. from S. 686 downwards will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. A triad (of singular, dual and plural) whose compounding has not been taught in the previous sūtras 686 and the rest, is the śesha or "remainder." Now the compounding of all the triads beginning with the Accusative and ending with the Locative have been taught in the preceding sūtras. The only case that remains is the Nominative. The compounding of nouns, both of which are in the Nominative case, is therefore governed by this sūtra, and gives rise to Bahuvrīhi.

*Note :—*Under sūtra I. 4. 79 S. 780 there is the vārtika प्राद्व्यो गत्याद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥ It teaches the compounding with the Nominative case. But it is a vārtika and not a sūtra. Moreover according to Kāśikā, the śesha refers to "all where no other compounding is ordained, the words which do not give rise to compounds like avyayībhāva &c. will form Bahuvrīhis."

The Bahuvrīhis like कण्ठेकालः are exceptional.

८३० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २ । २ । २४ ॥

अनेकं प्रथमान्तमन्यस्य पदस्यार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स बहुव्रीहिः । अप्रथमाविभक्त्यर्थे बहुव्रीहिरिति समानाधिकरणानामिति च फलितम् । प्राप्तमुदकं यं प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः । ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् । उपहृतपशु रुद्रः । उद्धृतौदना स्थाली । पीताम्बरो हरिः । वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः । प्रथमार्थे तु न । वृष्टे देवे गतः । व्याधिकरणानामपि न । पञ्चाभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

प्राद्व्यो धातुजस्य वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ प्रपतितपर्णः । प्रपणैः ॥

नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ अविश्वमानपुत्रः । अपुत्रः ॥

अस्तीति विभक्तिप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् । अस्तिक्षीरा भौः ॥

830 Two or more words, ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually ; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first ; as प्रातमुदकं ग्रामं = प्रातोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशून् रुद्रः 'Rudra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्धृतौवना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरोद्दरिः 'Hari wearing yellow garments.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

The Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

The Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded ; as पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

Vari :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after म &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.'

Var :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As अव्ययमान पुत्रोऽस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभास्यः wifeless.'

Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇī having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

Note :—Why have we used the word "anya" in the sūtra ? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpurusha and the Bahuvrīhi may be indicated. A Tatpurusha denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थे हि सावकाशे तत्पुरुषे) ; while a Bahuvrīhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound.

८३१ । स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् ऊङोऽभावो यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः निपातनात्पञ्चम्या भलुक् । षड्दयाश्च लुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते यदुक्तपुंस्कं तस्मात्पर ऊङोऽभावो यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुंवाचकस्यैव रूपं स्वास्तमानाधिकरणे स्त्रीलिङ्गे उत्तरपदे । ननु पूरण्यां प्रियादौ च परतः । गोः रघोरिति ह्रस्वः ।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति लैकिकविग्रहे चित्रा अस् गो भव इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । चित्रयुः । रूपव-
ज्ञार्थः । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोक्तैर्बहूनामपि बहुव्रीहिः ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीयुः । जरतीचित्रागुर्वा । एवं दर्शितन्वीजङ्घः । तन्वीरीर्षाजङ्घः ।
त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ प्रथमं न पुंवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदस्याभावात् ।
उत्तरपदशब्दो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रूढः । पूर्वपदशब्दस्तु प्रथमावयवे रूढ इति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । भानङ् क्त इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्वयस्य पुंवद्देव ।
चित्राजरद्विरत्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरस्यौ गावौ यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चित्राजरद्वरिति भाव्यम् ।
कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरचित्रयुः । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तु चित्रजरद्वीकः ।

स्त्रियाः किम् । ग्रामणि कुले दृष्टिरस्य ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कास्किम् । गङ्गाभार्यः ।

अनूङ् किम् । वामारूभायः ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्याः माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रियां किम् । कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it ; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c. (see under 835 for the list of Priyādi words).

Note :—The words of this sūtra require some analysis for better comprehension. स्त्रियाः ‘for a feminine word’, पुंवद् “like the masculine,” i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspondence must be in the form (आकृति) and the connotation (भावान) of the two words ; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously, while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously, Of such a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रीशब्दः) of the feminine gender : with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus चित्रशु: "He who has brindled cows." Here गो is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागावो यस्य; while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + अस (Pl.) + गो + अस् (Pl.) Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र; and गो is shortened to शु. Similarly रूपवज्रादि: ॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य ॥ Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीयु: or जरतीचित्रायु: ॥ So also दृष्टितन्वीजङ्गु: or तन्वीदीर्घजङ्गु: ॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrihi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word' is the technical name of the last member of a compound; while पूर्वपद "first word," is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada; similarly this second term though a pūrva-pada with relation to the third, is not called purva-pada" Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sūtra any such word as pūrva-pada; and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sūtra, it would similarly qualify VI. 3. 25 S. 921, and therefore though we could form होतापांतासौ by आनङ्; we could not form होतृपातृनेष्टोद्गातार:, but नेष्टु + उद्गातार: ॥ But in the Mahābhāṣya we find नेष्टोद्गातार: ॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine; and the proper form is चित्राजरङ्गु: &c. Therefore in चित्राजरस्यौ गावौ यस्य "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरङ्गु: only. This is in the Mahābhāṣya. But when the first member is a Karmadhāraya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरद्विचित्रयु: He who has an old brindled cow." The compounding here is by II. 1. 49 S. 726. But when the last term is a Karmadhāraya compound, we have चित्रजरद्वीक: ॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhāraya compound, जरती चासौ गौश्च = जरद्वी which is formed by adding the feminine affix डीप् to the word जरद्व formed by the samāsānta affix दच् (V. 4. 92 S. 729). Then we form the Bahuvrihi चित्रा and जरद्वी यस्य = चित्राजरद्वीक: the affix कप् is added by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

So also दर्शनीयभार्य: (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य) Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीय:, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix णा; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the द्विवादि class; hence this

word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also अलङ्कारचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥

Why do we say स्त्रियाः for a feminine word? Observe कामाक्षि ब्राह्मणकुलंद्विहिरस्य = कामाक्षिद्विहिरः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe गङ्गाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानाद्यमाकृतौ"? Observe द्वौणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वौण has not the same significance as द्वौणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe वानोरुभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यमाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi." Why do we say स्त्रियाम् followed by a feminine word? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानः यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधानः ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sūtra applies to ordinals.

८३२ । अपूर्णप्रमाणयोः । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रत्ययान्तं अतः स्त्रीलिङ्गं तदन्ताप्रमाण्यन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहिरप्यस्यात् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां रात्रीणां ताः कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाणः । पुंवङ्गावप्रतिषेधोऽप्रत्ययश्च प्रधानपूरणानिव । रात्रिः पूरणी वाच्यता चेत्युक्तोदाहरणे मुख्या । अन्यत्र तु ॥

832. The affix *ap* comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word *pramāṇī*.

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V. 2. 48 S. 1849 &c). प्रमाणी means 'a witness, 'a principal'. Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां रात्रीणां = कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः "the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious." कल्याणीदशमा रात्रयः ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषां = स्त्रीप्रमाणाः कुडञ्चिनः meaning भार्याप्रधानाः "having a woman for authority".

The affix *अप्* and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (*pradhāna*) member in a compound. When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal. The prohibition of *puṁvad-bhāva*—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI. 3. 34 S. 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is *pradhāna*. Therefore, the affix is not added here. कल्याणीपञ्चमीकः पक्षः = कल्याणी पञ्चमी अस्मिन् पक्षे ॥

But when it is not so ; then instead of अच् we have कच् as by the next sūtra.

८३३ । नद्युतश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नद्युत्तरपराहन्तोत्तरपराश्च बहुव्रीहिः कप्स्यात् । पुंवञ्चावः ॥

833. The affix कच् is added to a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadī word, or which ends in a short अद् ॥

Note.—The word नदी is defined in L. 4 3, S. 266. Thus बहुकुमारीको वेशः (बह्व्यः कुमार्योऽस्मिन्नेशे), बहुव्रजबन्धूकः ॥ बहुकर्तृकः ॥ The त in कच् is for the sake of euphony.

There is puṁvad-bhāva (masculine substitution) in such compounds.

Thus कल्याणी + पंचमी + कच् ॥ Now at this stage, the next sūtra requires that the long ई be shortened.

८३४ । केऽणः । ७ । ४ । १३ ॥

के परेऽणो ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इति श्रान्ते ॥

834. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

Note.—As लका, (VII. 3. 47 S. 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only ? Observe गौका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unādi diversity. with the affix क added to रा and धा (Up III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कच् ; it therefore implies that कच् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṛit क of the Unādi, as राका, धाका ; but Unādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽप्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

Therefore कल्याणी + पंचमी + कच् = कल्याणी + पंचमि + कप ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sūtra.

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १४ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यात् । कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः । अत्र तिरोहितावयवेऽस्य पक्षस्यान्यपदा-
र्यतया रात्रिप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृकः । अग्रियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रियः ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्तिः । सखिबा । स्वसा । कान्ता । क्षान्ता । समा ।
चपला । दुहिता । वामा । अचला । तनाया ॥

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥ दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षायां तु दृढाभक्तिः ॥

835. But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 S. 656 even does not operate when कप् follows. Here राक्षिः is not principal, but secondary; because पक्ष is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared.

Note :—For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48 S. 656; namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुव्यायूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prātipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore, I. 2. 48, S. 656 does not apply, because the *prātipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

Similarly बहुकर्तृकः ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samāsanta affix अण् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अण् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 ज्ञान्ता, 11 सना, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वमा) 15 सनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

When the word दृढ is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य = दृढभक्तिः ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have दृढाभक्तिः ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुखः । ६ । ३ । ३५ ॥

तसिलादिषुष्वाकृत्वसुखेऽपरेषु स्त्रियाः पुंवस्स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । अस्याप्यातिशयातिपरिहाराय । चतसौ । तरुमपौ । अरङ्जातीयौ । कल्पदेशीयौ । रूपपाशापौ । धाह । तिलधनौ । बह्विषु बहुव । बहुतः । । दर्शनीयतरा । दर्शनीयतमा

पठुषेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्वः परत्वात्पुंवङ्गात् बाधते । पङ्क्तिरा । पङ्क्तिमा । पङ्चरी । पङ्जातीया ।
दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुधा । प्रशस्ता वृकी वृकतिः । अजाभ्यो
हिता अजध्या ॥

शासि बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवङ्गानो वक्तव्यः*॥ बह्वीभ्यो वेहि बहुशः । अल्पाभ्यो वेहि अल्पशः ॥
त्वत्तोयुयवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्लाया भावः शुक्लत्वम् । शुक्रता । शुणवचनस्य किम् । कर्त्र्या भावः कर्त्रीत्वम् ।
शरः कृतार्थेत्याहो तु सामान्य नपुंसकम् ॥

भस्याडे तद्धिते * ॥ हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । श्रेष्ठ किम् । रौहिणेयः । स्त्रीभ्यो ङगिति
ढोऽत्र गृह्यते । अग्नेर्ढगिति ढकि तु पुंवदेव । अग्रायी देवताऽस्य स्थाजीपाकस्याग्नेयः । सपत्नीशब्दस्त्रिधा ।
शत्रुपर्यायात्सपत्नशब्दश्छाज्जपर्यायात् ङन्येकः । समानः पतिर्यस्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धनं पतिशब्द-
माभित्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गो द्वितीयः । स्वानिपर्यायपतिशब्देन भाषितपुंस्कस्त्वृतीयः । आद्ययोः शिवाद्यान् । सपत्न्या
अपत्ये सापन्नः । तृतीयाक्तु लिङ्गविशिष्टप्राभिषया पशुत्तरपलक्षणो ण्य एव । न एवम् । शिवाकौ रुडयोरेव
ग्रह्यात् । सापत्यः ।

उक्छसेत्तश्च * ॥ भवत्यादछात्रा भावत्काः भवरीयाः ।

एतद्व्यतिक्रमेकनद्धिते चेति सत्रे च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनामो वृत्तिभावे पुंवङ्गाव इति भाष्यकारेण
गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकाभार्या यस्य स सर्वकार्यः । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वस्यैवेदम् ।
अधोषाङ्गेति लिङ्गात् । तेनाकञ्चि एकशेषवृत्तौ च न । सर्विका । सर्वाः ॥

कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु * ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्डं कुक्कुटाण्डम् । घृयाः पदं घृणपदम् ।
घृणशीरम् । काकशावः ॥

836. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c. (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085).

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine : च and तस्, तरप्, and तमप्, चरद्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, (वेश्य), देशीयर्, रूपप्, पाशप्, (यम), घाल्, (वा and हर्हि), तिल्, ध्यन् (तातिल) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender.

Thus (1) च=बहुच, (2) तस्=बहुतः both with the force of locative बहुषु ॥ (3—4) तरप् and तमप्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes are called च and so the rule VI. 3. 43 S. 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even. Thus not पङ्तरा and पङ्तमा, (as given in some texts); but पङ्क्तिरा and पङ्क्तिमा ॥ (5) चरद् (V. 3. 53. S. 1999) as पङ्चरी ॥ (6) जातीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) as पङ्जातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) देशीयर् as दर्शनीयदेशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V. 3. 66 S. 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) पाशप् (V. 3. 47. S. 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) घाल् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) as बहुधा ॥ (12) तिल् (V. 4. 41 S. 3505) as वृकतिः (=प्रशस्ता वृकी) ॥ (13) ध्यन् (V. 1. 8. S. 1669) as, अजध्या (=अजाभ्योहिताः) ॥

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix-इस्:—as बहुभ्यो रोहि = बहुवो रोहि; अल्पाभ्यो रोहि = अल्पवोरोहि ॥ See V. 4. 42. S. 2109.

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes स्व and तल् ॥ शुक्लाया भावः = शुक्लत्वम् so also शुक्लता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्त्तव्या भावः = कर्त्तव्यत्वम् ॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने चारः कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance. For though चारः is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थता ॥

Vart:—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except इ, when the word gets the designation of न् ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हस्तिकम् by इक् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256). Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided 'before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI. 4. 22. S. 2183) and also by I. 1. 57 S. 50 sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144 S. 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of इ'? Observe रोहिनेयः the masculine being रोहित ॥ To रोहित is added डीप् and लृ changed to न by IV. 1. 39 S. 496 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been puṇvad bhāva, रोहिनेयः would have been the form. The इ taken here is the इ of the sūtra IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 and not the इक् of IV. 2. 33 S. 1236. Thus आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings. (1) Formed by adding डीप् under शार्ङ्गखादि class to सपत्न meaning 'an enemy.' सपत्नी 'a female enemy.' (2) a co-wife, समानः पतिर्यस्याः। It shows marital relation, and is *always* feminine, having no corresponding masculine. (3) where पति means 'lord' (not *husband*): and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine. It means a female servant of the same master. The first two take the णच् of शिवादि As सपत्न्या अपत्यं = सापत्नः 'the son of a female-enemy or of a co-wife.' In the case of the third, the affix will be ण्य, and not णच् because शिवादि णच् applies to rudhi words only, and not to the yugika word. Its form will be सापत्यः ॥

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes इक् and छल् ॥ As मवत्था शब्दाच्चा = मावत्काः, मवद्दीयाः ॥ This Vārtika and the sūtra एकस्यसिद्धिश्च (VI. 3. 62 S. 1000) need not have been made. Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (*ishṭi*) of the Bhāṣyakāra (Patanjali): "there is masculation of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function." As (1) सर्वेभ्यः (2) सर्वकाम्यति, (3) सर्विकामार्थ्य वत्स्य स = सर्विकामार्थः In spite of VI. 3. 37 S. 838. (4) सर्वेभ्यः &c. In the first the

affix is मयद् which is not included in Tasilādi class of this sūtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI. 3. 34. because VI. 3. 37 S. 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रियः in spite of the exception of VI. 3. 34 S. 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रियः &c

If a sarvanāman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तदन्या ॥ Here इतरा and अन्या ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pūrva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a first member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII. 3. 47 S. 466. That sūtra contains two pronominals एषा and इह and if they were to become masculine even in Taddihta function (i. e. when क is added), there would have been no scope for the इ of that sūtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanama does not necessarily become masculine before अकच् or in ekasesha; as सर्विका with akach; and सर्वाः plural being eka-śesha.

Vārt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c. become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ घृथाःपदं = घृगपदम्, घृथाःशीरं = घृगशीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काकशावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

८३७ । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयोः परतः पुंवत् । एनीवाचरति एतायते । श्येनीवाचरति श्येतायते । स्वमित्रां काञ्चिदर्थं नीयां मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीयां क्षिप्रं मन्यते दर्शनीयमानी चैव ॥

837. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिनः—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः “He esteems her as handsome” दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः) “She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome.” The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words :—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो अज्ञदत्ता—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो अज्ञदत्ता—दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्याः ॥

Note :—The affix क्यङ् is added under III. 1. 11 S. 2665. Thus in एनीवाचरति, श्येनीवाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्येनी become एत and श्येता ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 25 S. 2208. and we have एता and श्येता ॥

The word **मानिन्** is separately used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words, and non-feminine (masculine) words ; which was not the case under the last sūtra.

८३८ । न कोपधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः न पुंवत् । पाचिकार्यः । रसिकार्यः । मद्रिकायते । मद्रिकामानिनी ॥
कोपधप्रतिषेधे तद्धित वुमहणम् * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्यः ॥

838. A Feminine word having a penultimate क, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकार्यः, रसिकार्यः, मद्रिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vart:—The rule applies to the क of the affix वु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः (पाकाभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means “young” and is formed by the Upādi affix क (Up V. 53). This is neither a Taddhita क nor a क of वु affix.

८३९ । संज्ञापूरणयोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनयोर्न पुंवत् । दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी । दानक्रियानिमित्तः स्त्रियां पुंसि च संज्ञाभूततोऽयमिति भावितपुंस्त्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhāshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा ‘to give’; so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त; though both may be proper Names. So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशाप् is added by याव्येपाशाप् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993).

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिशब्देन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तद्धेतुर्यस्तद्धिताऽरक्तविकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सौप्रीभार्यः । माथुरीयते । माथुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य किम् । मध्यमभार्यः । तद्धितस्य किम् । काण्डलायभार्यः । वृद्धिशब्देन किम् । तावज्ज्ञार्थः ॥ रक्ते तु ॥ काषायी पन्था यस्य स काषायपन्थः । विकारि तु हेमी मुद्रिका यस्येति हेममुद्रिकः । वृद्धिशब्देन वृद्धिं प्रति फलोक्लोपधानाभावादिह पुंवत् । वैद्याकरणभार्यः । सौवश्वभार्यः ॥

840. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vṛiddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus सौत्रीभार्यः, माथुरीयते, and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vṛiddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8. S. 1378 which does not cause Vṛiddhi. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and डीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी कथा यस्य = काषायकथाः, हेमस्य विकारो हैमी, हैमीछात्रिका = हैमछात्रिकः (IV. 3. 140 S. 1520). What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वृद्धिः"? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrīhi, and not a Tatpuruṣha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ज् or क् &c which causes Vṛiddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावज्जायैः (तावती भार्या यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वतुर् V. 2. 39 S. 1840 added to तद् does not cause Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi, but by VI. 3. 91. S. 430 which says "आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वत्" ॥ Though आ is a Vṛiddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vṛiddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in नैय्याकरणभार्यः "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वभार्यः "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman." there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi. The word निमित्त in the sūtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit." Now when तदधीते तद्वेदं अण् (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्यं अण् (IV 1. 92 S. 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII. 3. 3 S. 1098 which says :—"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ज्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels." Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vṛiddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in नैय्याकरणी भार्या यस्य, and सौवश्वी भार्या यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाव्येतः । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाय ईकारस्तन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सुकोशीभार्यः । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । पटुभार्यः । ईतः किम् । अकेशभार्यः ॥ अमानिनीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेशमानिनी ॥

841. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine.

Thus लुकेशीभार्यः । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body'? Observe पदुभार्यः (पदु not denoting any bodily member). Why do we say 'a feminine in ई'? Observe अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vārtika :—There is an exception when the word मानिन follows. Thus लुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेश्च । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातेः परे यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तं न पुंवत् । शूद्राभार्यः । ब्राह्मणी भार्यः ॥ सौवर्त्यैवायं निषेधः । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्यादे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842. A feminine noun expressing jāti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine.

Thus शूद्राभार्यः, ब्राह्मणीभार्यः ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas. Here the vārtika भस्यादे given under VI. 3. 35 S. 836. will apply of course.

८४३ । संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

संख्येयार्थया संख्ययाऽव्ययावयः समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहिः । दशानां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपवशा नव एकादश वेत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङच् ॥

843. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपवशाः (V. 4. 73 S. 851) those who are near ten i. e. nine or eleven. Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142 S. 844).

By V. 4. 73. S. 851, the affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral.

८४४ । ति विंशतेर्ङिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विंशतेर्भस्य तिश्चस्य लोपः स्याद्वृत्तिः । आसन्नाविंशाः । विंशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थः । अहूरविंशा । अधिकचत्वारिंशाः । द्वौ वा त्रयो वा द्विजाः । द्विरावृत्ता दश द्विंशाः । विंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

844. Of the Bha stem विंशति, before an affix having an indicative ङ, the ति is elided.

Thus आसन्नविंशः 'nineteen or twentyone'; अद्वाविंशः 'twenty-nine or thirty one'; अधिकचत्वारिंशः 'forty-one.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विधा: 'two or 'three.' द्विंशः 'twenty.'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राप्स्यन् । इत्थिण्याः पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तरालं दक्षिणपूर्वा । नामग्रहणा-
द्यौगिकानां न । ऐन्द्राश्च कौबेर्याश्चान्तरालं दिक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakṣiṇa-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्राश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐह्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सरूपे परे तृतीयान्ते च प्रहरणविषये इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समस्वेते
कर्मस्थितिद्वारे शोले स बहुव्रीहिः । इतिशब्दादयं विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846. Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*; and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking*; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्धः ॥ Now applies the following sūtra:—

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

दीर्घ इत्यनुवर्तते । इच्चि कर्मव्यतिहारे बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य दीर्घः । इच्च समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठवृत्तप्रवृत्तिविचित्रत्ययस्य पाठाद्व्यर्थीभावस्त्वमव्ययस्य च । केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वा इव युद्धं प्रवृत्तं केशाकेशि । दण्डैर्दण्डैश्च ग्रहणेन युद्धं प्रवृत्तं दण्डादण्डि । सुष्टीसुष्टि ॥

846 A. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

(This sūtra is taught in S. 3539 also).

The word *dirgha* is understood in this sūtra from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra VI. 3. III. The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrīhi compound is lengthened, before the samāsānta affix इच्च when reciprocity of action is meant. The samāsānta इच्च will be taught later on (V. 4. 127 S. 866). The इच्च affix is read in the Tishṭhadga class (II. 1.17. S. 671) and so these compounds are Avyayibhāvas and Indeclinables.

As केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इव युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = केशाकेशि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च ग्रहणेन इव युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave: ' so also सुष्टी सुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुणः । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य शुणः स्यान्निहिते । अवर्णेशः । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोरिति वक्तव्ये शुणोक्तिः संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वायम्भुवमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरूपे इति किम् । हलेन सुसलेन ॥

847. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand." Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोन् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase शुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya. and we have forms like स्वायम्भुवः from स्वयम्भू without guṇa See VII. 4. 30 also.

Why do we say in the preceding sūtra 'S. 846 सरूपे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following : हलैश्च सुसलेश्च ग्रहणेन इव युद्धं प्रवृत्तम् ॥

८४८ । तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे । २२ । १८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे वर्तमाने सहैवेत्तृतीयांस्तेन प्राग्वत् ॥

848. The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह+पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । वोपसर्जनस्य । ३ । ३ । ८२ ॥

बहुव्रीहयवयवस्य सहस्य सः स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्री वा आगतः । तुल्ययोगवचनं प्रायिकम् । सकर्मकः । सलोककः ॥

849. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सवोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound; because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood; Thus पुत्रेणसह = सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, आगतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वमियः or सहयुध्मियः ॥

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोककः, सपुत्रकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं) ॥

Note :—Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सहकृत्वाः accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दद्यामिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

८५० । प्रकृत्याशिषि । ३ । ३ । ८३ ॥

सहशब्दः प्रकृत्या स्यादाशिषि । स्वास्ति शजे सहपुत्राय सहामाताय ॥ भगवोवसहस्रेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ सगर्वः । सवत्साय । सहलाय ॥

850. The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction.

Thus स्वस्ति पञ्च सहस्रनाय, सहस्रनायाय ॥

Vartika :—But optionally so when it is गो, वत्स or हलः—as; स्वस्ति भवते सहस्रगे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सहवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥

८५१ । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येये डजबहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

संख्येये यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्माद्बुच् स्यात् । उपद्शाः । भवबहुगणात्किम् । उपबहवः । उपगणाः । अत्र स्वेर विशेषः ॥ संख्यायास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्यः * ॥ निर्गतानि त्रिशतो निक्षिप्तानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य । निर्गतक्षिशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्यो निक्षिप्तः खङ्गः ॥

851. The affix *dach* comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is *bahu* and *gaṇa*.

This Bahuvrīhi is formed by rule II. 2. 25. S. 843. Thus उपद्शाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting a numeral' ? Observe चित्रयुः, दाबलयुः ॥

Why do we say 'not after *bahu* and *gaṇa*' ? Observe, उपबहवः, उपगणाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच् been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चित् accent (VI. 1 163 S. 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first.

Vart :—The Tatpuruṣa compounds of numerals like निक्षिप्तः &c, take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि त्रिशतः = निक्षिप्तानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतक्षिशताङ्गुलिभ्यः = निक्षिप्तः खङ्गः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long.'

८५२ । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्पच् । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

यस्येन पक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्पि सक्थ्यक्ष्णोऽङ्गुलिभ्यो बच् स्यात् । शीर्षे सक्थिनी यस्य स शीर्षसक्थः । अलङ्काक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्किम् ॥ शीर्षसक्थि शक्थम् । स्थूलाक्षौ वणुयष्टिः । भक्ष्णोऽङ्गुलिभ्यश्च ॥

852. The affix *shach* comes after the words *sakthī* and *akshī*, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus शीर्षे सक्थिनी यस्य = शीर्षसक्थः, so also अलङ्काक्षी Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body ?" Observe शीर्षसक्थि शक्थम् । स्थूलाक्षौ वणुयष्टिः ॥ The affix भच् is added by V 4 76 S. 944.

Note :—The word सकथ्यक्ष्णोः is genitive dual, while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi compound”? Observe परमसक्तिः, परमाक्षिः ॥ Why do we say “after sakthi and akskhi? Observe दीर्घजातुः, सुबाहुः ॥

The new affix वच् is employed instead of दच् for the sake of the accent. Thus चक्रसक्थी स्त्री, दीर्घसक्थी स्त्री ॥ By sūtra IV. I. 41, S. 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicatory व् is formed by ङीप् and not ङीप् ॥ Had the affix here been दच्, then the feminine would have been formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), which is anudātta (III. 1 4). Now by rule VI. 2.198 S. 3932 the second term ‘sakthi’ has *optionally* udātta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrīhi. When therefore, it is not oxytone, then by adding ङीप् the final of दीर्घसक्थी would have been anudātta, so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone, in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when ङीप् is added, it is *always* udātta, which is desired: and removes the anomaly. The anuvṛtti of Bahuvrīhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३ । अङ्गुलेर्दारुणि । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ता बहुव्रीहिः वच् स्याद्धारुण्यर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुलयो यस्य तत्पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु । अङ्गुलिसदृशावयवं धान्यादिविलेपनकाष्ठमुच्यते । बहुव्रीहिः किम् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्या द्व्यङ्गुला यादृः । तद्वितार्थे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेरित्यच् । दारुणि किम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

853. The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word aṅguli, when the compound means “a piece of wood.”

Thus पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi”? Observe द्व्यङ्गुलादृष्टिः = द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V. 4. 86 S. 786 by adding वच् as samāsānta affix, the aṅguli meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say “when meaning a wood”? Observe पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां च मूर्द्धन् । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां मूर्द्धन् चः स्माद्बहुव्रीहि । द्विमूर्द्धन् । त्रिमूर्द्धन् ॥ नेतुर्नक्षत्रं अक्षयन्तुः * मूर्द्धा मत्ता आसत्ताः मूर्धनेना राजन्तः । पुष्यनेना ॥

854. The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in mūrdhan, and preceded by dvi and tri.

Thus द्विमूर्द्धन् । त्रिमूर्द्धन् ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीप् and the accent is regulated by VI. 2. 197.

Note :—Why do we say “ preceded by dvi and tri P ” Observe द्वैर्मुखा ॥

Vart :—The affix अप् comes after नेतृ when preceded by a word denoting asterism, As मृगनेत्रा रात्रयः = मृगो नेत्रा आसां रात्रीणां “ the night whose leader is the asterism mriga ” ; so also पुष्यनेत्राः ॥

Note—Why do we say “ an asterism ” P Observe देववज्रनेतृकाः ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोमः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

आभ्यां लोमांस्त्वद्बहिर्भ्यां । अन्तर्लोमः । बहिर्लोमः ॥

855. The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrīhi ending in loman and preceded by antar and bahis.

Thus अन्तर्जमानि लोमान्यस्य = अन्तर्लोमः प्रावारः ‘ a cloak having the hairy surface inside ’. Similarly बहिर्जोमः परः ॥

८५६ । अच् नासिकायाः स्थायां नसं चास्थूलान् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्बहु व्रीहेरच् स्थान् नासिकाग्रश्च नसं प्राप्नोति नतु स्थूलपूर्वम् ॥

856. The affix ach is added to the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nāsikā, but not so when the word sthūla precedes the word nāsikā.

Thus दु + नासिका = दु + नासिका + अच् = दु + नस् + अच् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra by which न is changed to ण ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नस्य णः स्यात्संज्ञायां नतु गकारव्यवधाने । दुरिव नासिकास्य ह्रणसः । खरणसः । अगः किम् । कचामयनं अगयनम् । अणुगयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् णत्वाभावमाश्रित्य अग इति प्रत्याख्यात भाष्ये । अस्थूलान्त्विकम् स्थूलनासिकः । खुरखराभ्यां वा नस् * ॥ खुरणाः । खरगाः ॥ पक्षे अजपीत्येत ॥ खुरणसः खरणसः ॥

857. So also, न् is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter न ॥

Thus दुरिव नासिकास्य = ह्रणसः । खरणसः ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चक्षेनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe :
ऋगयनञ् ॥

In the Mahābhāṣya, Patanjali has shown that the word यनः is superfluous in the sūtra, for the non-change of न to ञ in ऋगयनञ् can be established by the nipātana of IV. 3. 73. S. 1452, where Pāṇini himself has used the word ऋगयन showing that न is not changed to ञ ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्थूल'? Observe स्थूलनासिको वराहः ।

Vast :—After the words खुर, and खद ; for नासिका is substituted वस् but no affix is added : as, खुरणाः, खरणाः ॥

Vārtika :—In the alternative affix अच् is added, as खुरजसः, खरजसः ॥

Iṣhti :—The forms सितिनाः, अचेनाः and अहिनाः are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas).

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

प्रायेर्बो नासिकाश्चस्तदन्ताद्बुद्धीहेरच् नासिकाया नसादेशश्च । असंज्ञार्थं वचनम् । उभयतां नासिका यस्य स उभयः । उपसर्गादनोत्पर इति सूत्रं लङ्ङत्तवा भाव्यकार आह ॥

858. The affix ach comes after the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when an upasarga precedes it, and स्तस्य is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñā, as it was in the last. Thus उभयता नासिकास्तस्य = उभयः ॥

The next sūtra is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न of तत् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ञ" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment. in the Mahābhāṣya,

Note :—For ओत्परः may have two meanings :—(1) ओकारान्त परः, that which comes after ओ ; (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मान् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ञ change would be required in प्रतो मुञ्चतः ; in the second case, there should be no ञ change in प्रणानिर्देवता ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

८५६ । उपसर्गाद्विहुलम् । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निसत्तात्परस्य नसो नस्य ण स्याद्विहुलम् । प्रणसः ॥ तेषो नस्यः * ॥ विगता नासिकास्य विप्रः ॥ ख्यम् * ॥ विख्यः । कथं तर्हि विनसा ह्रस्वसन्धेर्वति भट्टिः । विगतया नासिकयो-
मलक्षितेति व्याख्ययम् ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणसः

Vart:—The ण is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतानासिकास्य = विप्रः ॥ *Vārī*:—So also विख्यः in the same sense.

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhaṭṭi:—
“विनसा ह्रस्वसन्धेर्वतिः” It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षिता ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI. 1. 63, S. 228.

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो राज्ञा ॥ The change does not sometime take place, as, प्र नो शुक्रवतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं मुखं ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means ‘nose.’ See V. 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिवशारिकुक्षचतुरध्रेणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ ।
४ । १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहावच्यमाना निपात्यन्ते । शोभनं प्रातस्य सुप्रातः । शोभनं श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः ।
शोभनं दिवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शारिव कुक्षिस्थ शारिकुक्षः । चतस्रोऽश्वयोऽस्य चतुरश्वः । एण्या इव
जातवस्य एणीपदः । अजपदः । प्रोष्ठो गौः तस्यैव पाशदस्य प्रोष्ठपदः ॥

860 The following Bahuvrhis are irregularly formed by adding ach:—*śu-prāta*, *śu-śva*, *sudiva*, *sārikuksha*, *chaturaśra*, *eni-pada*, *aja-pada*, and *proshṭha-pada*.

In some of the above compounds the टि (syllable) is elided. शोभन प्रातरस्य = सुप्रातः, शोभनं आस्य = सुश्वः, शोभनं दिवास्य = सुदिवः ॥ शारंगिव कुक्षिरस्य = शारिकुक्षिः, कतस्रोऽश्वस्य = चतुरश्वः, एण्या इव पादावस्य = एणीपदः, So अजपदः, पादा means 'cow' तस्य च पादावस्य = प्राष्टपदः "whose feet are like cows."

८६१ । नञ्दुःसुभ्यो हलिस्तकथोरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । अहलः । अहलिः । असकथः । असकथिः । एवं दुःसुभाञ् । अतथोरिति वाडान्तरम् । अशक्तः । अशक्तिः ॥

861. The affix ach comes optionally after the words hali and sakthi, final in a Bahuvrīhi when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words dus and su.

Thus अविद्यमाना हलिरस्य = अहलः or अहलिः, दुर्हलः or दुर्हलिः, सुहलः or सुहलिः ॥ So also असकथः, असकथिः, दुःसकथः or दुःसकथिः, सुसकथः or सुसकथिः ॥

Some read the text as हलिस्तयोः ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्तिः or अशक्तः, दुःशक्तिः or दुःशक्तः (विरुपा शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्तिः or सुशक्तः ॥

८६२ । नित्यमसिञ् प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दुःसुभ्य इत्येव । अमजाः । दुर्माजाः । सुमाजाः । अमेधाः । दुर्मेधाः । सुमेधाः ॥

862. The affix asich (अस्) comes invariably after prajā and medhā, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when the above particles नञ्, सु and दुस् precede them.

Thus अविद्यमाना प्रजास्य = अमजाः, so also दुष्माजाः, सुमाजाः, अमेधाः, दुर्मेधाः, सुमेधाः ॥

Note:—The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvritti of the word "optionally" of the last sūtra does not run here. The word nitya also indicates that the affix ach comes after prajā and medhā even when preceded by other words. As the word अल्पमधसः in the following.

श्रोत्रियस्येव त राजन्मन्त्रकृत्याल्पमधसः ।

अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैवा तत्स्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

Note:—The अ of असिञ् is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it म ॥ Therefore in सुप्रजसौ the वा is elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). According to Kās kâ the base is अमजस, &c.

८६३ । धर्मादिनिचकैवलात् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलात्पूर्वपदात्परं यो धर्मशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बहुव्रीहिरेतन्निच् स्यात् । कल्याणधर्मा । केवलात्किम् । परमः स्वो धर्मो यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ मा भूत् । स्वशब्दो हीह न केवलं पूर्वपदं किंतु मध्यमत्वावशेति-
कम् । सन्दिग्धसाध्यधर्मत्वात् तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदो बहुव्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मत्वापि साधेयं ।
निवृत्तिधर्मा अनुच्छित्तिधर्मत्वादिभूत् । पूर्वपदं तु बहुव्रीहिणाक्षिप्यते ॥

863. The affix anich (अन्) comes after the word dharma, when it is the last member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word.

Thus कल्याणो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मन् nom sin. कल्याणधर्मा ॥ Why do we say कैवलात् 'when it alone is the last member'? Observe परमः स्वो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्मः ॥ Here the word स्व is not alone a pûrvapada but a middle term; also it is not an independent word; it is not a pûrvapada and pûrvapada only, but something else also. The word कैवलात् according to some qualifies the word पूर्वपदं and according to others the uttara-
pada also. That is the first member must be *one* word though a *compound* word, and they explain such forms as सन्दिग्धसाध्यधर्मा; निवृत्तिधर्मा; अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा (e. g. अविनाशी वा भरऽयमात्माऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा) as valid. According to Kaumudī the purvapadas like सन्दिग्धसाध्य are Karmadhāraya. In this view परमस्वधर्मा is also valid and correct, like the words निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा ॥ According to Prasādakāra कैवलात् qualifies both the words धर्मात् and पूर्वपदात् ॥

Note :—The necessity of अन् in अनिच् is not very apparent. The affix निच् would have served the purpose equally well: for धर्म + निच् = धर्मन् ॥ But others say, that the word is not धर्म ending with a vowel, but धर्म ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun धर्म by तत्करोति &c. S. 2573 $\sqrt{\text{कृ}} ॥$ Therefore परमो धर्म यस्य सः परमधर्मा ॥ The word धर्म though defective in one limb, is the same as धर्म for grammatical purposes, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥ When in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the last member is धर्म and the first member is a single word, then the affix अनिच् is added. The word कैवलात् qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by कैवलात् ॥ The author of Prasāda also has explained Kevalât as an adjective qualifying both the word dharma and the pûrvapada or the first member. But both these are very problematic: for there is no proof that the word kevalât should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word dharma. Moreover there is no necessity that the word dharma should be qualified by this term Kevalât. For it cannot

be said that the word *kevalât* should qualify *Dharma*, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word *ending* in *dharma*. For in such a case, the word *dharma* does not stand as a member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound. Therefore the word *kevalât* qualifies the *purvapada* only. The *purvapada* must be a *single word*: and not two or more words. Therefore in *परमःस्वो धर्मो यस्य* the *Bahuvrīhi* will not be governed by this rule. Because the word *स्व* is not here the only *pārva-pada*, but being in the middle is relative.

८६४ । जम्भन् सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भन्ति कृतसमासान्तं निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये ण्ते च । शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा । हरितजम्भा । तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य तृणमिव ण्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा । सोमजम्भा । स्वादिभ्यः क्तिन् । पतित-जम्भः ॥

864. The word “jambhan” stands at the end of a *Bahuvrīhi*, when preceded by *su*, *harita*, *trīṇa*, and *soma*.

The *जम्भन्* is a word that has already taken the *samāsānta* affix *ञन्* irregularly, and means ‘food’ or ‘tooth.’ Thus *सुजम्भन्*, as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), *सुजम्भा देववत्*: so also *हरितजम्भा*, *तृणजम्भा*, (तृणे भक्ष्यं यस्य) *सोमजम्भा* ॥ When it means ‘tooth,’ the compound should be analysed as, *तृणमिव* or *सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य* ॥ Why do we say when preceded by *su* &c.? Observe *पतितजम्भः* ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईमे व्रण यस्य दक्षिणेर्मा मृगः । व्याधेन कृतव्रण इत्यर्थः ॥

865. The form “dakshinerman” is an irregularly formed *Bahuvrīhi*, when used in conjunction with a hunter.

The word *लुब्ध* means *व्याध* or a fowler, a hunter. Thus *दक्षिणमीर्ममस्य* = *दक्षिणेर्मा मृगः* ‘a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank.’

Note:—But in the following verse:—*बाली हेमाब्जमाली गुणनिधिरिषुणनिर्मितो दक्षिणेर्मा*, it denotes merely hunting. The word *ईर्मम्* means ‘a wound.’ Why do we say ‘in reference to a hunter’? Observe *दक्षिणेर्मम् शकटम्* ॥

८६६ । इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादिच् स्यात्समासान्तः । केशाकेशि । मुसलामुसलि ॥

866. The affix *इच्* comes after a *Bahuvrīhi* when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II. 2. 27. S. 684 Thus *केशाकेशि* = *केशेषु_केशेषु* *गृहीत्वा* इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं ॥ So also *मुसलामुसलि* ॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayibhâva compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिष्ठव्यु words II. 1. 17. S. 671.

८६७। द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च । ५। ४। १२८ ॥

तावर्थे चतुर्थेवा । एषां सिद्धवर्धनिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । द्वौ दण्डौ यस्मिन्प्रकरणे तद् द्विदण्डि
प्रहरणम् । द्विदण्डि । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867. The words dvidanḍi &c., are valid forms in ich.

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II. 1. 37 S. 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्ड्यर्थनिच् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidanḍi &c," i. e. it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidanḍi &c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विदण्डि प्रहरति, द्विदण्डि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डां शाला ॥

Note:—Though the context is that of Bahuvrîhi, yet some of these words are Tatpurusha: as निकुञ्ज कर्णोधावति = निकुञ्जकर्णं धावति ॥ ग्राह्यादौ हस्तिनं बाह्वयति = ग्राह्यापादि हस्तिनं बाह्वयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72.

1 द्विदण्डि, 2 द्विदण्डि, 3 उभाहस्ति, 4 उभयाहस्ति, 5 उभाहस्ति, 6 उभयाहस्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाहस्ति, 10 उभयाहस्ति, 11 उभाहस्ति, 12 उभयाहस्ति, 13 उभाहस्ति, 14 उभयाहस्ति, 15 एकपदि, 16 ग्राह्यापदि, 17 ग्राह्यापदि, (ग्राह्यापदि), 18 सपदि, 19 निकुञ्जकर्णं, 20 सहतपुच्छि, 21 अन्तर्वाति ॥

८६८। प्रसंख्यां जानुनोक्नुः । ५। ४। १२९ ॥

आभ्यां पर्योर्जानुषद्वयोर्ह्रस्वोर्देशः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रनुः । सनुः ॥

868 After the words pra and sam, there is the substitution of jānu for jānu, when forming the Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus प्रगते जानुनी यस्य = प्रनुः, So also सनुः ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वाद्विभाषा । ५। ४। १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वनुः । ऊर्ध्वजानुः ॥

869. The substitution of jānu for jānu is optional, when the word ūrdhva precedes it.

Thus ऊर्ध्वे जानुनी यस्य = ऊर्ध्वजानुः or ऊर्ध्वनुः ॥

८७०। धनुषश्च । ५। ४। १३१ ॥

धनुस्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870. The 'anañ' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrīhi.

As शार्ङ्ग धनुस्त्व = शार्ङ्गधन्वा nom. s. शार्ङ्गधन्वा ।

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871. The substitution of धनुस् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrīhi is a Name.

This declares an option, where the last sūtra had made the substitution compulsory. As शतधनुः or शतधन्वा; दृढधनुः or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निङादेशः स्यात् ॥

872. For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus युवति जीयाऽस्त्व = युवति + जाया = युवति + जा + नि ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which य is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वलि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकारवकारयोर्लोपः स्याद्वलि । युवज्ञावः । युवतिजीया यस्य युवजानिः ॥

873. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिजीया यस्य = युवजानिः (जाया + निङ् = जाय + निङ् = जा + नि, the य् being elided by the present rule.) So also युवजानिः ॥ There is punvad-bhāva also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine).

Note:—The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c., beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव् + वत् (III. 2. 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वत् = दिदिवत् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवंसौ, दिदिवंसः ॥ Thus उय् + त = ऊत, 'spun,' कूय् + त = कूत 'made a noise.' So also the affix हक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129 S. 1135). Of the affix हक्, ह is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गौधेरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102 S. 2255) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105 S. 2256). So also व् is elided in the following:—from जीव—गौरवातुः (by Upādi affix जीवे रवातुक्) from लिङ्—अस्तेमाजन् formed by the Upādi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unādi affixes (III. 3. 1 S. 3169), there is not ऊइ substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य?" Observe ऊय्यते, कूय्यते when य् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprakṛta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + क्तिप् = कण्डूय् and व् (VI. 4. 48 S. 2308) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोलुप × क्विप् = लोलुः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa, and व्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by हतादिदोषः are Bahiraṅga.

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुपूतिसुसुरभिः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकारोऽन्तर्देशः स्यात् । उद्गन्धिः । पूतिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुरभिगन्धिः ॥ गन्धस्येवे तदेकान्तमहणम् * ॥ एकान्त एकदेश इव अविभागेन लक्ष्यमाण इत्यर्थः । सुगन्धि पुष्पं सलिलं च । सुगन्धिर्वायुः । नेह :—शोभना गन्धाः द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आपणिकः ॥

874. For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उत्, पूति, सु and सुरभि in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus the अ of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पूतिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुरभि-गन्धिः ॥

Note :—Why after these only? Observe तीव्रगन्धा वातः ॥

Vārt:—The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् विनष्टि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः 'having the scent of sandal.' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute. सुगन्धि पुष्पं सलिलं च, सुगन्धिर्वायुः ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धाः द्रव्याणि अस्मै=सुगन्ध आपणिकः 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale.'

Note :—The त् of इत् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that इत् is an affix, and not a substitute (ādeśa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by अस्तेति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The word *ekanta* in the vārtika means "a portion," in short the rule applies when gandha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain *ekanta* by "natural;" i. e. when an object naturally possesses scent, and not when artificially scented. Therefore not here : आत्रायि वात् गन्धवहः सुगन्धः ॥

८७५ । अलपाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूपस्य गन्धो लेशो यस्मिंस्तत् सूपगन्धि भोजनम् । घृतगन्धि । गन्धो गन्धक आमेदि लेशो स्रग्धगन्धयोरेति विश्वः ॥

875. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little.'

Thus सूपोऽल्पोऽस्मिन् = सूपगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth." So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee." Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viśwakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (i. e. scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance.'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धिः ॥

876. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared.

As पद्मस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य = पद्मगन्धिः, उत्पलगन्धिः ; करीषगन्धिः ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्त्यादिवर्जिताहुपमानात्परस्य पादस्य लोपः स्याद्वहुव्रीहौ । स्यान्निवृत्तेणार्थं समासान्तः । व्यात्रस्यैव पादावस्य व्यात्रपात् । अहस्त्यादिभ्यः क्तिप् । हस्तिपाद् । कुसूलपाद् ॥

877. The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c.

The word उपमानात् is understood here. The लोप substitution is a samāsānta affix in a way. Thus व्यात्रस्यैव पादावस्य = व्यात्रपात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति ? Observe हस्तिपाद्, कुसूलपाद् ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुसूल*, 3 अश्व*, 4 कशिक*, 5 कुस्त, 6 कटोल, 7 कटोलक*, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलक, 10 कण्डोल*, 11 कण्डोलक*, 12 अज*, 13 कपोत*, 14 जाल*, 15 गण्ड*, 16 महेना, (महिला), 17 रासी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुसूल. ॥

Note :—This elision is a samāsānta. For if it were not a samāsānta, then by the rule अङिः परस्य (I. 1. 54 S. 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पाद्, namely, of प. ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपद्यादिषु पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किम् ।
कुम्भपादः ॥

878. The words kumbhapadî &c., have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद्, in the Feminine.

The forms कुम्भपदी &c. are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद् and then substituting प् for पात् before the feminine affix ई by VI. 4. 130. S. 414. Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else.'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note :—Those words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V. 4. 138 or V. 4. 140. In their case, this sūtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words ; so that the optional rule IV. 1. 8 S. 457 does not apply to them.

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 शूलपदी, * 5 हुनिपदि, 6 गुणपदी, * 7 शतपदी, 8 सूत्र-
पदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलशीपदी, 11 विपरी, * 12 तुणपदी*, 13 द्विपरी, 14 त्रिपरी*, 15 चद्रपरी*,
16 हासीपदी 17 शितिपरी*, 18 विष्णुपरी*, 19 सुपरी, 20' निष्परी, 21 गार्हपरी, 22 कुजिपरी,
(कुणपरी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुचिपदी*, 25' द्राणपरी, (द्राणीपदी), 26 ह्रुपदी, 27 सूकरपदी, 28
शक्रपदी, 29 अष्टापदी, 30 स्थूलपदी, (स्थूलपदी), 31 अपरी*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 मालापदी, 34
गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 सूपपदी, 37 पञ्चपदी, 38 अर्वपरी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंसपदी, 41
विषपदी ॥

८७६ । संख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ । द्विपात् । सुपात् ॥

879. The final अ of पाद् is elided by samâsânta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrîhi.

Thus द्वौ पादवस्य = द्विपात्, त्रिपात्, so also शोभनौ पादवस्य = सुपात् ॥

८८० । वयसि वृन्तस्य दत् । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

संख्यासुपूर्वस्य वृन्तस्य दत् इत्यादिदेशः स्याद्वयसि । द्विवत् । चतुर्वत् । अद वृन्ता अस्य बोद्धम् ।
सुवत् । सुवरी । वयसि किम् । द्विवृन्तः करी । सुवृन्तः नटः ॥

880. For वृन्त is substituted दत् as a samâsânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life i. e. an age.

Thus द्वौ वृन्तावस्य = द्विवत् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिवत्, चतुर्वत् बोद्धम् । See vârtika under VI. 3. 76 S. 881 for

बोधन् ॥ शोभनावन्ताभस्य समस्ता जाताः = सुवन् कुमारः "a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully." So also सुवती. Why do we say denoting 'age'? Observe द्विवन्तः करी । सुवन्तो नदः ॥

Note:—The ऋ of दन् is indicatory, making rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before न् in declining these words in sarvanāmasthāna cases : and rule IV. 1. 6 S. 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to वगित् apply to these.

८८१ । स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दन् स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ भयोवती । कालवती । संज्ञायां किम् । समदन्ती ॥

881. For danta is substituted "dat" as a samā-sānta in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name.

Thus भयोवती, कालवती ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Name"? Observe समदन्ती, स्त्रियदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभाषा श्यावारोकाश्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दन् वा बहुव्रीहौ । श्यावदन् । । श्यावदन्तः । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्तः ॥

882. Optionally "dat" is substituted for "danta," in a Bahuvrīhi compound, when it is preceded by the words śyāva and aroka.

Thus श्यावदन्तः or श्यावदन्, अरोकदन्तः or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means 'dark,' "without holes or spaces."

Note:—The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place ; as श्यावदन्तः, अरोकदन्तः ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहश्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दन् वा । कुङ्कुमलामदन् । कुङ्कुमलामदन्तः ॥

883. The substitution of "dat" for "danta" is optional in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is preceded by a word ending in अग्र or by शुद्ध, शुभ्र, वृष and वराह ॥

The word "optionally" is understood here also. Thus कुङ्कुमलामदन्, or कुङ्कुमलामदन्तः, so also शुद्धदन्तः or शुद्धदन् ; शुभ्रदन्तः or शुभ्रदन् ; वृषदन्तः or वृषदन्, वराहदन्तः or वराहदन् ॥

Note :—The च् of the sūtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated: as अहिदन्तः or अहिदन्, सूषिकदन्त or सूषिकदन्ः, गर्भदन्तः or गर्भदन्, शिखरदन्तः or शिखरदन् ॥

८८४ । ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः । ५ । ४ । १४६ ॥

अजातककुत् । पूर्णककुत् ॥

884. The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrīhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals.

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c. Thus अजातं ककुदमस्य = अजातककुत् = बालः “the young of an animal.” पूर्णककुत् = मध्यमवया “middle—aged animal”: उन्नतककुत् = वृद्धवया “old”; स्थूलककुत् बलवान् ‘strong,’ यष्टिककुत् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः ॥

Note :—Why do we say when denoting a condition? Observe श्वेतककुदः ॥

८८५ । त्रिककुत्पर्वते । ५ । ४ । १४७ ॥

शीणि ककुदाग्न्यस्य त्रिककुत् । सतैषा पर्वतविशेषस्य । त्रिककुदोऽग्न्यः ॥

885. The Bahuvrīhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain.

शीणिककुदाग्न्यस्य = त्रिककुत् “a three-peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump.” All three-peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill. When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुदः ॥

८८६ । उद्विश्यां काकुदस्य । ५ । ४ । १४८ ॥

लोपः स्यात् । उक्काकुत् । विकाकुत् । काकुदं तालु ॥

886. After ut and vi, the final of kākuda is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus उद्विश्यां काकुदमस्य = उक्काकुत्, so also विकाकुत् ॥ The word काकुद means ‘palate.’

८८७ । पूर्णाद्विधाया । ५ । ४ । १४९ ॥

पूर्णकाकुत् । पूर्णकाकुदः ॥

887. After pūrṇa, the final of kākuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus पूर्णस्य काकुदमस्य = पूर्णकाकुत् or पूर्णकाकुदः ॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुहृद्भ्यां हृदयस्य हृद्भावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्मित्रम् । दुर्हृदमित्रः । अन्यत्र सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

888. The words suhṛit and durhṛit are irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively.

The word सुहृन् is derived from सु + हृदय, the अय of हृदय being elided in the Bahuvrīhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also दुर्हृन् is derived from दुर् + हृदय, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe सुहृदयः कारुणिकः 'the kind-hearted, merciful,' दुर्हृदयश्चोरः "the evil hearted thief."

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

व्यूहोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिस्कः । इह पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पयः, नौ, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु शेषाद्विभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुस्कः ॥ अर्थान्नमः* ॥ अनर्थकम् । नमः किम् । अपार्थम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889. The affix कप् comes after uras &c., final in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus व्यूहोरस्कः = व्यूहहरोऽस्य (VIII. 3. 38 S. 152). So also मिथसर्पिस्कः (VIII. 3. 39 S. 153) अवहुक्तोपातस्कः ॥

The words पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पयः, नौ, and लक्ष्मीः are exhibited in the list of Urasadi words as nominative singular, and not in their crude-forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix कप्, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix कप् is optionally added by force of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891. Thus द्विपुमान् or द्विपुस्कः, बहुपुमान् or बहुपुस्कः ॥

1 उरस्, 2 सर्पिस्, 3 उपानह्, 4 पुमान्, 5 अनङ्गान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौ, 8 लक्ष्मीः, 9 अर्थः 10 मधु, 11 शालि, 12 अर्थान्नमः ॥ (The affix कप् is added to अर्थ when preceded by the Negative particle नम्, as अनर्थकम्) । Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle नम् ? Observe अपार्थम् or अपार्थकम् ॥

८९० । इनः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुवचिङ्का नगरी ॥ अनिनसन्महयान्त्यर्थवता चानर्थकित च तन्तविधि प्रत्येअर्थान्ति ॥ बहुवचिङ्का । स्त्रियां किम् ॥ बहुवचिङ्का । नगरी ।

890. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted.

Thus बहुवो ण्डिनोऽस्यां नगर्याम् = बहुण्डिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुवामिका सभा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुण्डी or बहुण्डिको ग्रामः ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V. 4. 134 S. 891.

Paribhāṣā:—Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I. 1. 72 ; S. 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning. ('Meaning') can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' viz. the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् &c.)

Therefore the rule applies to वामिन् also. As बहुवामिका सभा ॥

८६१ । शेषाद्धिभावा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्धव्रीहिः कप् वा स्यात् । महायशस्कः । महायशाः । अनुक्त-
स्याहि किञ्च । व्याघ्रपात् । सुगन्धिः । विषययः । शेषाधिकारस्थात्किम् । उपबहवः । उत्तरपूर्वा । सप्तयः ।
सन्भावित्वा शेषशब्दोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891. After all other Bahuvrīhi compounds formed under II. 2. 23 S. 829, and not covered by the foregoing samāsānta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायशस्कः or महायशाः

Why do we say "after the rest" ? Observe व्याघ्रपात् ; सुगन्धिः ; विषययः, Here these words are formed by special samāsānta rules given before ८. g. 874, 877 and 940.

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrīhis about which no special rule has been given above. How do you explain the forms अन्तर्कं साम्, बह्वर्कं सूक्तं, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V. 4. 74, S. 940 and ought to have taken the samāsānta affix अ? The affix अ is added to क्क when the compound has a special meaning; such as अन्तः means 'a boy', बह्वः 'a charaṇa.'

Why have we used the words "śeṣādādhikārasyāt" in explaining the sūtra ? These words mean "after a Bahuvrīhi falling under the scope of the rules of Śeṣō Bahuvrīhi" II. 2. 23 S. 829." Observe उपबहवः ॥ This is

a Bahuvrīhi not formed under the śesha rule II. 2. 23 S. 829, but by a special rule II. 2. 25 S. 843 : and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrīhi formed by II. 2. 26 S. 845, and सपुत्रः formed by II. 2. 28 S. 848. In fact the word शेषः of II. 2. 23 S. 829 governs only II. 2. 24 S. 830 and not the remaining sūtras like 843, 846, 848 &c.

The word शेषात् of this sūtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrīhis for which no samāsānta has been taught;" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrīhis which are formed under "śesha Bahuvrīhi " rule." The word शेषात् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point: one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word शेषात् twice in this sūtra (āvritti.) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is सत्यव्यर्थभेदे शब्दस्याभेदः ॥ This gives rise to तन्त्र or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view

८६२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कप्याबन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । बहुमालकः । बहुमालकः । कबभोव बहुमालः ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुमालकः or बहुमालकः 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुमालः ॥

८६३ । न संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

शेषाशिति प्रातः कप् न स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V. 4. 154 S. 891 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य = विश्वेदेवः ॥

८६४ । ईयसश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसन्तोत्तरपदान् कप् । बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य बहुश्रेयात् । गोक्षियोऽसि ह्रस्व प्राप्ते ॥ ईयसो बहुव्रीहेर्नैति वाच्यम् * ॥ बह्वयः श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसी । बहुव्रीहेः किम् । अतिश्रेयसिः ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules i. e. both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयाम्. (V. 3. 57 S. 2005) Here rule V. 4. 154 S. 891 is debarred. बहुव्यः श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V. 4. 135 S. 833 is prohibited. By rule I. 2. 48 S. 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vārtika.

Vart:—In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसि ॥

८६५ । वन्दिते भ्रातुः । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

पूजितेऽथे यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तन्मात्रं कप् स्यात् । प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तभ्राता । न पूजनादिति निषेधस्तु बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यङ्गोऽस्ति यतः प्रागेवेति वक्ष्यते । वन्दिते किम् । मूर्खभ्रातृकः ॥

895. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi ending in the word bhrātri, when it means 'praised.'

The word वन्दितः means 'praised,' 'respected' &c. Thus शोभना भ्राता यस्य शुभभ्राता 'one having a good brother.' As a general rule, samāsānta affixes are not added, when respect is meant. See V. 4. 69 S. 954. But the prohibition of that sūtra has its scope only upto V. 4. 113 S. 852, and not on sūtras after that. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृकः, दुष्टभ्रातृकः ॥

८६६ । नाडीतन्त्रयोः स्वाङ्गे । ५ । ४ । १५८ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यो नाडीतन्त्रिशब्दो तस्मात्कप् न स्यात् । बहुनाडिः कायः । बहुतन्त्रीर्मात्रा । तन्त्रीधर्मनी स्वीप्रस्थयान्त्रस्वामावाङ्गस्वो न । स्वाङ्गे किम् । बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः । बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896. The affix कप् does not come after the words nāḍī, and tantrī final in a Bahuvrīhi, when they mean organs of body.

Thus बहुयो नाडोऽस्य = बहुनाडिः कायः, बहुतन्त्रीर्मात्रा ॥ बहुतन्त्रीधर्मनी. The word तन्त्री means 'an artery.' Why do we say meaning "parts of body"? Observe, बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः, बहुतन्त्रीका : वीणा ॥ The word नाडी is a feminine word formed by ङीप् that comes after jāti; तन्त्री is formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇādi III. 158). In बहुनाडिः the long ई is shortened as being an upasārjana (I. 2. 48 S. 655); but the ई of तन्त्री is not shortened' as ई here is not a feminine affix, but a kṛit affix (कृत् स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः; See I. 2. 48 S. 656 also).

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कबभावेऽत्र निपात्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्धितेर्लुट् । प्रवाणी तत्तवायशलाका । निर्गता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणिः पटः । समाप्तवानः नव इत्यर्थः ॥

897. The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप्, though the last word is a Nadi word.

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्यां or प्रवयन्ति तथा ॥ Here लुट् is added to the root वि 'to weave': and denotes the instrument of weaving i. e. 'a shuttle.' निर्गता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणिः पटः, निष्प्रवाणिः कम्बलः = अपनीतशलाकः "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted, fresh from the loom. The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 29. S. 2835.

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिं पूर्वं प्रयोज्यम् । कण्ठेकालः । अत एव ज्ञापकाद्वाधिकरणपक्षे बहुव्रीहिः । चित्रयुः ॥

सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्वेतः ॥ द्विशुक्लः ॥

मियोऽनयोः समासे संख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधात् ॥ ह्यन्यः ॥

संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः* ॥ द्वित्राः

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । द्वादश ॥

वा प्रियस्य * ॥ शुद्धप्रियः । प्रिययुः ॥

गङ्गादेः परा-सप्तमी * ॥ गङ्गकण्ठः । कश्चिन्न । वहेगङ्गः ॥

898. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' From the jñâpaka of this sôtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikaraṇa Bahuvrîhi—a Bahuvrîhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणिः, चन्द्रमौलिः &c. So also उरसिलोमा, विश्वयुः, शबलयुः.

Vart :—The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः द्विशुक्लः.

Vart:—In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्यः.

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विजाः 'two and three.'

Vart:—Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first); thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve.'

Vart:—The word मिथ may optionally stand first; as सुवमिथः or मिथसुवः.

Vart:—After the words गड्ड &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गड्डकण्ठः 'a hemp-necked'; गड्डशिराः &c.

How is then the word बहेगड्डः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्तं पदवीहो पूर्वं स्यात् । कृतकृत्यः ॥ जातिकालमुखादिभ्यः परा निष्ठा बाण्यः * ॥ सारङ्गजग्धी । मासजाता । सुखजाता । मायिकं चैवम् । कृतकटः । पीतोदकः ॥

899. What ends with a Nishṭhā (I. 1. 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कृतकृत्यः ॥

So also युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, सारङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः and सुखजातः &c.

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकटः and पीतोदकः also.

९०० । बाहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

बाहिताग्निः । अग्न्याहितः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यः परे निष्ठासप्तम्योः * ॥ अस्युद्यनः । दण्डपाणिः ॥ कच्चित्र । विवृतासिः ॥

900. In the compounds āhitāgni and the like, the Nishṭhā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or बाहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

This **बाहिताग्नि** class is **ākritigaṇa** ; so that words like **गङ्ग** &c., must be looked for in this class.

Vart:—The words ending in **Nishṭhā** or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as **अस्त्रयुधतः** 'ready with sword'; **दण्डपाणिः** 'holding sceptre in hand.' But some times not so, as in **विद्वत्तासि**: "drawn-sword."

Here end Bahuvrihi compounds.

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS

६०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । २ । २ । २६ ॥

अनेकं शुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । सप्तशयान्वाचयेत्तरेत्येवसमाहाराभ्याः ।
। तत्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नर्थः सप्तशयः । अन्यतरस्यानुवाङ्मिकत्वेऽन्वाचयः । मिलितानामन्वय
इतरेत्येवयोगः । समूहः समाहारः । तत्रैव गुरुं च भजस्वेति सप्तशये, भिक्षामष्ट गां चानयेत्यन्वाचय च, न
समावाऽसामर्थ्यात् । धवखदिरौ । संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनेकां कर्तृवृत्तौ नष्टोद्गातारः । इत्यार्थे द्वन्द्वं कृत्वा
पुनर्द्वन्द्वं तु होतापोत्तानेष्टोद्गातारः ॥

901. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) सप्तशयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference,' (3) इतरेत्येवयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. I. 1 S. 647) Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामष्ट गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्कुचम्, वाग्दृषदम्, संज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1. When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya. As ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru." Here there can be no compounding, as there is no sāmānyā. In this example, two *things* (dravya) have been collected under one verb (kriyā). Similarly in राज्ञो गज-अश्वश्च "the elephant and the horse of the king." Here there is samuchchaya of two things under one thing. पटः शुक्लो रक्तश्च "The picture is white and red." Here two *attributes* are brought under *one* substantive. रक्तः पटः कुण्डलं च

"Red picture and ornament." Here two substances are collected under one attribute.

2. When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called *anvāchaya* : as, *मिक्षामद गां चानय* "Go for alms and bring the cow." Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped. But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow. So going out a begging is the principal action.

Therefore, in *मिक्षामद गां चानय*, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another. The want of *sāmarthya* here is want of *ekārthibhāva*.

In *धवत्सविरो* "the Mimosea and the Grisea," *संज्ञापरिभाषम्* "an appellative and a maxim of interpretation," there is compounding, as *itaretara* and *samāhāra*, respectively.

The Dvandva compound of the four words *होतृ*, *पोतृ*, *नेटृ* and *उद्गातृ* may be either *होतृपोतृनेट्रोद्गातारः* or *होतापोतानेट्रोद्गातारः* ॥ The first denotes many *hotṛis*, *potṛis* &c. The second is an example where *hotṛi* and *potṛi* are first compounded as a Dvandva, and then *नेटृ* and *उद्गातृ* as another Dvandva. Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva.

In the first example, there is not *आनङ्* substitution for the final of *होतृ* and *पोतृ* (VI. 3. 25 S. 921) because there is no *uttarapada* after them. See S. 921 and 831.

६०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हे परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राज्ञो राजदन्तः । धर्माद्विधिनियमः * ॥ अर्थधर्मौ । धर्मार्थौ । सम्पत्ति । जम्पत्ति । जायापत्ति । जायाशब्दस्य जम्भावो दम्भावश्च वा निपात्यते । आकृतिगणोऽयम् * ॥

902. The *upasarjana* is to be put last in the words *Rājadanta* &c.

Thus *राजदन्तः* (दन्तानां राजा) 'a chief of teeth' (i. e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the *upasarjana* that is placed last in these examples ; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. वामेवणम्. 3. लिप्तवासितम्. 4. नमस्तुतम्. 5. सिक्तसं-
वृष्टम्. 6. वृष्टलुञ्जितम्. 7. अवक्लिप्तपक्वम्. 8. अर्पितोत्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्). 10
उत्तगतम्. 11. उलूखलमुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. दृषदुपलम्. 14. आरुद्धा

यानि. 15. (भारम्बायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकिम्. 17. भवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18. शङ्खार्थम्. 19. ज्ञातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिध्रुवम्. 22. सारगम्. 23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ. 28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारितम्. 30. गजवाजम्. 31. गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-
धानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासकारण्डम्. 35. पूलासककु-
रण्डम्. 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूजपूलासम्). 38. उशोरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थि).
40. सिङ्गास्थि. 41. (सिङ्गजङ्गस्थि). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49.
पुत्रपशू. 50. केशदम्भू or दम्भुकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोजातु. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तर्द्वौ. 58.
गुणवृद्धौ. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

Vārtika:—"In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus अर्थधर्मौ or धर्मार्थौ 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth.' So also दम्पती, जम्पती or जायापती. The word जाया is changed to जम् or दम् irregularly. These belong to ākritigāṇa.

Note:—दम्पती is really a compound of दम् "home" and पति 'master or mistress' दम् is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic." दम्पती means "the two masters of the house—i. e. the husband and wife."

६०३ । द्वन्द्वे चि । २ । २ । ३२ ॥

द्वन्द्वे विसंज्ञं पूर्वं स्यात् । हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरौ ॥ अनेकप्राप्तायेकत्र नियमोऽनियमः शेषे * ॥
हरियुहराः । हरिहरयुवः ॥

903. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (1. 4. 7 S. 243) stand first.

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara.'

Vārtika:—Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरियुहराः or हरिहरयुवः :

Note:—Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विसंज्ञपदः which is a Tat-purusha.

६०४ । अजाद्यदन्तम् । २ । २ । ३३ ॥

इदं द्वन्द्वे पूर्वं स्यात् । इशकृष्यौ *.

बहुवचननियमः * । अश्वरथेन्द्राः । इन्द्राश्वरथाः ॥ *

अन्तादजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ इन्द्राश्वी ॥

904. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, ईशकृष्णौ 'Iśa and Kṛṣṇa.'

Vart :—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As अक्षरयेन्द्राः or इन्द्रायवरयाः ॥

Vart :—In the Dvandva compounds, the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजायन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी. Here अग्नि though चि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2 S. 175.).

Note :—Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70 S. 50.)? This rule does not apply when it is long वा as अक्ष + वृषः = अक्षवृषौ or वृषाक्षे

६०५ । अल्पाच्चतरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकोशवौ ॥

ऋतुनक्षत्राणां समाक्षराणामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः । कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ । समाक्षराणां किम् । मीढमवसन्तौ ॥

लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशाकाशम् ॥

अभ्यर्हितं च * ॥ तापसपर्वतौ ॥

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वशाः ॥

आनुज्ययिसः * ॥ शुचिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ॥

905. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels is to be placed first.

Thus शिव + कोशव = शिवकोशवौ ॥

Note :—When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखदुन्दुभीयाः or बीणाशंखदुन्दुमयः .

Vart :—Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe मीढमवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first.

Vart :—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first.

As, कुशाकांशं ; 'a bundle of Kuśa and Kāśa grasses.' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass.

Vart :—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as तापस पर्वतो "Tāpasa and Parvata." वासुदेवाञ्जुनौ "Vāsudeva and Arjuna" (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478).

Vart :—The castes are placed according to their order : as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वद्भिराः 'Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya-Vaiśya and Śūdra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart :—The name of the elder brother is placed first ; as युधिष्ठिराञ्जनौ 'Yudhishthira and Arjuna.'

६०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मारुङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वरोहम् ॥

समाहारस्यैकत्वादेकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थं प्रकरणम् ; प्राण्यङ्गत्वीनां समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

906. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोमूवं 'the head and neck' मारुङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mṛdaṅga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' वीणावादकपरिवाहकम्, रथिकपाश-तम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only ; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29 S. 901) A Samāhāra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule. That is, the samāhāra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c., need not be singular.

Note :—In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional ; (II. 4. 12. S. 916). The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14 S. 918). are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva ; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12 S. 916) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

६०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्सिद्धस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्थेयार्हुङ्गीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उद्गात्कठकालापम् । प्रत्यघात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

Note:—The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद् means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvāda. Another meaning of this word is “the recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time.”

Vārt:—This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and हण् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् (इदृश कठेषु कालपेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चाचार्या यत्र गन्तव्यं मिति संकेतयित्वा सत् संकेतं विस्मृत्यासीनं प्रतीवमुच्यते) ॥ प्रत्यघात् कठकौथुमम् ‘katha and kauthuma established again.’

Note:—Why do we say ‘when meaning repetition’? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापः or प्रत्यघुः कठकौथुमः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and हण् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs: as:—अनन्विषुः कठकालापः and उद्गन्ति कठकालापः ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk's translation is, ‘The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.’

६०८ । अध्वर्युकतुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यस्यैवे विहितो यः क्रतुस्तद्वाचिनामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । अर्काश्वमेधम् । अध्वर्युकतुः किम् । इषुषज्ञौ सामवेरे विहितौ । अनपुंसकं किम् । राजसूयवाजपेये ॥ अर्धर्चाशी ॥

908. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender.

As अर्काश्वमेधम् ‘the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,’

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्जौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sāma-Veda.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.' अर्धर्चासी (II. 4. 31 S. 816)

Note :—Why have we इषुवज्जौ ? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

६०६ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या येषां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदक्रमक्रम ॥

909. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमक्रम 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement.

Note :—Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

६१० । जातिरप्राणिनाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिवर्ज्यजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । धानाशष्कुलि । प्राणिनां तु विशुद्धाः । द्वन्द्वजातीयानामेव । नेह । रूपरसौ । गमनाकुञ्चने । जातिप्राधान्य एवायमेकवद्भावः । द्वन्द्वविशेषविवक्षायां तु बहुवचनानि ॥

910. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Note :—Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकापञ्चजन्तौ 'Nandaka and Panchajanya.' These are Sanjñā words or Proper Names.

When denoting living beings then विशुद्धाः (and not विशुद्धम्) 'Vaiśyas and Sudras.' Here there is plural number by I. 2. 58. S. 817, though the words are jāti denoting.

This rule applies to the *jāti* or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the *jāti* names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्जने 'going and contraction.'

Even with *jāti* names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, बदरामलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV. 3. 163 S. 1541. The feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. See also II. 4. 12 S. 916.

Note :—The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. *Jāti* has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, visciduity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

६११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

ग्रामवर्त्यनदीदेशावाचिनां भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । उद्धयश्च इरावती च उद्धेरावति । गङ्गा च शाणश्च गङ्गाशोणम् । कुरुवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गायमुने नद्यक्रेकयाः । अग्रामाः । किम् । जाम्बवं नगरम् । शाक्यकिनी ग्रामः । जाम्बवशाक्यकिन्यौ ॥

911. A samāhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus उद्धेरावति "The Uddhya and Irāvati," The Uddhya is a river (nada).

So also. गङ्गाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona,' कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna.' Both being feminine gender; so also नद्यक्रेकयाः ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country.

The word विशिष्ट of the sūtra is derived from the root शिञि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुदमयुरौ 'the hen and the peahen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशादिकिन्यौ 'Jāmbaba (a city) and Sālukini (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलाशगन्धमादौ 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.

Vart :—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

Vart :—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

६१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः। २। ४। ८॥

एषां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्। यूकालिङ्गम्। भानकुलाक्षुद्रजन्तवः॥

912. A Samāhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिङ्गम् 'the louse and the nit.'

Note :—The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size.

All below the mongoose are kshudrajanu.

६१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः। २। ४। ९॥

एषां शङ्खत्। अहिनकुलम्॥ गोव्याघ्रम्॥ काकोत्कामेलाहौ परस्वादिभाषा वृत्तमिति प्राप्तं चकारेण वाच्यते॥

913. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i. e. natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular.

The word विरोधः means enmity; and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, अहिनकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.' गोव्याघ्रम् 'the cow and the tiger.' काकोत्कम् 'the crow and the owl.'

Note.—Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupāli and Śālankāyana are quarrelling.' देवासुरैर्मृतममृनिधिर्ममध्ये ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co-operated in churning the ocean.

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only,' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II. 4. 12 S. 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4. 2. S. 175) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as गोव्याघ्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोळकृक् 'the crow and the owl.'

६१४ । शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

अवहिष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्राग्वत् । तत्तायस्कारम् । पात्राद्वहिष्कृतानां तु चण्डालवृत्तपाः ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith.'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालवृत्तपाः 'the Chāṇḍāla and the Mritapa.'

Note.—The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish). This shows that there was interdining between the Śūdras and the twice-born in the days of Pāṇini.

A Śūdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Śūdra.

६१५ । गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोच्चारितानि साधूनि स्युः । गवाश्वम् । हासीदासमित्यादि ॥

915. The word gavāśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also हासीदासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I. 2. 67 S. 933 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pāṇini specifically in the subjoined list.

1. गवाश्वम् ॥ 2. गवाविकम् ॥ 3. गवैडकम् ॥ 4. अजाविकम् ॥ 5. अजैडकम् ॥
 6. कुञ्जवामनम् ॥ 7. कुञ्जकैपतकम् ॥ 8. पुत्रपौत्रम् ॥ 9. श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥
 11. वासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12. शारीपिच्छकम् ॥ 13. लब्धखरम् ॥ 14. उब्धशशम् ॥
 15. सूत्रशकृत् ॥ 16. सूत्रपुरीषम् ॥ 17. यकुन्मेवः ॥ 18. मांसशोणितम् ॥ 19. वर्मशरम् ॥
 20. दर्भपूतीकम् ॥ 21. अर्जुनशिरीषम् ॥ 22. तृणोलपम् ॥ 23. वासीवासम् ॥
 24. कुटीकुटम् ॥ 25. भगवतीभागवतम् ॥

Vart :— In this list, the forms as given, are singular ; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वो ॥ In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

९१६। विभाषा वृजमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापरधरोत्तराणाम् । २। ४। १२ ॥

वृक्षादीनां समानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्ववडवेत्यादि द्वन्द्वत्रयं च प्राग्वक्षा । वृक्षादी विशेषाणामेव ग्रहणम् ।
 प्लक्षान्यमोधम् । प्लक्षान्यमोधाः । रुरुपृषताम् । रुरुपृषताः । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशाः । ब्रीहियवम् । ब्रीहियवाः ।
 दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषाः । शुक्रवकम् । शुक्रवकाः । अश्ववडवम् । अश्ववडवौ ।
 पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अधरोत्तरम् । अधरोत्तरे ॥

फलसेनावनस्पतिवृक्षशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यवृणानां बहुमकृतिरेव द्वन्द्व एकवृत्ति वाच्यम् * ॥
 बदराणि चामलकानि च बदरामलकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामित्येकवद्भावः । नह बदरामलके ।
 रथिकाश्वारोहौ । प्लक्षान्यमोधौ इत्यादि । विभाषावृत्तेति सूत्रे येऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणं । जातिरप्राणिनामिति
 नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थम् । पशुग्रहणं हस्यश्वादिषु सेनाङ्गत्वान्नित्ये प्राप्ते । मृगाणां मृगेरेव
 शकुनीनां तेरेवोभयत्र द्वन्द्वः । अन्यैस्तु सहितरतरयोग एवेति नियमार्थं मृगशकुनिग्रहणम् । एवं
 पूर्वापरमधरोत्तरमित्यपि । अश्ववडवग्रहणं तु पक्षे नपुंसकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परत्वात्पूर्ववदश्ववड-
 वाविति स्यात् ॥

916. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1. trees, 2. wild animals, 3. grass 4. corn, 5. condiment, 6. domestic beasts and 7. birds, and the compounds, 1. aśva-vaḍava, 2. purvâ-para and 3. adharottara, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षान्यमोधम् or प्लक्षान्यमोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees';
 रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or
 कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass'; ब्रीहियवम् or ब्रीहियवाः 'the rice
 and the barley' दधिघृतम् or दधे 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वाः 'the
 cow and the buffalo'; शुक्रवकम् or काः 'the parrot and the crane birds';
 अश्ववडवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the last
 and; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart :—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is

singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as बह्मणि चामलकानि = बह्मरामलकम्. Here there is singular number by II. 4. 6 S, 910. But not so in the following बह्मरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्वादि 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्ष्यमोक्षौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुपृषती 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravāka bird'; शूलालिप्ते 'a louse and a nit'; ब्रीहियवौ 'a brīhi and yava grain'; कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kâśa grass. In this sūtra, those words which denote non-animate beings such as trees, and corn &c., would have taken compulsory singular by II. 4. 6. S. 910; the present sūtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II. 4. 2. S. 906. because they form component parts of an army corps. This sūtra ordains option. Why are the words शूल, शकुनि mentioned separately in the sūtra; when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II. 2, 29 S. 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that शूल words are compounded with शूल words only, and शकुनि with शकुनि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samāhāra.

Thus this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samāhāra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samāhāra; but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with पूर्वपरम् and अधरोत्तरम् ॥

The compound अश्ववडव is read in the sūtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For अश्व and वडव being both पशु would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use अश्ववडव in the singular, the rule II. 4. 27 S. 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II. 4. 17. S. 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the subsequent sūtra II. 4. 27 S. 813 is set aside by the prior sūtra II. 4. 17 S. 821 because the singular अश्ववडव is a pratipada vidhāna samāsa.

११७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

विरुद्धार्थानामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वा स्यात् । शीतोष्णम् । शीतोष्णे । वैकल्पिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तः स विरुद्धार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि अद्रव्यवाचिनामवति नियमार्थनिर्णयः । तेन द्रव्यवाचिनामितरत्योग एव । शीतोष्णे उदको स्तः । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ । इह पात्निका । समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥

917. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. The word *adhikarāṇa* means material things a dravya. च indicates the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra. By sūtra II, 2, 29 S. 901, the samāhāra Dvandva is optional; for that sūtra is governed by the great option of II, 1. 11 S. 665. When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance. Thus the present sūtra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samāhāra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्वकपाङ्कज-जन्यौ which are not of contrary significations. Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samāhāra Dvandva also.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samāhāra also

६१८ । न दधिपयसादीनि । २ । ४ । १४ ॥

एतानि नैकवस्तुः । दधिपयसी । इध्माबहिर्षी । निपातनादीर्घः । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे ॥

918. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; इध्माबहिर्षी 'the fuel and the ghee.' The short अ of इध्म 'is lengthened irregularly. So also ऋक्सामे 'the Rig and the Sāma-Veda'; वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind."

Note:—With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी ॥ 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी ॥ 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ 4. शिवैव-
श्रवणौ ॥ 5. स्कन्धविशालौ ॥ 6. परिब्राट्कौशिकौ ॥ 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसद्वौ ॥ 8. शुक्लकृष्णौ ॥
9. आम्बहिर्षी ॥ निपातनादीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी ॥ 11. अज्ञातपसी ॥ 12. मेधातपसी ॥

13. अध्यायनतपसी ॥ 14. उलूखलमुसले ॥ 15. आद्यावसाने ॥ 16. अजामिधे ॥ 17. ऋक्सामे ॥ 18. वाङ्मनसे ॥

६१६ । अधिकरणैतावत्वे च । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

द्रव्यसंख्यावगमे एकवदेवेति नियमो न स्यात् । इद्य दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etāvatva) of material things (adhikarapa) is not singular.

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular.

As, इद्य दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; Compare II. 4. 2.

६२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरणैतावच्चस्य समीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवंरूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपद्वा दन्तोष्ठम् । उपद्वाः दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

920. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samāhara only.

Thus उपद्वादन्तोष्ठम् or उपद्वा दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e. nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips.'

६२१ । आनङ् ऋतोद्वन्द्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनामृत्तानां द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । होतापोतारौ । होतृपोतृने-
ष्टोद्गातारौ । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्तेः पितापुत्रौ ॥

921. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातारौ, but होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेष्ट only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्गातृ, and not the ऋ of होतृ and पोतृ which are not followed by an uttarapada. प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्त्तायै मातापितरौ, The anuvṛitti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI. 3. 21 S. 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in ऋ ॥ As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥ आताननान्नरौ ॥ The anuvṛitti of पुत्रे is read in this sūtra by the method of frog leap.

The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a * comes after every simple vowel substitute of ऋ '

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ' ? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥

६२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इहोत्तरपदे परे आनङ् । निष्ठावरुणौ ॥

वायुशङ्खप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः * ॥ अग्निवायू । वायवमी । पुनर्ईदमहणं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिग्रहार्थम् । तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्वि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धं साहचर्यम् ॥

922. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatās.

Thus निष्ठावरुणौ ॥

Vat :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वायवमी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvṛitti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ These Devatās are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to-gether. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatās whose companionship is well-known.

६२३ । ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which स is changed to ष "

६२४ । अग्नेः स्तत्स्तोमसोमाः । ८ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अग्नेः परेषामेषां सत्त्व षः स्यात्समासे । अग्निष्टुत् । अग्निष्टोमः । अग्नीषोमौ । अग्नीवरुणौ ॥

924. **ष** is substituted for the **स्** of **स्तुत्**, **स्तोम** and **सोम** when preceded by **अग्नि** in a compound.

Thus **अग्निष्टुत्**, **अग्निष्टोमः**, **अग्नीषोमौ** । **अग्निवरुणौ** ॥

Ishṭi:—The **इ** of **अग्नि** is lengthened before **सोम** and it is after such lengthened **इ**, that the **स्** of **सोम** is changed to **ष**, otherwise not. As **अग्निषोमौ माण्यकौ** ॥ So also **अग्निषोमौ तिष्ठतः** (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have **अग्ने सोमः** ॥

The word **अग्निष्टुत्** is formed by **क्रिष्**, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (**स्तूयते**) is so called. **अग्निष्टोमः** is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (**संस्था**) of the Soma-yāga. **अग्नीषोमः** is a **देवता-द्वन्द्वः**; so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the **ष** change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Aśvalāyana there is lengthening and **ष** change in the last case also, as **अग्नीषोमौ मण्यकौ** ॥

६२५ । इदृष्टुञ्चौ । ६ । ३ । २८ ॥

वृद्धिमत्युत्तरपदे अग्नेरिदृशः स्यादेवाताद्वन्द्वे । अग्रामरुतौ देवते अस्य आग्रिमारुतं कर्म । अग्नीवरुणौ देवते अस्य आग्रिवारुणम् । देवताद्वन्द्वे चेत्युभयपदवृद्धिः । भलौकिके वाक्ये आनङ्मीरवं च बाधित्वा इत् । वृद्धौ क्रिप् । अग्नेन्द्रः । नेन्द्रस्य परस्येत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्मातृबोधः । विष्णौ न * ॥ आग्रवैष्णवम् ॥

925. The short **इ** is the substitute of the final of **अग्नि**, in such a Dvandva, in which both members take the **Vṛiddhi**.

The substitution of **इ** for **इ** may appear superfluous; but it is really for the sake of debarring the long **ई** of the last sūtra.

Thus **आग्रिवारुणी**, which would have required long **ई** by the last rule: **आग्रिमारुतम्**, which would have required **आनङ्** by VI. 3' 26. Thus **आग्रिवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत्**, **आग्रिमारुतं कर्म क्रीयेत्** ॥ **अग्रामरुतौ देवतेऽस्य** (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) takes the Taddhita affix, **अण्** and by VII. 3. 21, S. 1239 both members of the compound take **Vṛiddhi**. When both members do not take **Vṛiddhi**, the rule does not apply: as **अग्नेन्द्रः** (**अग्निइन्द्र**), because **इन्द्र** does not take **Vṛiddhi**, by VII. 3. 22 S. 1240.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the word **विष्णु** follows: as **आग्रवैष्णवं चर्हं निर्वपेत्** ॥ The **इ** being prohibited, there comes **आनङ्** of 922.

९२६ । दिवो द्यावा । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

देवताङ्गन्ते उत्तरपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावास्तमे ॥

926. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatās, when it is followed by a second member.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, (Rig Veda X.36. 1) द्यावाभूमी ॥ (Rig Veda VII. 62. 4).

८२७ । दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३० ॥

दिव इत्येष षाद् द्यावा । आदेशो अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य रूपं ना मृदित्येतदर्थम् । यौञ्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः ॥ द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योररति-
रित्यत्र पदकारा विसर्गं पठन्ति ॥

927. For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatās

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस् ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or visarga or upadhmāniya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here, द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमते ॥ (Rig Veda II. 12.13.) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule. In दिवस्पृथिव्योररतिः the authors of Pada Pāṭha read the दिवस् as दिवः with a visarga.

६२८ । उषासोषसः । ६ । ३ । ३१ ॥

उषस्शब्दस्योषासादेशो देवताङ्गन्ते । उषासासूर्यम् ॥

928. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus:—उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता ॥ (Rig Veda X. 36. 1) These are samāhāra compounds of उषा and सूर्य &c

६२९ । मातरपितराबुदीचाम् । ६ । ३ । ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीचां किम् । मातापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरच् substitution of the क् of मातृ ॥ Why do we say “ according to Northern authors”? The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वन्द्वान्तुद्वयहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

अवर्गान्ताद्वयहान्ताच्च द्वन्द्वान्तुद्वयहान्तात्समाहारे । वाक् च स्वक् च वाक्स्वक्चम् । स्वक्स्वजम् । शमीद्वयम् । वाक्स्वक्चम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृद्शरदौ ॥

930. The affix *tach* comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a *द्व* or a *च* or a *ह* ; when the compound is a Samâhâra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity).

The anuvṛitti of Tatpurusha which commenced at V. 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्वम् "an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular; and not to इतरेतरद्वन्द्वम् "or mutual conjunction". Thus वाक् च स्वक् च = वाक्स्वक्चम्, so also स्वक्स्वजम्, शमीद्वयम्, वाक्स्वक्चम्, छत्रोपानहम्, Why do we say "in a Samâhâra Dvandva"? Observe प्रावृद्शरदौ ॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a Dvandva"? The affix will not come after a Tatpurusha, as, पञ्च वाक्; समाहाराः = पञ्चवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of च class, or द्व, च, ह"? Observe वाक्स्वमित् ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds.

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI.

ON EKAŚESHAS.

सकृपाणाम् ॥ रामौ । रामाः ॥ विरूपाणामपि समानार्थानाम् * ॥ वक्रवृण्डश्च कुटिलवृण्डश्च
वक्रवृण्डौ । कुटिलवृण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of eka-śesha, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The eka-śesha is the reverse of Dvandva compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of eka-śesha rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ ; similarly राम+राम+राम=रामाः ॥ See I. 2. 64, S. 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सकृप ॥

The rule is not confined to sarūpa words only. Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place eka-śesha : as by the following Vārtika.

Vārtika :—There is eka-śesha of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As वक्रवृण्डः + कुटिलवृण्डः = वक्रवृण्डौ or कुटिलवृण्डौ ॥ This Vārtika would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सकृप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

६३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणधेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना तल्लक्षणो गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रपुत्रप्रत्ययमात्रकृतं चेत्ययोः कृष्णं वै रूप्यं स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च
गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वृद्धः किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ । यूना किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षणः किम् ।
भागवित्तिभागवित्तिर्को । कृष्णं किम् । गार्ग्यवास्यायनौ ॥

931. The vṛiddha (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only.

The word śesha of the sūtra I. 2. 64 S. 188, is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word

Vṛiddha means gotra : the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रवृत्तिं गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंशये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word इव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्याद्यनः = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix द्यन् IV, 1. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्त्यः + वास्त्याद्यनः = वास्त्यौ ॥

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

This rule of ekaśeṣha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्याद्यनः = गर्गगार्ग्याद्यनौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense ever and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 S. 1172 says " a Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix डक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvāra." Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभा-
गवित्तिकौ ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix डक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a -Vṛiddha word) + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

६३२ । स्त्री पुंवश्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

युना सहोक्तौ वृद्धा स्त्री विध्यते सदर्थश्च पुंवत् । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायनी च गर्गाः । अस्त्रियमित्य-
शुद्धमने यजमोभेति लुक् । राक्षी च राक्षायश्च राक्षी ॥

932. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained ; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायनी = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64 S. 1108 which applies to non-feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियम् is understood in that sūtra from II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation.

Similarly राक्षी + राक्षायनः = राक्षी (masculine dual of राक्षि) ॥

६३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रिया सतेक्तौ पुमाञ् विध्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेष्येत् । हंसी च हंसश्च हंसौ ॥

933. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣha, and the latter is dropped.

As हंसी + हंसः = हंसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातारौ । पुत्रश्च दुहिता च पुत्रौ ॥

934. The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasrî, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I. 2. 65 S. 931. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśeṣha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातारौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसके नैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अङ्गीवेन सहोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । शुक्लः पदः । शुक्ला शादी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तदिदं शुक्लम् । तानीमानि शुक्लानि ॥

935. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix ; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः of I. 2. 65 S. 931 governs this sūtra also : thus शुक्लः पदः, शुक्ला शादी, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं ॥ " The white (masculine) cloth, the white (feminine) wrapper, and the white (neuter) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neuter) ; or in the Plural शुक्लानि ॥

Note:—A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them ; provided that, the words differ in gender signs only ; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो, भैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine ; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply. Thus शुक्रं + शुक्रं + शुक्रं = शुक्रानि the word is in the plural ; there is no ekavadbhāva.

६३६ । पिता माता । १ । २ । ७० ॥

माता सहोक्तौ पिता वा शिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936. The word *pitri*, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with *mātri*, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ वा ॥

६३७ । श्वशुरः श्वश्रुवा । १ । २ । ७१ ॥

श्वश्रुवा सहोक्तौ श्वशुरो वा शिष्यते तल्लक्षणा एव विशेषश्चेत् । श्वश्रूश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ । श्वश्रुश्वशुरौ ॥

937. The word *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with *śvaśrū*, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रुश्वशुरौ ॥

६३८ । त्वदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् । १ । २ । ७२ ॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ त्वदादीनि नित्यं शिष्यन्ते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

त्वदादीनां मिथः सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यन्ते * ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

पूर्वशेषोऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

त्वदादितः शेषे पुनर्पुंसकते निगूढवचनानि * ॥ सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यश्च तौ च नानि । पुनर्पुंसकयोस्तु परत्वात्पुंसकं शिष्यते । तच्च देवदत्तश्च ते ॥

अङ्गुष्ठस्यपुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ कुक्कुटमयुर्याविने । मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ । तच्च सा च अर्धविष्पत्यौ ते ॥

938. The pronouns 'tyad' &c., when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as *ekasheṣha*, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under *sūtra* I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim.' When these *tyadādi* pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e.*

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart :—When ल्यदि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; वः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27 S. 213), so यद् will be retained and not तद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vārtika :—In the ekaśeṣha of tyādadi words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine; and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यद्देवदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine. तच्च च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpurusha compounds. In the case of these, the sūtra II. 4. 26 S. 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुक्कुटमयूर्युग्मम् (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुक्कुटयुग्मम् (इमौ masculine dual). Similarly विष्पत्यर्थम् (neut) + विष्पत्यर्थम् (neut) + अर्धविष्पत्यर्थम् (feminine) = अर्धविष्पत्यर्थम् (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be ताः ॥

६३९ । ग्राम्यपशुसङ्गेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सहविवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् क्रियेत्यस्यापवादः । गाव इमाः । ग्राम्येति किम् । हरव इमे । पशुमदणं किम् । ब्राह्मणा इमे । सङ्गेषु किम् । एतौ गावौ । अतरुणेषु किम् । वस्त्रा इमे ।

अनेकशर्फाप्ति वाच्यम् * ॥ अथा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसुबन्ताभावाद् इच्छो न । तेन शिरसी शिरांसीत्यादौ समासस्ये-
त्यन्तोदात्तः प्राण्यङ्गत्वादिकवञ्जावश्च न । पन्थानौ पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्तो न ॥

939. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I. 2. 67 S. 933). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders; the feminine noun is preferred; provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls),' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females)

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya animals) and not to *wild* animals ; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As हव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I. 2. 67. S. 933.

Vart:—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इम 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I. 2. 67. S. 933

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the eka-śeṣha takes place, there is no longer Dvandva compounding, as these are not *many* nouns. The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to eka-śeṣha words. Thus शिरसी (dual), शिरांसि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI. 1. 123 S. 3734 would have applied. Nor is there eka-vadbhāva of these words, though they denote members of living beings. (II. 4. 2. S. 906) Similarly in पन्यातौ पन्यातः &c. there is not the affixing of samāsānta (V. 4. 74. S. 940).

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESHA.

अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXII.

ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL.

कृतञ्जितसमसैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पठ्यन्तु वृत्तयः । परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः । वृत्त्यर्थवचो-
धकं वाक्यं विग्रहः । स द्विविधः । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिष्ठितत्वात्साधुलौकिकः । प्रयोगानर्हो-
ऽसाधुर लौकिकः । जया । राज्ञः पुरुषः । राजन् भस् पुरुष सु इति । अविग्रहो निश्चयसमासः ॥

अस्यपदविग्रहो वा समासश्चतुर्विध इति तु प्राचीनारः । भव्यबीभावतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिद्वन्द्वा-
धिकारबाहिर्भूतानामपि सहस्रपेति समासविधानात् ॥

पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानो ऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः । अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः ।
अभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः इत्यादि प्राचां प्रचारः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः । सूपप्रति उन्मत्तगङ्गमित्याद्यन्वयीभावे,
अतिमालाशो तत्पुरुषे, द्विधा इत्यादिवहुव्रीहौ वृत्तान्तमित्यादिवृद्धौ चाभावात् । तत्पुरुषविशेषः
कर्मधारयः, तद्विशेषः द्वियुः ॥ अनेक पदत्वं द्वन्द्व बहुव्रीह्योरेव । तत्पुरुष कश्चिदेवेत्युक्तम् ।
किञ्च ॥

सुपां सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽप्य तिङां तिङां । सुबन्तेनेति विशेषः समासः
पङ्क्तिर्बुधैः ॥ १ ॥

सुपां सुपा, राजपुरुषः । तिङा, पर्यभूषयत् । नाम्ना, कुम्भकारः । धातुना, कट्टः
भञ्जयत् । तिङां तिङा, पित्रतखादता । खादतमोदता । तिङां सुपा, कृन्तविचक्षणोति यस्यां क्रियायां सा
कृन्तविचक्षणा । एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे इति मयूरव्यसकाशौ पाठात्समासः ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (*vṛtti*) is of five sorts, namely, 1. *Kṛit*—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root 2. *Taddhita*—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun. 3. *Samāsa*—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun. 4. *Eka-śeṣa*—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded. 5. Lastly *Sanādyanta dhātus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb ; such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs.

The word *vṛtti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word. When a word undergoes a *vṛtti* or modification, it gains an additional sense. This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word. Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding लि &c. affixes is not a *Vṛtti* : because here the root does not undergo any change of sense. To express the sense of another word by a different word is a *vṛtti*.

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called *vigraha* or the analysis of a word. The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone.

The *vigraha* or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical. That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis. That which is shown by technical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis.

Thus राजपुरुषः when analysed logically will be राजः पुरुषः ; but when analysed grammatically, it will be राजन् + अस् + पुरुष + सु ॥

That which is not capable of *laukika* analysis is a *nitya samāsa* : or a *nitya-samāsa* is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words.

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1. *Avyayibhāva*, 2. *Tatpurusha*, 3. *Bahuvrīhi* and 4. *Dvandva*. But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule सङ्ख्यया ॥ (S. 649).

“An *Avyayibhāva* is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant.”

“A *Tatpurusha* compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant.”

“A *Bahuvrīhi* is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant.”

“A *Dvandva* is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant.”

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians ; they are not however strictly accurate. For these definitions do not hold good in the case of *Avyayibhava* compounds like उन्मत्तगङ्गा, *Tatpurusha* compounds like अतिनाल *Bahuvrīhi* like द्विजा ; and *Dvandva* like इन्दोद्विज ॥

Karmadhāraya is a subdivision of *Tatpurusha*. *Dvigu* is a particular case of *Karmadhāraya*.

The *Dvandvas* and *Bahuvrīhis* only can consist of many words. The *Tatpurusha* seldom consists of more than two words as in ब्रह्मजातः ॥ For thus it is said.

VERSE

1. The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2. Or with a tense inflected word, 3. Or with a crude noun. 4. Or with a root. 5. The tense-inflected word may be compounded with another tense inflected word 6. Or with a case-inflected word. Thus compounds are of six kinds.

1. सुपां सुपा, Declined noun with another declined noun, as रासपुरुषः ॥
2. सुपां तिङा, A noun with a conjugated verb, as, परि-अमृषयत् ॥
3. सुपां नास्मा A noun with a nascent noun or upapada samāsa, as, कुम्भकारः ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of सुप् ॥
4. सुपां धातुना, A noun with a root as कटपू । अजलम् ॥ This compound कटपू is so exhibited in Vārtika under sūtra III. 2. 178 S. 3158, and the word अजलम् is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 167 S. 3147.
5. तिङां तिङा । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as पिवत स्वास्त-स्वास्तनोवता ॥ See Mayūravvyansaka class of compounds II. 1, 72 S. 754.
6. तिङां सुपा, A conjugated verb with a noun, as कृतविष्कम्भा ॥ In the Mayūra vyansakādi class, we find the rule एहीडाद्योऽन्वपसार्थे ॥ The compound is formed under taht rule.

अथ सर्व समासान्न प्रकरणम्॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMASANTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL

६४० । ऋक्पुरः पथामानसौ । ५ । ४ । ७४ ॥

अ अन्ते इति छेदः । ऋगाथगतस्य समासस्य अपत्ययोऽन्तावयवः स्यात् । अथो वा पूस्ताग्नस्य तु न । अर्थः ॥ अतृचबहुचवावध्यसर्वे ॥ नेह अतृचसाग । बहुक् सूक्तम् । विष्णोः पूः विष्णुपुरम् । ऋक्स्य लोकात् । विलापं सरः ॥

940. The affix अ comes after rik, pur, ap, dhâr and pathin, when finals in a compound, but not so when dhâr is in conjunction with aksha.

The anuvṛitti of the word bahuvrîhi does not enter here. It applies to all compounds in general. The word अन्ते qualifies पूर, as it cannot qualify the words ऋक् &c.

Thus (1) rik :—अर्धः 'half a hymn', अतृचः, बहुचः

Note :—Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अन्तः?" Observe, अन्तस्य पूः = अन्तःपूः, ह्रस्वपूरः ॥

The words अतृचः and बहुचः apply to students of Rik: thus अतृचः means "a boy who has not read the Rig Veda." बहुचः "One who has read the Rig Veda." The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as अतृक् साम, "the Sâma Veda which is not divided into hymns." बहुवक् सूक्तम् ॥ "a hymn consisting of many Rig verses."

(2) pur :—विष्णोः पूर = विष्णुपुरम् 'the town of Vishṇu.' So also, ललाटपुरम् नान्दीपुरम् ॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word पूर is feminine.

(3) Ap :—As विलापं सरः 'a lake with pure water.' For other compounds of अप् see the following sūtras.

Note :—In अर्धः the compounding is by II. 2. 2. S. 713. It becomes masculine by II. 4. 31 S. 816. In the case of अतृक् and बहुक् we may have the general samasanta कप् (V. 4. 154, S. 891) giving the forms अतृकम् &c. For अप् पूर and पथिन् see the subsequent sūtras.

In the case of the word अप् the following rule applies, by which the initial अ of अप् is changed to ई ॥ Thus द्वि + अप् + अ = द्वि + ईप् + अ ॥

६४१ । अन्तरूपसर्गोभ्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ६७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तस्यानुकरणम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे प्रथमा । एभ्योऽपस्व ईत्स्वात् । द्विगता अपो यस्मिन्निति द्वीपम् । अन्तरीपम् । प्रतीपम् । समीपम् । समापं देवयजनमिति तु समा अपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम् । कृतसमासान्तमङ्गान्तेह । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्णान्ताद्वा * ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । परापम् ॥

941. After द्वि, अन्तर् and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samāsanta अ i. e. अप् + अ = अप ॥ The nominative अपः has the force of the genitive here. That is अपः = अपस्व ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74. S. 940. By I. i. 54. S. 44. ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीपम् 'an island,' अन्तरीपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' i. e. 'adverse.' समीपम् ॥ 'near.'

Note :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods.'

The word समाप may be analysed as समाः + आपः, i. e. समा आपो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply. It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजनं means the ground where Devas are worshipped "Holy land :—" "sacrificial ground."

As the word अप् is exhibited in the sūtra with the samāsanta अ; the ई substitution will not take place where the samāsanta अ is not added. Thus V. 4. 69 S. 954 prohibits samāsanta when 'honor' is indicated. Therefore ह्यु + अप् = स्वप् ; Fem. स्वपी ॥

Vārtika :—Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle', परापम् or परेपम् 'an out let of water'. The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप् ; here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies.

६४२ । ऊदनोर्देशे । ६ । ३ । ६८ ॥

अनोः परस्वापस्य ऊत्स्याद्देशो । अनूपो देशः ।

राजधुरा । असे तु अचक्षुः । हृद्भूरक्षः । सखिपयः । रम्यपथो देशः ॥

942. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः । 'a marshy place.'

Note :—But अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed ; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उप = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

The word धुर also takes अ by V. 4. 74. S. 940. As :—राजधुर 'the king's load (of Government)'; but when relating to अक्ष then अक्षधुरः 'the yoke attached to the fore-part of the pole of a car'; दृढधुरक्षः 'a car with strong poles.'

The word पथिन् also takes, अ by V. 4. 74 S. 940. As :—सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देशः 'a place the road of which is pleasant.'

६४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोन्नः । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामलोमन्तात्समासादच् स्यात् । प्रतिसामम् । अनुसामम् । अवसामम् । प्रतिलोमम् । अनुलोमम् । अवलोमम् ॥

कृष्णोदक्पाण्डुसंख्यापूर्वाया भूमेराजिष्यते * ॥ कृष्णभूमः । उदग्भूमः । पाण्डुभूमः । द्विभूमः प्रासादः ।

संख्याया नदीगोदावरीभ्यां च * ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोदावरम् ॥

अजिति योगविभागाद्व्यञ्जापि । पञ्चनाभः ॥

943. The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them.

As प्रतिसामम्, harshly 'अनुसामम्, 'in a friendly way,' अवसामम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलोमम्, 'inversely' अनुलोमम् 'directly.'

Ishti :—The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words कृष्ण, उदक्, पाण्डु, and also 'a numeral. Thus कृष्णभूमः 'a place having the ground black,' उदग्भूमः 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूमः 'having white ground' द्विभूमः प्रासादः 'a palace of two floors.'

Vartika :—And also after the words गोदावरी and नदी when preceded by a numeral. As. पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers, i. e. the Panjab,' सप्तगोदावरम्, the name of a country, (see II. 1. 20).

Note :—This affix is added to words other than those mentioned above : as पञ्चनाभः, ऊर्जनाभः, समराजः, दीर्घराजः, अराजः ॥ Here the affix अच् is added to नामि and राप्ति ॥ All this can be done by dividing the above sūtra into two parts viz. (1) अच् (2) प्रत्यन्व &c. That is (1) अच् comes after all compounds and (2) after सामम् and लोमम् preceded by प्रति &c.

६४४ । अक्षणेऽदर्शनात् । ५ । ४ । ७६ ॥

अक्षण्यपर्यावादेशणेऽच् स्वात्मसाप्तः । गवामक्ष्वि गवाक्षः ॥

944. The affix ach comes after the word akshi, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole.'

The word अक्ष is understood here. Thus गवाक्षः 'a hole for the rays of light, i. e. a small window.' The word क्षे here means 'ray of light.' गावः किरणः ॥ Or a gavāksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows.

Note:—The word दर्शन in the sūtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but is a synonym of 'eye.'

६४५ । अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनङ्कुहर्कसामवाङ्मनसाक्षिभुवदार-
गवोर्वष्टीवपदष्टीवनकंदिवरात्रिदिवाहर्दिवसरजसनिःश्रेयसपुरुषायुषड्यायुषज्यायुषर्ग्य-
जुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृक्षोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वाः । ५ । ४ । ७७ ॥

एते वक्ष्यवित्तिरजन्ता निपात्यन्ते । आद्यास्त्रयो पङ्कतीहवः । अविद्यमानानि चत्वार्यस्य अच-
तुरः । विचतुरः । सुचतुरः ॥

अ्युपाभ्यां चतुरोऽजिष्यते* ॥ विचतुराः । चतुर्णां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपचतुराः ।

सत एकवच इन्द्राः । स्त्रीपुंसौ । धेन्वनङ्कुहौ । ऋक्साने । वाङ्मनसे । आक्षिणी च भुवौ च आक्षि-
भुवम् ।

दाराश्च गावश्च दारव्यवम् ।

ऊरू च अष्टीवन्तौ च ऊर्ध्वष्टीवम् । निपातनाडिलोपः ।

पदष्टीवम् । निपातनात्पादश्चदस्य पञ्चावः ।

नक्तं च दिवा च नक्तन्दिवम् ।

रात्रौ च दिवा च रात्रिन्दिवम् । रात्रेर्मान्तस्थं निपात्यते ।

अहनि च दिवा च अहर्दिवम् । वीप्सायां इन्द्रां निपात्यते अहन्यहनीत्यर्थः ।

सरजसमिति साकल्येऽन्यथाभावः । वङ्कुहौ तु सरजः पङ्कजम् ।

निश्चितं श्रेयो निःश्रेयसम् । तत्पुरुष एव । नेह निःश्रेयान् पुरुषः ।

पुरुषस्यायुः पुरुषायुषम् ।

सतो द्वियुः । ह्यायुषम् । ज्यायुषम् ।

सतो इन्द्रः । ऋग्यजुषम् ।

सतस्यचः कर्मधात्वाः । जातोक्षः । महोक्षः । वृक्षोक्षः ।

शुनः समीपे उपशुनम् । डिलोपाभावः सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ ५ ॥ ४ ॥ ७७ ॥

गाष्ठे श्वा गोष्ठश्वाः ॥

945. The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach* :—*achatura*, *vichatura*, *suchatura*; *stri-puṇsau*, *dhenv-anaḍuhau*, *rik-sāme*, *vāṇ-manase*, *akshibhruvam*, *dāra-gavam*, *ūrvashthīvam*, *padaśthīvam*, *naktamdivam*, *rātrim-divam*, *ahar-divam*, *sara-jasam*, *niḥ-śreyasam*, *purushā-yusham*, *dvyā-yusham*, *tryā-yusham*, *rig-yajusham*, *jāto-kshaḥ*, *maho-kshaḥ*, *vridhdho-kshaḥ*, *upaśunam*, and *goshthasvaḥ*.

The first three of these words are *Bahuvrīhi* : (1) *अचतुरः* = *अदृश्यान्वविद्यमानानि वा चत्वारि यस्य* 'that whose four are absent or non-existent.' (2) *विचतुरः* = *विगतानि चत्वारि यस्य* "whose four are gone." So also (3) *सुचतुरः* = *सोभानानि चत्वारि यस्य* 'whose four are good.' Had these been *Tatpuruṣa*, the forms would have been *अचत्वारः*, *विचत्वारः* &c.

Ishti :—The affix *अच्* comes after *चतुर* when preceded by *त्रि* and *उप*. Thus *त्रिचतुरः* and *उपचतुरः* "near the four."

The next eleven words are *Dvandva* compounds. They are clear. Thus (4) *स्त्री च पुमान्* = *स्त्रीपुंसौ* 'the man and woman'; (but not hence *स्त्रियाः पुमान् स्त्रियं प्रति पुमान् दूरः*) = *स्त्रीपुमान्* "a brave towards women only";

(5) *धेनुश्च भनङ्गाश्च* = *धेनवनङ्गौ* "cow and bull."

(6) *ऋक् च साम च* = *ऋक्सामे* "the *Rik* and the *Saman*."

(7) *वाक् च मनश्च* = *वाङ्मनसे* "the speech and mind."

(8) *अक्षिणी च भ्रुवौ च* = *अक्षिभ्रुवम्* "the eyes and the brows." The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II. 4. 2 S. 906).

(9) *हाराश्च गावश्च* = *हारगवम्* "the wives and cows." Here the final syllable (called *दि*) is elided.

(10) *ऊरू + अङ्गीवन्तौ + अच्* = *ऊर्वङ्गीवम्* "Thighs and knees" ||

(11) So also *पादौ + अङ्गीवन्तौ* = *पद् + अङ्गीव + अच्* = *पदङ्गीवम्* "Feet and knees," ||

(12) *नक्तं च दिवा च* = *नक्तदिवं* 'by night and day.' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular.

(13) *रात्रि च दिवा च* = *रात्रिदिवम्* "By night and day" ||

(14) The words *अहर्* and *दिवा* both mean 'day:' the compound *अहर्दिवम्* is not, however, a superfluous compound of two synonyms. It is used here in a distributive sense = *अह्नवहनि* "day by day."

(15) The word सरजसन् is an Avyayibhāva, meaning 'with the pollen' *i. e.* 'all,' as सरजसमभ्यवहिरात् ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrīhi: as सङ् + रजसा = सरजः पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word निः श्रेयसं = निश्चितं श्रेयः 'sure (never failing) happiness,' and is a Tatpurusha: but not so in निः श्रेयान् पुरुषः ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha = पुरुषस्यायुः ॥ 'limit of a man's life.' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च आयुश्च = पुरुषायुषी ॥

The words (18) व्यायुषम् and (19) इयायुषम् are Samāhāra Dvig compounds. Therefore not here, इयोरायुः = व्यायुः, इयायुः ॥

(20) The word कर्मयजुषम् is a Dvandva. Therefore, not here कर्मयजुस्त्योन्मुग्धस्य = कर्मयजुस्त्युन्मुग्धः (य कर्त्तव्यं कृषिं मन्यते) ॥

The three words ending in उक्तम् are Karmadhāraya. (21) जातोक्तः "a young bull;" (22) महोक्तः "a big bull;" (23) वृद्धोक्तः "an old bull." Not so when these are Bahuvrīhi: as जातोक्ता ब्राह्मणाः "Brahmanas possessing young bulls."

(24) The word उपश्रुणम् is an Avyayibhāva = श्रुतः समीपम् ॥ Here the non-elision of the final syllable, and the change of श् of श्रम् into ष (Samprasāraṇa) are irregular.

The word गोष्ठश्च is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गोष्ठेश्च = गोष्ठश्च ॥ "a dog in a cowpen, a slanderer."

६४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चसः । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

अच् स्थात् । ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । हस्तिवर्चसम् ॥

पल्लवराजभ्यां चेति पल्लवम् * ॥ पल्लववर्चसम् । राजवर्चसम् ॥

946. The affix ach comes after the word varchas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brahma or hasti.

Thus ब्रह्मवर्चसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्चसम् 'strength of an elephant.' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength.'

Vṛtt:—So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and rājan: as, पल्लववर्चसम्, राजवर्चसम् ॥ The word पल्ल means 'meat;' पल्ल्य 'meat-eater;' पल्लववर्चसम् "the strength of the meat-eater."

६४७ । अयसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । संतमसम् । अन्धयतीत्यन्धं पचाद्यच् । अन्धं तमः अन्धतमसम् ॥

947. The affix ach comes after the word *tamas*, when preceded by the words *ava*, *sam* and *andha*, in a compound.

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' संतमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight.'

The word अन्ध is derived from the *churādi* root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III. I. 134 S. 2896) ॥

२४८ । श्वसोवसीयःश्रेयसः । ५ । ४ । ८० ॥

वसुधादयः प्रशस्तवाची । ततः ईयसुति वसीयः । श्वसोवसीयश्च उत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसामाशीर्विषयतामाह । मधुरव्यसकादित्यास्तमासः । श्वोवसीयसम् । श्वःश्रेयसं ते भूयात् ॥

948. The affix ach comes after the words *vasi*yas and *śreyas*, when they follow the word *śvas* in a compound.

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्वःश्रेयसम् ॥ The word वसीयः is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," "rich," by adding the affix ईयसुन् (V. 3. 57 S. 2005). The word श्वः is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term. These compounds belong to the class of *Mayāgravya-nsakādi* (II. 1. 72 S. 754) Thus श्वः श्रेयसम् ते भूयात् = शोभन श्रेयस्ते भूयात् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्वः श्रेयसम् ॥

६४६ । अन्ववततादृहसः । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अनुरहसम् । अवरहसम् । तप्तरहसम् ॥

949. The affix ach comes after the word *rahas*, when it follows *anu*, *ava*, and *tapta* in a compound.

Thus अनुरहसम् 'secluded' अवरहसम् 'a little secluded' तप्तरहसम् 'a hot place of seclusion' इ. इ. which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter.'

६५० । प्रतेकरसः सप्तमीस्थात् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

हरसि पति प्रत्युरसम् । विभक्त्यर्थेऽव्ययीभावः ॥

950. The affix ach comes after the word *uras*, when it follows the word *prati* in a compound, and it has the sense of the locative.

Thus प्रत्युरसम्—उरसि वसते 'against the heart.' This is an Aavyayibhava compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II. 1. 6 S. 652.)

Note :—Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe प्रत्युरः = प्रतिगतपुरः ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते दीर्घत्वे । अनुगवं यानम् । यस्य चायान इति समासः ॥

951. The word *anugava* is irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach*, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows."

Thus *अनुगवं यानं* "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen," This compound is formed by II. 1. 16 S. 670.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, यानं पञ्चादृ—अनुगु ॥

९५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अचप्रत्ययदिलोपः समासश्च निपात्यते । यावती प्रकृतौ वेदिस्ततो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽश्वमेधादौ तत्रेवं निपातनम् । वेदिरिति किम् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

952. The words *dvistāvā* and *tristāvā* are irregularly formed, when qualifying a *vedi* or 'altar.'

The affix *अच्* is added and the final syllable (*i. e.* *दि*) is elided. Thus *द्विस्तावा वेदिः* "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one." *त्रिस्तावा वेदि* "thrice as big as an ordinary altar." Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* &c. The words are compounds of *द्विः* and *त्रिः* plus *तावत्* meaning "as much." Why do we say "when applied to an altar"? Observe *द्विस्तावती रज्जुः*, *त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः* ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गाद्ध्वनः । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वनं प्राध्वो रथः ॥

953. The affix *ach* comes after the word *adhvan*, preceded by an *upasarga* in a compound.

Thus *प्रगतोऽध्वनं* = *प्राध्वो रथः*, 'a chariot.'

Note :—Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga*" ? Observe *परमाध्वा चत्तमाध्वा* ॥

९५४ । न पूजनात् । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

पूजनार्थस्पर्शः समासान्ता न स्युः । सुराजा । अतिराजा ॥

स्वातिभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह । परमराजः ।

पूजनात्किञ्च । गानतिष्कान्तोऽतिगद्यः । बहुव्रीहौ सक्-बहुव्रीहोरित्यतः प्रागेवाद्यं निषेधः । नेह । सुसक्त्यः । स्वक्षः ॥

954. The samâsânta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise.

The present rule prohibits the application of the samâsânta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise. Thus V. 4. 91 S. 788 ordains the affix टच् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, महा + राजन् = महा + राजन् + टच् = महाराजः, and not महाराजा ॥ But सुराजा 'a good king' अतिराजा, 'an excellent king.'

Kart :—The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general. Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराजः and परमगवः ॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise' ? Observe अतिगद्यः 'a fool;' literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly.' This prohibition applies up to sūtra V. 4. 113 S. 852 exclusive. Thus सुसक्त्यः 'having handsome thighs;' स्वक्षः, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix टच् (V. 4. 113 S. 852) is not prohibited.

९५५ । किम् क्षेपे । ५ । ४ । ७० ॥

क्षेपे यः किञ्चावस्ततः परं यत्तदन्तात्समासान्ता न स्युः । कुत्सितो राजा किराजः । कितखा । किंगौ । क्षेपे किञ्च । किराजः । कितखः । किंगवः ॥

955. The samâsânta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach.

Thus कि + राजन् = किराजन् as किराजा यो न रक्षति "He is no-king who does not protect." कितखा योऽभिद्रुहति, किंगौर्वा न वहति ॥ (V. 4. 91. S. 788 V. 4. 92, S. 729 II. 1. 64 S. 743). The compounding here takes place by Rule II. 1. 64. S. 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach' ? Observe कस्य राजा = किराजः ; कितखः किंगवः ॥

९५६ । नञस्तत्पुरुषात् । ५ । ४ । ७१ ॥

समासान्तो न । अराजा । असखा । तत्पुरुषात्किञ्च । अधुरं शकटम् ॥

956. The samāsanta affix does not come after a Tatpurusha compound of words like rājan &c, herein taught, when the negative particle न precedes them.

Thus अराजा 'a no-king, i. e. one who is not a king ;' असखा, 'one who is not a friend ;' (V. 4. 91 S. 788 prohibited). Why do we say "after a Tatpurusha compound?" The same words preceded by the negative particle will take the samāsanta affix when forming compounds, other than Tatpurusha, as अपुरं वाक्यम् 'a car having no yoke.'

६५७ । पथो विभाषा । ५ । ४ । ७२ ॥

नञ्पूर्वात्पथो वा समासान्तः । अपथम् । अपथ्याः । तत्पुरुषादित्येव । अपथो रेशः । अपथं वर्तते ॥

957. The samāsanta affix does not optionally come after a Tatpurusha compound of the word पथिन् with नञ् ॥

This declares an option, where under the last sūtra the omission would have been necessary. Thus अपथम् or अपथ्याः 'absence of road' (See V. 4. 74 S. 940 and II. 4. 30 S. 815), But अपथो रेशः 'having unsafe roads.' Here it is Tat-purusha.

Here ends the Samāsanta.

अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON NON-ELISION OF CASE-AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS.

६५८ । अलुगुत्तरपदे । ६ । ३ । १ ॥

अलुगधिकारः प्रागानङः उत्तरपदाधिकारस्त्वापादसमाप्तेः ॥

958. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 S. 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase "the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound."

Note:—The words अलुक् 'there is no elision,' and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words jointly govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, S. 982; while उत्तरपदे singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1. S. 200.) Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 S. 959 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c." The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c., are not elided before the second member of the compound." Thus स्तोकान् धुक्तः = स्तोकान्धुक्तः, अल्पाधुक्तः ॥ Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

६५९ । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २ ॥

एभ्यः पञ्चम्या अलुक् स्यादुत्तरपदे । स्तोकान्धुक्तः । एवमन्तिकाधेरूपार्थकृच्छ्रेभ्यः ।

उत्तरपदे किम् । निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकाभिस्तोकः ॥

ब्राह्मणाच्छांसि उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि उपचाराद् ब्राह्मणानि ; तानि शंसतीति ब्राह्मणाच्छांसी ऋषिर्विशेषः । द्वितीयार्थे पञ्चम्युपसंख्यानमेव ॥

959. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c. is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्धुक्तः, अल्पाधुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अभ्याशाशगतः, वृशाशगतः, विप्रकृष्टाशगतः, कृच्छ्रान्धुक्तः ॥

Note:—By I. 2. 46, S. 179. a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called pratipadika, and by II. 4. 71 S. 650 the endings of a Prātīpadika

are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् युक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c., in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां युक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः युक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकान्मुक्तैः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI 1. 158, S. 3650 VI. 2. 144 S. 3878), the word स्तोकाभ्यां युक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39 S. 701.

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here.

Vart.—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शास्त्राणि = ब्राह्मणानि ; तानि शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a kind of Rītvic priest."

Note.—The object of making words like स्तोकान्मुक्तैः a compound is three fold. First एकपद्यम् *i. e.* they become *one* word. Thus the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्तः will be स्तोकान्मुक्तिः, the Taddhita affix being added to the whole. Similarly the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्ता (Feminine) will be स्तोकान्मुक्तैः ॥ Second एकस्वर्यम् *i. e.* one accent, thus स्तोकान्मुक्तैः has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. S. 3878, read with VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, VI. 1. 158 S. 3650: Thirdly विशेषण योगाभावः *i. e.* the absence of adjective. No separate adjective can be added to these words *separately*.

Note.—The śāstras ordained in the Brāhmanas are called also metaphorically ब्राह्मणानि ॥ The priest who praises such śāstras is called ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् Here the fifth case has the force of the Accusative, by virtue of this vārtika. The शास्त्र is a kind of hymn of praise. The difference between śāstra and stotra is thus explained: मगीतमन्त्र साध्ययुधि निष्ठयुगाभिधानं स्तोत्रम् । अमगीतमन्त्रसाध्ययुग्निनिष्ठ युगाभिधानं शास्त्रम् ॥ One is sung with musical accompaniment, the other is merely recited. These are the technical terms of the sacrificial Priests.

६६० । ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तुतियायाः । ६ । ३ । ३ ।

ओजसाकृतमित्यादि

अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अञ्जसाकृतम् । आर्जवेन कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

पुंसानुजो अनुबान्ध इति च * ॥ अस्यामजः पुमान् स पुंसानुजः । अनुबान्धो आस्थन्धः ॥

960. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् done with strength ' &c

Vart :—अऊजस् also should be enumerated. Thus अऊजसाकृतम् 'done correctly.'

Vart :—The compounds पुंसाजुजः and अनुबन्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनाजुजः=पुंसाजुजः 'having an elder brother' अनुबा हेतुनाब्धः=अनुबन्धः 'blind from birth'. The word अजु is another name of अम्ब 'birth.'

६६१ । मनसः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसायुक्ता ॥

961. After मनस् when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसायुक्ता ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe मनोवृत्ता, मनोयुक्ता ॥

९६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनसः इत्येव । मनसा भाज्ञातुं शीलमस्य मनसाज्ञायी ॥

962. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन्=मनसाऽऽज्ञायितुं शीलमस्य ॥ 'One knowing by mind.'

६६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनस्तृतीयाया बलुक् स्यात् ॥

पूरुष इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पूरुषप्रत्ययान्ते उत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः । आत्मनापञ्चमः । जनार्दनस्त्वात्मनश्चतुर्थ एवेति बहुव्रीहिर्बोध्यः ।

पूरुषोक्तिम् । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided.

Vartika :—"When an Ordinal Numeral follows" should be added.

Thus आत्मनापञ्चमः, 'himself and four others.'

Note :—The Instrumental case here takes place under the *Vartika* तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृष्टादीनामुपसख्यानं (II. 3. 18 *Vart* S. 561). And the compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, S. 692 by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पञ्चमः=आत्मनापञ्चमः ॥

How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in जनाईनस्वात्मचतुर्थे एव ? It is a Bahuvrihi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows' ? Observe आत्मकृतम्

६६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

आत्मन इत्येव । आत्मनेपदम् । आत्मनेभाषा । तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येवा । चतुर्थीति योगाविभागा-
त्समासः ॥

964. The Dative case-ending is not elided after आत्मन्, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, S. 698 and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha. If we do not read the anuvritti of आत्मन्, we can then dispense with the subsequent sūtra, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar."

६६५ । परस्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

परस्मैपदम् । परस्मैभाषा ॥

965. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम् "The Parasmaipada." &c.

९६६ । हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

हलन्ताददन्ताच्च सप्तम्या अलुक् संज्ञायाम् । त्वचिसारः ॥

966. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus त्वचिसारः

९६७ । गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः । ८ । ३ । ९५ ॥

आभ्यां स्थिरस्य सस्य षः स्यात् । गविष्ठिरः । अत्र गवीति वचनविवालात् । युधिष्ठिरः । अरण्ये-
तिलकाः । अत्र संज्ञायामिति सप्तमीसमासः ॥

हृद्युभ्यां च * ॥ हृदिस्पृक् । त्रिदिस्पृक् ॥

967. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to र् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर, 'firm in the sky.'

Though गो does not end in a consonant and so VI. 3. 9. S. 966 does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule. So also अ ending words: as युधाष्ठिरः and अरण्य तलकः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44 S. 721 and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9 S. 966.

Note :—Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ" ? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe अक्षौण्डः ॥

Vart :—The Locative ending is not elided after हृ and र्वि; as हविस्पृक्, र्विस्पृक् = हव्यं र्विं च स्पृशति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative.

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII. 3. 111 S. 2123.

६१८ । कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम् तत्र हलादुत्तरपदे हलन्तास्तत्प्रम्या अलुक् । सुकुटेकार्पापणम् । हवि माषकः । पूर्वेण सिद्धे नियमार्यम् । कारनाम्न्येव प्राचामेव हलाद्वेवेति । कारनाम्नि किम् । अभ्यर्हितपशुः । काराकन्यस्यैतदेवस्य नाम । प्राचां किम् । यूयपशुः । हलादौ किम् । अविकटोरणः । हलन्तात्किम् । नद्यां देशः नदीदेशः ॥

968. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सुकुटे कार्पापणम्, हविमाषकः ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we 'say when it is the name of a tax' ? Observe अभ्यर्हितपशुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people" ? Observe यूयपशुः = यूयपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant' ? Observe

अविकटे उरणः = अविकटोरणः The word उरण means 'sheep.' A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = मेघसंधात) ॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ' ? Observe नद्यां दोहः = नदीदाहः ॥

६६६ । मध्याद्गुरो । ६ । ३ । ११ ॥

मध्येगुरुः ॥ अन्ताद्य* ॥ अन्तेगुरुः ॥

969. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As मध्येगुरुः 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle.'

Vart:—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

६७० । अमूर्धमस्तकात्स्वाङ्गादकामे । ६ । ३ । १२ ॥

कण्ठेकालः । उरसिलोमा । अमूर्धमस्तकात्किम् । मूर्धशिखः । मस्तकशिखः । अकामे किम् । मुखे कामोऽस्य मुखकामः ॥

970. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक' ? Observe मूर्धशिखः, मस्तकशिखः ॥ Why do we say 'other than काम' ? Observe :—मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥

Note :—When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अक्षौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलिबाणः, जङ्घाबलिः ॥

६७१ । बन्धे च विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १३ ॥

हलन्तास्तप्तम्या अलुक् । हस्तबन्धः । हस्तबन्धः । हलदन्तेति किम् । सुतिबन्धः ॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः ॥

Note :—This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19 S. 977 when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we 'say the first member ending in a consonant or vowel ज' ?
Observe सुप्तिबन्धः ॥

६७२ । तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १४ ॥

स्तम्भेरमः । कर्णेजपः । कचिन्न । कुरुचरः ॥

972. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्भेरमः 'an elephant.' कर्णेजपः "a secret traducer." But also कुरुचरः ॥

९७३ । प्रावृष्टशरत्कालादिषां जे । ६ । ३ । १५ ॥

प्रावृषिजः । शरदिजः । कालिजः । शिविजः । पूर्वस्यायं प्रपञ्चः ॥

973. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृष्ट, शरत्, काल and दिव्, when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः "produced in the rainy season ; a storm." शरदिजः, "autumnal," कालेजः, 'produced in proper time' ; "Heaven-born" This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

६७४ । विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् । ६ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभ्यः सप्तम्या भलुक् जे । वर्षेजः । वर्षजः । क्षरेजः । क्षरजः । शरेजः । शरजः । वरेजः । वरजः ॥

974. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्षे, क्षर, शर, and वर, when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः "produced by distillation or from a cloud ;" शरेजः or शरजः, "Kārtikeya." वरेजः or वरजः 'blessing-born'.

९७५ । घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । १७ ॥

सप्तम्या विभाषाऽलुक् स्यात् । घे पूर्वाह्ने, तरे । पूर्वाह्ने, तरे । पूर्वाह्ने, तमे । पूर्वाह्ने, तमे । काले । पूर्वाह्ने । पूर्वाह्ने, काले । तने । पूर्वाह्ने, तने । पूर्वाह्ने, तने ॥

975. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time, ending in a consonant or अ; when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन् follows.

The affixes त्र and तन् are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाह्ने, तरे or पूर्वा-

कुंतेर, पूर्वाङ्गितमे or पूवाङ्गितमे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाङ्गिकाले or पूवाङ्गिकाले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाङ्गितने or पूवाङ्गितने ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'after a time-name'? Observe शुकुंतरे, शुकुंतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥ The word काल means the word-form काल and not time-denoting words in general. The affix तन is taught in IV, 3. 23. S. 1391.

६७६ । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

खेद्यः । खद्यः । अमेवासः । आमवासः । अमेवासी ॥ आमवासी ॥ इलन्तादित्येव । भूमिद्यः ॥

अपो योनियन्मनुषु * ॥ अप्सु योनिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्य सोऽप्सुयोनिः । अप्सु भवोऽप्सव्यः । अप्सुमन्ता-
वाक्कभाणौ ॥

976. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन्, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेद्यः, or खद्यः, अमेवासः or आमवासः, अमेवासिन् or आमवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाङ्गितयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिद्यः ॥

Vart:—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मनुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तो ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the णिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54 S. 1429). Some give अप्सुजः and अप्सुवरः as additional illustrations. The two mantras अप्सुमे सधिष्टव (Rig VIII. 43. 9) and अप्सु मे सोमो अन्नदीत् (Rig I. 23. 20, X. 9. 6) are called अप्सुमन्तौ verses: the oblations offered with these are also so called.

६७७ । नेत्सिद्धवन्धातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इलन्तादिषु तप्तम्या अलुम । स्थण्डिलशायी । साक्षादथसिद्धः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

977. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare sthanḍila or sacrificial ground." साक्षादथसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः ॥

Note :—The compounding takes place by *yoga-vibhāga* of *sūtra* II. 1. 40 S. 717. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule : बन्ध then is derived by अच् of III. 1. 134 S. 2896. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3 13. S. 971. This *sūtra* is an exception to *Tatpuruṣa* VI. 3. 14 S. 972. In the *Bahu vrīhi*, option of S. 971 takes place.

The prohibition of this *sūtra* applies to *Tatpuruṣa* compounds only

६७८। स्थे च भाषायाम् । ६। ३। २० ॥

सप्तम्या बहुलम् । समस्यः । भाषायां क्रिञ् । कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः ॥

978. The Locative ending is not preserved before थ in the spoken language.

Thus समस्यः ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe आखरेष्टः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः ॥ स is changed to थ by VIII, 3 106 S. 3643.

६७९। षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे । ६। ३। २१ ॥

चौरस्य कुलम् । आक्रोशे क्रिञ् । ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

वाग्द्विपश्यन्त्यो युक्तिश्चङ्ङहरेषु * ॥ वाचोयुक्तिः । दिशोऽण्डः । पश्यतोऽहरः ॥

आध्व्यायणाऽऽध्व्यपुत्रिकाऽऽध्व्यकुलिकेति च * ॥ अध्व्यापत्यम् आध्व्यायणः । नडादित्वात्कृ । अध्व्य पुत्रस्य भावः आध्व्यपुत्रिका । मनोज्ञादित्वाद्भुञ् । एवमाध्व्यकुलिका ॥

देवानामिय इति च मूर्खे * ॥ अन्यत्र देवमियः ॥

रोपपुच्छलाङ्गुलेषु शुनः * ॥ शुनःरोपः । शुनःपुच्छः । शुनोलाङ्गुलः ॥

दिवश्च वासि * ॥ दिवावासः ॥

979 The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult.'

Thus चौरस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"? Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vart :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्तिः; after दिक् before ण्ड, and after पश्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोऽण्डः, पश्यतोऽहरः ॥ पश्यन्तमनादह्य हरति "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith." The compounding is by II. 3. 38. S. 635.

Var :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आध्व्यायणः, आध्व्यपुत्रिका and आध्व्यकुलिका ॥ अध्व्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अहम्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक् in forming the Patronymic, अध्व्यापत्यम् = आध्व्यायणः, अध्व्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आध्व्यपुत्रिका formed by वुञ् (V. 1. 133 S. 1798). So also आध्व्यकुलिका ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानामियः

Note :—The author of Siddhānta Kaumudi says “when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devānām-priya” There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāṣya or the Kāśikā. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant ‘a fool.’ The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite. The Tattvabodhini justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit. Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas.

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after षन् when शेष, पुच्छ and जोगल follow it :—द्युनः शेषः, द्युनः पुच्छः, द्युनोर्जोगलः ॥ These are names of three Rishis.

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when वास follows :
as दिवावासः ॥

६८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

षष्ठ्याः पुत्रे परेऽलुग्वानिन्दायाम् । शस्याः पुत्रः । शसिपुत्रः । निन्दायां किम् । ब्रह्मणी पुत्रः ॥

980. The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows.

Thus शस्याः पुत्रः or शसिपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say ‘when insult is meant’? Observe ब्रह्मणीपुत्र ॥

६८१ । ऋतो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासंबन्धयोनिसंबन्धवाचिन ऋदन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुक् । होतुर्न्तेवासी । होतुःपुत्रः । पितुर्न्तेवासी । पितुःपुत्रः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यस्तत्पूर्वोत्तरपदग्रहणम् * ॥ नेह । होतृधनम् ॥

981. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुर्न्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुर्न्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥

Vārtika :—The relationship through ‘study’ or ‘blood’ should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृ गृहम् पितृगृहम् ॥

६८२ । विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

ऋदन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुग् वा स्वसृपत्योः परयोः ॥

982. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ, when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note :—Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःवसा, or मातृवसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितृवसा or पितृवसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to व by VIII. 3. 84 ; S. 984. and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85 S. 983.) So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दु पतिः or ननान्दुपतिः ॥

६८३ । मातुःपितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८५ ॥

आभ्यां स्वसृः सत्य बो वा स्यात् समासे । मातुःवसा । मातुःस्वसा । पितुःवसा । पितुःस्वसा । छक्पक्षे तु ॥

983. The स् of स्वसृ is optionally changed to व्, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातुःवसा; पितुःस्वसा or पितुःवसा ॥ The words मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24 S. 280). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a र्, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वस when the words are used separately in a sentence.

But when the genitive case-affix is elided, then the following sūtra applies.

६८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८६ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य स्वसृः सत्य वः स्यात्समासे । मातृवसा । पितृवसा । असमासे तु मातुःस्वसा । पितुः स्वसा ॥

984. The स् of स्वसृ is changed to व् after मातु and पितु in a compound where the case-affix is elided.

As मातृवसा, पितृवसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातुः स्वसा and पितुः स्वसा. That is there is not even the *optional* व् of sūtra VIII. 3. 85 S. 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence.

Thus we have three cases :—

- (1) अलुक् समासे as, मातुः स्वसा or मातुः वसा " mother's-sister."
- (2) Ordinary समास, as, मातृवसा " mother's-sister."
- (3) No samāsa, as मातुः स्वसा " mother's sister."

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samāsa

अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXV.

SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS.

६८५ । धरूपकल्पचेलङ्घुवगोत्रमतहतषु ङीत्थोऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः । ६ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितपुंस्काचो ङी तदन्तस्त्रयानेकाचो ह्रस्वः स्यात् धरूपकल्पप्रत्ययेषु परेषु चेलङादिषु चोत्तर-
परेषु । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणितमा । ब्राह्मणिरूपा । ब्राह्मणिकल्पा । ब्राह्मणिचेली । ब्राह्मणिङ्घुवा । ब्राह्म-
णिगोत्रेत्यादि । ह्रस्वः पञ्चाव्ययि वक्ष्यादेशशुण्ययोरभावो निपात्यते । चेलङादीनि वृत्तिविषयं कुत्सनवा-
चीनि ॥ तैः कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैरिति समासः । ङः किम् । इत्तातरा । भाषितपुंस्कास्किम् । आमलकीतरा
कुवलीतरा ॥

985. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, and before the words चेल (with the feminine in ई), घुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine

Thus च—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ॥ ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणि-
ङ्घुवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणमतता and ब्राह्मणितता ॥ च, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलङ् &c.
are words as second members; घुवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) added to घू, गुण and वक्ष substitution being prevented anomalously. The words चेल &c. denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person. The compounding in the case of these takes place by II. 1. 53 S. 732.

Why do we say “ending in ई (ङी)” ? Observe इत्तातरा, युत्तातरा ॥ Why do we say “consisting of more than one syllable” ? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say “having a corresponding masculine” ? Observe आमलकीतरा, कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent masculine forms.

Note :—The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called च (I. 1. 22. S. 2003). They denote superlative comparative degrees. रूपप् is added in denoting praise (V. 3. 66 S. 2021). चेल is derived from चिल वसने ‘to dress.’ It means ‘garment.’ At the end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile. The word is read in पञ्चादि class as चेलङ् (III. 1. 134. S. 2896) The इ indicates that the Feminine is with ङीप् (IV. 1. 15. S. 470).

In ब्राह्मणितरा there is not masculation as required by VI. 3. 35 S. 836 because of the prohibition of VI. 3. 41 S. 842.

६८६ । नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ४४ ॥

अङ्यन्तनद्या ङ्यन्तस्येकाच घाविषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा । ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा । चित्तरा ।
स्त्रीतरा ॥

कृन्तया न * ॥ लक्ष्मीतरा ॥

986. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadi (I. 4. 3 S. 266 and 4 S. 303), the substitution of short vowel before घ &c. under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? They are of two sorts. First:—Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadi; and secondly:—feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा, चित्तरा, or स्त्रीतरा ॥ The rule of masculation also does not apply.

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, स्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160).

९८७ । उगितश्च । ६ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उगितः परा या नदी तदन्तस्य घाविषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । विदुषितरा । इत्वाभावपक्षे तु तसिमादि
भिति प्रुवत् । विदुतरा । वृत्त्यादिषु विदुषीतरेत्यप्युदाहृतं तन्निर्मूलम् ॥

987. The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before घ &c. (VI. 3. 43 S. 985).

Thus विदुषितरा ॥ It is formed by the Taddhita affix क्त्वा ॥ In the alternative when there is no shortening, there is masculation under VI. 3. 35. S. 836, when we get the form विदुत्तरा ॥

In the Kāśikā, Prakriyā Kumudī &c, the alternative form given is विदुषीतरा । This is not valid: for the long ई can never come, as the rule of पुंषत् (S. 836) will at once apply in this alternative.

Note:—Or this latter form विदुत्तरा may be considered to have been evolved from विदुत्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

६८८ । हृदयस्य ह्रस्वेत्यदण्तासेषु । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

हृदयं लिखतीति ह्रस्वेः । हृदयस्य मियं हृदयम् । हृदयस्येह हार्दम् । हृदासः । लेखेत्यणन्तस्य महणम्
घञि तु हृदयलेखः । लेखमहणमेवं तापकम् उत्तरपदाधिकारे सन्तविधिनस्तीति ॥

988. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यत्, and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखति = हृदलेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदयम्, हृदयस्येदम् = हृदयम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृदलासः ॥ The word लेख here is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by यम् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्तमहणम्” ॥

Paribhasha :—“An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-उत्तरपदे is valid, i. e. in a rule of VI. 3. 1. S. 958 does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.”

Note :—As a general maxim, an affix denotes; whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययमहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तत्रादे स्तदन्तस्य महणम्) ॥ Thus the word य, अय् &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य affix &c. But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the above maxim: उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्त महणम् । On the contrary, the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर तन and तन in VI. 3. 17. S. 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares “हृद् is the substitute of हृदय-when the word लेख and the affixes यत्, अण्; and लास follow”. Had the affix अण् here meant the word form ending in अण् then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 S. 1391 for the affix तन ॥

६८६ । वा शक्तिश्चरोगोषु । ६ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृच्छोकः । हृदयशोकः । सौहार्दम् । सौहृदयम् । हृद्रोगः । हृदयरोगः । हृदयशब्दपर्यायो हृच्छवो ऽप्यस्ति । तेन सिद्धे प्रपञ्चार्थनिर्दिष्टम् ॥

989. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix च्छ follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दम् or सौहृदयम् ॥ Here च्छ is added, as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. S. 1788. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members छ and हृ by VII. 3. 19 S. 1133. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदयरोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृद् which is a full word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

६६० । पादस्य पादाज्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषूत्तपेदेषु पादस्य पद इत्यदन्त आदेशः स्यात् । पादाभ्यामजतीति पदाजिः । पदातिः । अज्य-
तिभ्यां पादे चैतीष् प्रत्ययः । अज्यर्थभावो निपातनात् । पदगः । पदोपहतः ॥

990. पद् (Pada) is substituted for पाद् (pāda)
before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are
formed by इण् from अज् and अत् (Un IV. 131), and irregularly अज्
is not changed to दी though required by II. 4. 56 S. 2292 before this affix.
So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पदेनोपहतः ॥

Note :—The substitute is पद् pada, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad' ;
for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पदगः ॥ Moreover in the next
sūtra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ ; so the पद् of this
is with final अ ॥ The word पद् has no case-affix as a sūtra anomaly.

६६१ । पद्यत्यतदर्थे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पदस्यातदर्थे अति परे । पादो विध्यन्ति पद्याः शर्कराः । अतदर्थे किम् । पदार्थपुङ्क्
पाद्यम् । पादार्थाभ्यां अति यत् ॥

इके चरताडुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पादाभ्यां चरति पदिकः । पदार्थित्वात् छन् ॥

991. पद् is substituted for पाद् before the affix यत्,
used in any sense other than that of "suited there to."

Thus पादोविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः ॥ Why do we say 'when यत् is used in
any sense other than that of "suited there to" ? Observe पाद्यम् = पदार्थपुङ्क् ॥
(see IV. 4. 83 S. 1635 and V. 4. 25 S. 2093).

Vart :—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of ' he walks there by ', पद्
is substituted for पाद् ; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10 S. 1558.) by छन् affix.

Note :—The word पाद् in this sūtra means ' the actual foot ', a part of animal
organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, S. 1699 as
द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद् here denotes ' a measure '.

९९२ । हिमकाषिहतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पञ्चिमम् । पत्कापी । पञ्चतिः ॥

992 पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, काषिश् and
हति ॥

Thus पङ्क्तिम्, (= पादस्य शीतं) पङ्क्तादिन्, (= पादश्चादिणः) (with शिति of III. 2. 78. S. 2988) as in अथ पङ्क्तादियी यान्ति, and पङ्क्तिः (पदाभ्यां इत्यते) ॥ इति is formed with क्तिन् (कर्णेणि क्तिन्) ॥

६६३ । ऋचः शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

ऋचः पादस्य पदस्याच्छे परे । गायत्री पच्छः संसति । पादं पादमित्यर्थः । ऋचः किम् । पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

993. पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री संसति = पादं पादं संसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. S. 2110. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

६६४ । वा घोषमिधशब्देषु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पद् । पद्घोषः । पादघोषः । पन्मिश्रः । पादमिश्रः । पच्छब्दः । पादशब्दः ॥ निष्के चेति वाच्यम् * ॥ पन्निष्कः । पादनिष्कः ॥

994. This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषैः or पादघोषैः, पन्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart :—So also before निष्कः as पन्निष्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

६९५ । उदकस्यादः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदमेघः ॥

उत्तमपदस्य चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ क्षीरोदः ॥

995. उद् is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha',

Note :—The well-known Patronymic from this is औदमेघिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकनिः ॥

Vart :—उद् is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name : as, क्षीरोदः ॥

६६६ । पेवंवास्वाहनभिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदपेवंविनष्टि । उदवासः । उदवाहनः । उदधिर्बटः । सपुत्रे तु पूर्वेषु सिद्धम् ॥

996. उव is substituted for उक् before पे, वास, वाह, and धि ॥

Thus उवेषं विनष्टि formed by यष्टु by III. 4. 38 S. 3359; उवसाः = उक्कस्यवासः, so also उवाहनः ॥ उक्कं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उवधिः 'a water jar'. The affix is कि (III. 3. 93 S. 3271). When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उवधि will be evolved by the preceding sūtra, for then it is a sanjñā or name.

६६७ । एकह्लादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ५९ ॥

उक्कुम्भः । उक्कुम्भः । एकेति किम् । उक्कस्थाली । पूरयितव्येति किम् । उक्कपर्वतः ॥

997. उव is optionally substituted for उक् before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उक्कुम्भः, or उक्कुम्भः, उक्पात्रम् or उक्पात्रम् ॥ Why do we say 'एकह्लादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'? Because the rule does not apply to उक्कस्थाली as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant. Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'? Observe उक्कपर्वतः ॥

६६८ । मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उवमन्थः । उवकमन्थः । उवौदनः । उवकौदनः ॥

998. उव is optionally substituted for उक् before मन्थ, औदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उवकेन मन्थः = उवमन्थ or उवकमन्थः । उवकौदनः, उवौदनः or उवकौदनः । सक्तु । उवकेन सक्तुः, उवसक्तु or उवकसक्तुः । बिन्दु । उवकस्य बिन्दुः, उवबिन्दुः or उवकबिन्दुः । वज्र । उवकस्य वज्रः उववज्रः or उवकवज्रः । भार । उक्कं विभर्तीति उवभारः । or उवकभारः । हार उक्कं हरतीति, उवहारः or उवकहारः । वीवध । उवकस्य वीवध, उववीवधः or उवकवीवधः । गाह । उक्कं गाहत इति, उवगाहः or उवकगाहः ॥

६६९ । इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगन्तथाङ्यन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यादुत्तरपदे । मामणिपुत्रः । मामणीपुत्रः । इकः किम् । रमापतिः । अरूप इति किम् । गौरीपतिः । गालवमहणं पूजार्थम् । अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवृत्तेः ॥

इयङुवङ्भाविनामव्ययानां च नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्रीमदः । भूभङ्गः । शुक्लीभावः ॥

अभूकुंसादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भूकुंसः । भूकुदिः । भूकुंसः । भूकुदिः । अकारोऽनेन विधीयत इति व्याख्यानतरम् ॥ भूकुंसः । भूकुदिः ॥ भूवा कुंसो भावणं शोभा वा यस्य सः स्त्रीवैषधी नर्तकः । भूव. कुदिः कौटिल्यम् ॥

999. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (डी)

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (डी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound, before the second member. Thus भामिपुत्रः or भामिणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe रमापतिः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix डी'? Observe गौरीपतिः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned pujārtha; for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra

Vat :—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीमद् : भूभङ्गः शुक्लीभावः ॥

Vat :—It does however apply to भूकुस &c, as भूकुसः, or भूकुसः भूकुदिः or भूकुदिः ॥ Others say च is substituted for भू &c. as भूकुसः and भूकुदिः ॥ भूकुस means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye-brows, or whose ornament (kunsā) are the eye-brows." A male actor who plays the part of a female. भूकुदि means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown.'

१००० । एक तद्धिते च । इ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकशब्दस्य द्वस्वः स्यात्तद्धिते उत्तरपदे च । एकस्या भागतं एकरूप्यम् । एकक्षीरम् ॥

1000. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या भागतं = एकरूप्यम् ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम् ॥

Note :—The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix वा ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3 35. S. 836 i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Ohhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word.

१००१ । ख्यापोः संज्ञाकन्दसोर्ध्वतुलम् । इ । ३ । ६३ ॥
रेवतिपुत्रः । भजक्षीरम् ॥

1001. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ऊी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः । नान्दीघोषः, । नान्दीविशाल ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमारारिरा, प्रदर्विवा ; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as काश्यपीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥

आप् ending words in Name : भजक्षीरम् ; शिलप्रस्थम् ; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas :—भजक्षीरेण शुशेति, ऊर्णमृदा पृथिवी विश्वधावसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णमृजेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

१००२ । त्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

त्वप्रत्यये ऊपापोर्वा ह्रस्वः । भजत्वम् । भजात्वम् । रोहिणित्वम् । रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

1002. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus भजाया भावः = भजत्वम् or भजात्वम्, रोहिणित्वम् or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

Note :—These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्रः ॥ In compounding these, two words, the following rule applies.

१००३ । व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

व्यङन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात्पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

Therefore कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्र = कौमुदगन्धि + पुत्रः ॥ Then applies the next sūtra, by which इ is lengthened.

Note :—When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषत्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 127 S. 866) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + भण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) = कारिषगन्ध ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) Thus we have कारिषगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78 S. 1198). Now in forming the Tatpurusha

compound of this word with पुञ् or पति, the final इ will be changed into ह and we have कारीवगन्धीपुञ्; कारीवगन्धीपतिः ॥ The वा of वा becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108 S 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139 S. 1004). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुञ्; or कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix वञ्च्" ? Observe इञ्चापुञ्; । कषीचापुञ्; ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुञ् or पति" ? Observe कारीवगन्धाङ्गुलम्, कौमुदगन्धाङ्गुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpuruṣa compound" ? Observe कारिवगन्धापतिरस्य आगस्य = कारिवगन्धापतिरस्य आगः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix वञ्च् is here the feminine affix च followed by चाप् (च्वा) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

१००४ । संप्रसारणस्य । ६ । ३ । १३९ ॥

संप्रसारणस्य शीर्षः स्वातुत्तरपरे । कौमुदगन्धायाः पुञ्; कौमुदगन्धीपुञ्; । अवस्थितविभाषका इत्यो न । क्षीमत्यजे आनुपसर्जनोनेति तद्वहिनियमप्रतिषेधात् । परमकारिवगन्धीपुञ्; । उपसर्जनं तु तद्वहिनियममिह । अतिकारीवगन्धापुञ्; ॥

1004. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कौमुदगन्धीपुञ्; । कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13 S. 1003.

करीवञ्चैव गन्धीऽस्य = करीवगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137 S. 875 and 876). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61 S. 999, does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परस्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139 S. 1004 and the rule VI. 3. 61 S. 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival, सकृद्वत्ता विप्रतिषेधेन द्वाधितं उद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययप्रत्यये वस्मात् स विहितस्तद्वहस्तद्वहन्व बह्वहन् ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate: स्त्रीप्रत्यये नानुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

१००५ । बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । १४ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे उत्तरपदे श्यङः संप्रसारणं स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । कारीषगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः । बहुव्रीहयित्ति किम् । कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः । क्लीबनिर्देशस्तु शब्दस्वरूपापेक्षया ॥ मातृजातृकमातृषु वा ° ॥ कारीषगन्धीमातः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातः । कारीषगन्धीमातृकः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः । कारीषगन्धीमाता । कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातनान्मातृशब्दस्वमातृजादेशः । 'नयूतश्च' (८३१) इति क्विक्कल्पश्च । बहुव्रीह्येवेदम् । नेह । कारीषगन्ध्याया माता कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । चिन्त्यसामर्थ्यादित्त्वरो बहुव्रीहिस्वरं पाठते ॥

1005. There is vocalisation of the affix श्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौस्तुभगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word. It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form bandhu.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of श्यङ् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृच्, मातृक and मातृ optionally : as कारीषगन्धीमातृच् or कारीषगन्ध्या मातृच्, कारीषगन्धीमातृक or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृक, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in क् take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, S. 833. So the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional. The rule is confined to Bahuvrīhi compounds. Therefore in Tatpurusha compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारीषगन्ध्यामाता "the mother of Kārīṣha-gandhyā"

The indicatory च of मातृच् makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1. S. 3735).

१००६ । इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिषु । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

इष्टकादीनां तदन्तानां च पूर्वपदानां चित्तादिषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इष्टकचित्तम् । पक्षेष्टकचित्तम् । इषीकतूलम् । छुञ्जेषीकतूलम् । मालभारी । उत्पलमालभारी ॥

1006. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित्त, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिन् ॥

Thus इष्टकचित्तम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadānta applies to इष्टका &c as they fall under Padādhikāra. So that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचित्तम्, छुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

१००७ । कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६ । ३ । ७० ॥

सुम् स्यात् । सत्यङ्कारः । अगदङ्कारः ।

अस्तोभिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अस्तुङ्कारः ॥

धेनोर्भव्यायाम् * ॥ धेनुम्भय्या ॥

लोकस्य पूणे * ॥ लोकम्पूणः । पूण इति सूत्रविशुद्धाविस्वात्कः ॥

इत्येऽनभ्यासस्य * ॥ अनभ्यासमित्यः । कूरतः परिहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः ।

आघ्राग्न्योरिन्धे * ॥ आघ्रमिन्धः । अग्निमिन्धः ॥

गिलेऽगिलस्य * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलः । अगिलस्य किम् । गिलगिलः ॥

मिलगिले च * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

उष्णभद्रयोः करणे * ॥ उष्णङ्कारणम् । भद्रङ्कारणम् ॥

1007. सुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यङ्कारः = सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्यकारः 'to take oath'. So also अगदङ्कारः "a physician."

Vart :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुङ्कारः "efficacious, working as a medicine."

Note :—So also in Vedas, of भृत् before कार—e. g. भृत्कार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vart :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुम्भय्या (धेनुश्चासौभव्या च) ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूण, e. g. लोकपूणा "filling or pervading the

world." As लोकाभ्यूयैः परिचलेः परिपूरितस्य ॥ पूज is formed by the affix कृ (III. 2. 5. S. 2919 vart.) added to the root पूज् ॥ as it belongs to the Mūla-vibhujādi class.

Vart:—Of अनन्त्यात् before हृत् as अनन्त्याद्यानित्यः "to be shunned from afar."

Vart:—Of खाद् and अस्ति, before हृत्, as खाद्मिन्धा, अस्तिमिन्धाः "one who fries or roasts."

Vart:—A word before गिल takes हुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. सिमिङ्गिलः "a kind of fish which swallows a *timi*." But गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. सिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—Of हृज् and नङ् before कर्त्तृ, e. g. हृज्कर्त्तृ and नङ्कर्त्तृ ॥

१००८ । रात्रेः कृति विभावा । ६ । ३ । ७२ ॥

रात्रिः परः । रात्रिः परः । रात्रिः परः । रात्रिः परः । अक्षिपर्यायिणं कर्त्तृ । अक्षि तु अक्षिपर्यायिणि गिलेनैव वक्ष्यते । रात्रिः परः ॥

1008. The word रात्रि optionally takes हुम् before a word formed by krt-affix.

As रात्रिः परः or रात्रिः परः, रात्रिः परः or रात्रिः परः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. This sūtra applies to words not formed by a कृ affix. The augment हुम् is compulsory by VI. 3. 67 S. 2942 before a krt-affix having an indicatory क्, As, रात्रिः परः ॥ Here the affix कृ (III. 2. 83 S. 2993) is added to the root नृ; and as it is a sārvaadhātuka affix, because it has an indicatory क्, therefore the vikaraṇa हृत् is added.

१००९ । सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ७८ ॥

सत्तरपदे । सपलाशम् । संज्ञायां किम् । सहस्युध्वा ॥

1009. स is substituted for सह, in a Name, when followed by another word in a compound.

Thus सपलाशम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहस्युध्वा formed by कृति (III. 2. 96 S. 3006). The इ is not added in the Feminine, because of the vārtika under IV. 1. 7. S. 456.

१०१० । ग्रन्थान्ताधिके क् । ६ । ३ । ७९ ॥

अन्योः परयोः सहस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपदे । सहस्युध्वा उच्यते । सपलाशम् ॥

1010. स is the substitute for सह, in a compound when followed by another word, when it has the sense of

'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work) or 'more.'

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं उद्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also सप्तहृत्संज्ञ = (सप्तहृत्संज्ञ) ॥ स' संज्ञे (=संप्रदान्तसंज्ञ) ध्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by "अन्त्य-वचने" (II. 1. 6 S. 652). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सप्त would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81 S. 660. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book.' When the sense is that of 'more,' we have सप्तोपाख्यारी, समाप्त' कार्यापयः । सकाकिणीको माषः ॥

१०११ । द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । ६ । ३ । ८० ॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य सः स्यात् । सराक्षसीका निशा । राक्षसी साक्षादनुपलभ्यमाना निशायाऽ-
नुमीयते ॥

1011. स is the substitute for सप्त, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived.

Note:—Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, 'the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपलब्ध, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus सामि (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where.' सविशाखा वात्या "a storm-wind which announces the Pisāchas."

सराक्षसीका निशा. Here the fire, the Pisācha or the Rākshas as are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm-wind and night. In सराक्षसीका, there is added कप् by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

१०१२ । समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धमभृत्युदकेषु । ६ । ३ । ८४ ॥

समानस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपदे ननु मूर्धाविषु । अनु भ्राता सगर्भः । अनु सखा सख्यः । यो नः सनुस्यः । सख्यश्च इत्यर्थे सगर्भसख्यसनुताद्यत् । अमूर्धाविषु किम् । समानमूर्धा । समानमृतस्यः । समानोदकः । समानस्येति योगो विभज्यते । तेन सपक्षः साधर्म्यं सजातीयमित्यादि सिद्धमिति काशिका । अथवा सहस्यस्यः सहस्यवचनोप्यस्ति । सहस्यः सख्या ससखीति अथा । तेनायमस्वपदविग्रहो बहुव्रीहिः । समानः पक्षोऽस्येत्यादि ॥

1012. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सयूध्यः, योनः सतुल्यः (IV. 4. 114 S. 3460) समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भः formed by यत् affix IV. 4. 114 S. 3460. Why do we say 'not before मूर्धन् &c.' Observe समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥

"The sūtra should be divided into two viz., समानस्य forming one sūtra, and छन्दस्यमूर्द्धं &c., another. This we do in order to get the forms सपक्षः, साधार्थम्, सजातीयम् &c., in secular language also." Thus says the author of the Kāśikā.

Or we may say the word सह means also सदृश, as we have already seen in the word ससखी (= सदृश सख्या). Therefore the above are Bahuvrhis, which should be analysed thus समानः पक्षोऽस्य = सपक्षः &c. Here स is an elliptical form of सह meaning sadṛśa. See VI. 3. 52 S. 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

Note:—This sūtra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattoji in the Vaidic chapter. He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vibhāga it can be applied to ordinary language also.

But if the view be taken that in सपक्षः &c., the स is सह, then there is no necessity of Yoga-vibhāga; for the Māhābhāṣya has not shown this splitting of this particular sūtra.

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयवचनबन्धुषु ।
६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषु द्वादशसुत्तरपदेषु समानस्य सः स्यात् । सज्योतिः । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before the twelve words ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सर्वयः, सवयः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

Note:—सज्योतिस् (neut) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the asterism in which the impurity commenced.

१०१४ । चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य सः स्याच्चरणे समानत्वेन गम्यमाने । चरणः शास्त्रम् । ब्रह्म वेदम् । तदध्ययनार्थं व्रतमपि ब्रह्म । तच्चरतीति ब्रह्मचारी । समानः सः सब्रह्मचारी ॥

1014. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समाने ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmachāri. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note :—सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co-student, one who reads the same Vedic portion as the other.

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे उत्तरपदे यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य सः स्यात् । सतीर्थः = एकगुरुकः । समानतीर्थेवा सतीति व्यपत्यबः ॥

1015. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थे, when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समानताय यादौ (IV. 4. 107 S. 1658) 'a fellow-student,' i. e. whose preceptor is one and the same person: who are studying under a common teacher. The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 107 S. 1658.

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इत्येव । सोदर्थः । समानोदर्थः ॥

1016. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उद् when the affix यत् is added to it.

सोदर्थः or समानोदर्थः (IV. 4. 108 S. 1659).

१०१७ । हृद्दृग्बुत्तु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सहृक् । सहृगः ॥

दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सहृगः । वतुरुत्तरार्थः ॥

1017. स is substituted for समान, before हृक्, दृग् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सहृक्, सहृगः ॥ The affixes क्स्, and क्तिन् are added to हृग् under III. 2. 60 S. 429. Vārt which give us the forms हृक् and हृग ॥

Vart:—So also before हृक्ष as सहृक्षः ॥ हृक्ष is formed by हृक् affix under III. 2. 60S. 429 Vārtika.

The affix वतु is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१०१८ । इदं किमोरीशकी । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

हृक्षश्च वतुषु इवम ईश किनः की स्यात् । ईदृक् । ईदृशः । कीदृक् । कीदृशः । वतुदाहरणं वक्ष्यते । हृक्षे च । इदृक्षः । कीदृक्षः ॥ अत्र सर्वनामः ॥ हृक्षे च । तादृक् । तादृशः ॥ तावान् । तादृचः । शीर्षः । अथोत्वे । अमूदृक् । अमूदृशः । अमूदृक्षः ॥

1018. ई is substituted for इवम् and की for किम् before the words हृक्, इक्ष and the affix वतु ॥

Thus ईदृक्, ईदृशः and इवान्, कीदृक्, कीदृशः and कियान् ॥

Note:—ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इवत् and की+इवत् by V. 2. 40 S. 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311 and we get इवत् and कियत् ॥

Vart:—So also before हृक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

So also when the rule VI. 3. 91 S. 430 applies and अत्र is added to pronouns, as तादृक्, तादृशः, तावान् and तादृचः ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun अहम् when it takes the long अ (VII. 3. 91 S. 430), and न and च substitutions: (VIII. 2. 80 S. 419) as—अमूदृक् ; अमूदृशः ; अमूदृक्षः ॥

१०१९ । समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्गः । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिषाब्दास्तङ्गस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । अङ्गुलिषङ्गः । समासे किञ्च । अङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥

1019. ष् is substituted for the स् of ङ्गुल after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुलेः सङ्गः ॥

Note:—The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२० । भीरोः स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

भीरुषाब्दात् स्थानस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । भीरुस्थानम् । असमासे तु । भीतेः स्थानम् ॥

1020. ष् is substituted for the स् of स्थाने when preceded by भीरि in a compound.

Thus श्रीरङ्गानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also; otherwise भीरोः स्थानम् ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिषायुषः स्तोमः । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्तोमस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्वास्तनासे । ज्योतिषोमः । आयुषोमः । सनासे किम् । ज्योतिषः स्तोमः ॥

1021. The स of स्तोमः is changed to ष after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिषोमः, आयुषोमः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe ज्योतिषः स्तोमः where there is no compounding.

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्यः । शाभनं साम यस्व सुषामा । सुषन्धिः ॥

1022. The स् is changed to ष in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्व भसी ॥ So also सुषन्धिः ॥

Note :—1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषन्धिः, 8 निःषन्धिः (निषन्धिः), 9 दुःषन्धिः, 10 सुषु (सुषु), 11 दुषु (दुषु), 12 गौरिवक्ष्यः संज्ञायाम् 13 प्रतिष्ठाका, 14 अलापाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेचनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्), 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेणः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेण ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, S. 2123 others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachantiya (I. 4. 94 S. 555) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and ग्री; so VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The word सेध here is a घञ् formed word, from सिध् हिंसा संराज्योः; if it be derived from सिध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113 S. 2278. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c., are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सस्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92 S. 3270); and the स of सस् is changed to ष ॥ The words सुषु दुषु are Unādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौरिवक्ष्यः is a Bahuvrīhi, the स of सक्रिय is changed to ष and the Samāsānta वक्ष् is added (V. 4. 113 S. 852). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63 S. 1001. The change takes place when it is a Name. The word प्रतिष्ठाका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root स्था, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106 S. 3283), and we have प्रतिष्ठा with टाप्; then क is added by V. 3. 73 S. 2028 and आ shortened (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), and इ added by VII. 3. 44 S. 463 The word नौषेचनम् is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच् ॥ दुन्दुभिषेचनम् is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीधवति ॥ There are two sūtras in the above list. They are explained below.

१०२३ । एति संज्ञायामगात् । ८ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सस्य सूर्धन्यः । हरिषेणः ॥ एति किम् । हरिसकथम् । संज्ञार्था किम् । पृथुसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । विष्वक्सेनः । इण्कोरिष्वेव । सर्वसेनः ॥

1023 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ष, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिषेणः, so also वारिषेणः, जामुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसकथम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथुसेना अस्य स = पृथुसेनो राज्ञा (VI. 3. 34 S. 831). Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इण्कोः (VIII. 3. 57 S. 211) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

Note :—This sūtra is read in the list of Sushāmādi class (see the last sūtra 1022) so also the next sūtra. They have been inserted in the Aṣṭādhyāyī from the Gaṇapāṭha.

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्या । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सस्य संज्ञायामगकारान्धन्यो वा । रोहिणीषेणः । रोहिणीसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । वत-
मिषक्सेनः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणीषेणः or रोहिणीसेनः ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by ग्'? Observe मिषक् सेनः where the preceding letter is ग् ॥

Note :—These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the Gaṇapāṭha. They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushāmādi gaṇa.

१०२५ । अपष्ट्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारक-
रागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अन्यद्वयस्य दुगागमः स्यादाशीरादिषु परेषु । अन्यदाशीः । अन्यदाशाः । अन्यदास्थाः । अन्यदास्थितः । अन्यदुत्सुकः । अन्यदुतिः । अन्यद्वारागः । अन्यद्वीयः ॥ अपष्टीत्यादि किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वाशीः अन्याशीः । कारके छे च नायं निषेधः । अन्यस्य कारकः अन्यत्कारकः । अन्यस्याथमन्यद्वीयः । गह्विराकृतिगण-
स्वाच्छः ॥

1025. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (दु), before अक्षिप्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (इय).

Thus अन्या आक्षीः = अन्यक्षीः अन्या आशा = अन्यक्षशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यक्षस्था अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यदूतिः, अन्यः कारकः = अन्यत्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्रागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यसीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138 S. 1362.) Gahâdi is Akritigāṇa.

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'? Observe अन्यस्य आक्षीः = अन्याक्षीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c : as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकः, अन्यस्येवम् = अन्यसीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the s⁰tra (अपक्षी and अपक्षीया), implies this

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

अन्यर्थः । अन्यार्थः ॥

1026. दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

१०२७ । कोः कत्तत्पुरुषेऽचि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

अजादावृत्तरपदे । कुत्सितोऽश्वः कश्चः । कश्चश्च । तत्पुरुषे किम् । कूट्यो राजा ॥
बौ च * ॥ कुत्सितास्त्रय कश्चयः ॥

1027. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कश्चः, कश्चश्च ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कूट्यो राजा ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुत्राद्यण, कुपुरुषः ॥

Part :—कत् is substituted before चय, as कत्चयः = कुत्सितास्त्रयः ॥

१०२८ । रथचवयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

कश्चयः । कश्चश्च ॥

1028. कृ is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्वयः. कद्वयः ॥

१०२६ । वृणे च जातौ । ६ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कचृणम् ॥

1029. कृ is substituted for कु. when वृण follows denoting a species.

As कचृणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुक्षितानि वृणानि = कुवृणानि ॥

१०३० । का पथ्यन्त्योः । ६ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कापथम् । काक्षः । अक्षवाद्येन तत्पुरुषः । अक्षिवाद्येन बहुव्रीहिर्वा ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथम् and काक्षः ॥ The latter is a Tatpurusha, if the second word is *aksha* ; and it is Bahuvrīhi also, if the second term is *akshi*.

१०३१ । ईषद्वये । ६ । ३ । १०५ ॥

ईषजलं काजलम् । अजाशवापि परत्वात्कादेशः । काम्लः ॥

1031. का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is 'a small.'

As काम्लधुतम्, कालवणम् । काजलम् "a little water." Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 S. 1027 because this sūtra is *subsequent* in order ; as काम्लम् ॥

१०३२ । विभाषा पुरुषे । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

कापुरुषः । कुपुरुषः । अप्राप्ताविभाषेयम् । ईषद्वये हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधान्निश्चयेन । ईषत्पुरुषः । कापुरुषः ॥

1032. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣhā. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior ; as ईषद् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

१०३३ । क्वञ्च खोष्णो । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे कोः क्वञ्च का च वा स्यात् । कवोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कदुष्णम् ॥

1033. का and क्वञ्च are optionally the substitutes of कृ when उष्ण follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

१०३४ । पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

पृषोदरप्रकाराणि शिष्टैर्यथोच्चारितानि तथैव साधूनि वृत्तः । पृषत् । उदरं पृषोदरम् । ततोयः । वारिवाहकः । पूर्वपदस्य वः उत्तरपदादेश लत्वम् ॥

अवेद्यागिमाजसः सिद्धो वर्णान्तरयथात् । शूडोस्मा वर्णविकृतेर्धर्णनाशात्पृषोदरम् ॥

विकृताब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य सारभावो वा * ॥ वक्षित्यसारम् । वक्षित्यतीरम् । उत्तरसारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरीरा शानाशब्दमध्येपूस्वमुत्तरपदादेः दुस्त्वं च * ॥

दुःस्वेन शब्दभेदे वृणाशः । दुःस्वेन नाशयते वृणाशः । दुःस्वेन दम्बते वृडम् । खल् निम्बः । इन्मेनेलोपो निपात्यते । दुःस्वेन ध्यायतीति वृडयः । भातयतीति कः । हुवन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्तीति वृसी । हुवच्छब्दस्य वृ आदेशः खरेरधिकरणे उद् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1034. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = शिष्टैर्यथोच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्गानं यस्य = पृषोद्गानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वारिवाहकः = वलाहकः; here वारि is replaced by व, and ल replaces व of वाहक; जीवनस्य मृतः = जीमृतः; here वन has been elided; शानानां शब्दनं = शनशानम्; here शन replaces शव; and शान for शब्दन ॥- उर्जं खमस्य = उलूखलम्; here उलू replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल replaces खम ॥ 'द्विषि, ताशः = विशाखः ॥

मक्षी रोति = मक्षुरः ॥ Here मक्षी is replaced by मक्षू, and the final of द् is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अरवस्य, कविस्य &c.

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds :—

VERSE.

The word हंस is formed by the augment of a letter; the word सिद्ध is formed by the transposition of letters; the word शूडोऽस्मा is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पृषादर is formed by the destruction of letters.

Note :—हंस is formed from the root हन् with the affix भञ् (of Paçhâdi class III, 1. 134 S. 2896) ; and the augment सक्. हन् + सक् + भञ् = हंसः ॥ From हंस is formed सिंह by the Paçhâdi भञ्, the letters ह and स change position *inter se*.

Vart :—तरि becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as-
 दक्षिणतारिम्, or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतारिम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart :—The final of दुर् is changed to ड, before दास, नास, वभ and ध्ये and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन दास्यते, नास्यते, वभ्यते यः = दूडासः, दूयासः, दूडभः ॥ In the last (वभ) there is elision of the nasal also. These three words are formed by the affix खल् (III, 3. 126 S. 3305) दुःखेन ध्यायति = दूह्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क् to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada दुः, by III. I. 126 S. 2898.

ब्रुवन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्ति = बृसी ॥ Here सृ takes the affix ड् in the locative, and ब्रुव is replaced by बृ ॥ सुनीनामसनं बृसी "The seat of a sage is called brisl." (See Amarakosha II. 7. 46).

१०३५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । ३ । ११४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1035. In the following sūtras upto the end of the third pāda of the sixth Adhyāya, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an uninterrupted flow of speech."

Note :—Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 S. 3537 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns." Thus विद्महिस्वा सत्याति शूर गोनाम् ॥ The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्म, हि, स्वा, सत्याति, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

१०३६ । कर्णे लक्षणस्याऽविद्याष्टपञ्चमणिभिश्चच्छिन्नच्छिद्रक्षुवस्वस्तिकस्य । ६ । ३ । ११५ ॥

कर्णशब्दे परे लक्षणवाचकस्य शीर्षः । द्विगुणार्कः । लक्षणस्य किम् । शोभनकर्णः । अविद्याशीनां किम् । विद्यकर्णः । अष्टकर्णः । पञ्चकर्णः । मणिकर्णः । भिन्नकर्णः । छिन्नकर्णः । छिद्रकर्णः । क्षुवकर्णः । स्वस्तिककर्णः ॥

1036. Before कर्णे, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not

when the words are वष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, झुव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus द्विगुणकः॥ The word लक्ष् here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark'? Observe शोभनकर्णः॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of वष्ट &c'? Observe विष्टकर्णः॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिद्रकर्णः, झुवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः॥

१०३७ । नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

क्लिबन्तेषु एषु परेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः । उपानत् । नीवृत् । प्रावृद् । मर्मावित् । नीरुक् । अभीरुक् । ऋतीषद् । परीतत् । क्वाविति किम् । परिग्रहणम् । विभाषा पुरुष इत्यन्ता मण्डूकप्लुत्या विभाषानुवर्तते सा च व्यवस्थिता । तेन गतिकाकयोरेव । नेह । पटुर्क् । तिग्मर्क् ॥

1037. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्वि ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vrt) प्रावृद्, उपावृद्, (with vřsh) मर्मावित्, हृद्यावित्, श्वावित्, (with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक् (with tuch) ऋतीषद्, (with sah) तरितद् (with tan). The nasal is elided after नम् before क्वि (VI. 4. 40 S. 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say 'when क्वि follows'? Observe परिग्रहणम् ॥

In this sūtra we read the anuvritti of the word " vibhāshā " (" optionally ") from the aphorism VI. 3, 106 S. 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten sūtras, but applies to this VI. 3. 116 S. 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap.' The option of this sūtra is, however, a vyavasthita vibhāśā or a settled option. Namely, it applies only when the upapadas are *gatis* or *kāraḥas*. Therefore not here, पटुर्क् or तिग्मर्क् ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११७ ॥

कोटरादीनां वने परे किंशुलुकादीनां गिरौ परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

1038. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलुक् &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटर + वन ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

Note :—Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिद्धकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः, अञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The ण is changed to न in वन by VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039. But असिपन्नवणम् and कुण्ड-गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्रक, 4 पुराण (पुराक), 5 सारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किञ्चलुक (किञ्चलक), 2 शाण्ड (शाण्डक), 3 नड*, 4 अञ्जन, 5 पञ्जन, 6 मोरिह,
7 कुण्डल ॥

१०३६ । वनं पुरागामिभ्रकासिभ्रकासारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः । ण । ४ । ४ ॥

वनवाङ्मन्त्रोक्तवचनं एभ्य एव जणं नाम्भ्यः । इह कोटरान्ताः पञ्च सार्धविधौ कोटरादयो
कोट्याः । तेषां कलशीर्षाणां जलविधौ निर्देशो निवर्तार्थः । अग्नेयवणस्य तु विध्यर्थः । पुराणवणम् ।
मिश्रकावणम् । सिध्रकावणम् । सारिकावणम् । कोटरावणम् । एभ्य एवेति किम् । असिपन्नवणम् ।
वनस्याग्रे अग्नेयवणम् । राजवन्तादिषु विधातवास्तपन्त्या भल्लम् । मातिपदिकार्थमात्रं प्रथमा । किञ्चलुका
गिरिः ॥

1039. The ण of वन, is changed into न, when prece-
by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrkâ, sârikâ, kotarâ, and
agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole
compound is a name

The words पूर्वपशन् and संज्ञाशब्द of the sūtra VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 are to
be read into this aphorism. Thus पुराणवणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणम्, कोटरावणम् ॥
These are names of hells of various kinds. अग्नेयवणम् (II. 2. 31 S. 902) सारिका-
वणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by
VI. 3. 117 S. 1038 and the word कोटरादि of the last sūtra refers to these
five words of the present sūtra. Though the word अग्नेयवणं = अग्नेयवणस्य is not
a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, S. 966 applies to it and the case-affix
is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31 S. 902).
The seventh-case-affix is included in the meaning of a Prātipadika, hence
the word agre-vanam is in the Nominative case. So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः ॥

The substitution of न for ण with regards to the first five words
would have taken place by the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 3.
S. 857. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word
वन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or निवृत्त rule, so far as the
five words up to kotrâ are concerned. But with regards to agre it is a vidhi.
The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and

no other. Thus कुशेरवन, दातधारवनम्, अलिपत्रवनम् ॥ The word agrevanam is not a Name, and therefore sūtra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to agre the present sūtra is a vidhi or an original rule.

१०४० । चले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

बलप्रत्यये परे दार्घ्यः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । कृषीबलः ॥

1040. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix चल् ॥

Thus कृषीबलः ॥ This is formed by the affix बलच् (V. 2. 112 S. 1919.)

१०४१ । मतौबह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११९ ॥

अमरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अजिरवती । बह्वचः किम् । व्रीहिमती । संज्ञायामित्येव । नेह । बलयवती ॥

1041. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मत्प् (IV. 2. 85 S. 1304.) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. S. 1899. Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c.' Observe अजिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sūtra. When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening. As बलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

अरावती ॥

1042. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As अरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11, S. 1899.) But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to अवशि class (VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.)

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि, 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 कुन्नि, 9 इडु ॥

१०४३ । इको वहेऽपीलो । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य दीर्घः स्याद्दे । ऋषीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इकः किम् । पिण्डवहम् । अपीलोः किम् । पीलुवहम् ॥

अपीलवाहीनामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ दारुवहम् ॥

1043. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, पुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Var:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As दारुवहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं दीर्घः स्याद्घञन्ते परे न तु मनुष्ये । परीषाकः । परिषाकः ॥ अमनुष्ये किम् । निषादः ॥

1044. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus परीषाकः or परिषाकः ॥

Note:—It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साव and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासादः and प्राकारः, ॥ Otherwise प्रसादः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant"? Observe निषादः "The caste Nishāda." It is formed by घञ् under sūtra III. 3. 121 S. 3300 (निषीदत्यस्मिन् पापम् इति निषादः) ॥ The word प्रतीहारः 'gate=keeper' is apparently an exception.

१०४५ । इकः काशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात्काशे । वीकाशः । नीकाशः । इकः किम् । प्रकाशः ॥

1045. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As वीकाशः, नीकाशः, ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

१४६ । अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

उत्तरपदे दीर्घः । अष्टापदम् । संज्ञायां क्तिम् । अष्टपुत्रः ॥

1046. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टापदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name'? Observe अष्टपुत्रः, where the compound is not a name.

१०४७ । चित्तेः कप्ति । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकचित्तीकः ॥

1047. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचित्तीकः ॥ The कप् is added by V. 4, 154 S. 891.

१०४८ । नरे संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वानरः ॥

1048. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name.

Thus विश्वानरः, but विश्विनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

Note :—The word *viśva* is understood here from the preceding *Aṣṭādhyaī* sūtra VI. 3. 128 S. 379.

१०४९ । मित्रे चर्षौ । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्रः । ऋषौ क्तिम् । विश्वमित्रो माणवकः ॥

शुनो वृत्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्डवराहपुच्छपदेषु दीर्घो वाच्यः * ॥ आदन्तः इत्यादि ॥

1049. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmītra'. Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi'? Observe विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Visvamitra'.

Vart :—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following वृत्त, दंष्ट्रा, कर्ण, कुन्ड, वराह, पुच्छ and पदः—as आदन्तः, आदंष्ट्रः, आकर्णः, आकुन्डः, आवराहः, आपुच्छः, आपदः ॥

Note :—The word दंष्ट्रा is read in the Vārtika with a long final द्रा ॥ Some

read it as short final, and say श्रावृष्टः is a Bahuvrīhi where the final of श्र is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Tatpuruṣa.

१०५० । प्रनिरन्तः शरेक्षुल्लङ्गाग्नकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूषाश्चोऽसंज्ञायामपि । ८ । ४ । ५ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रवणम् । कार्ष्यवणम् । इह चात्परस्वाण्णस्यम् ॥

1050. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kârshya, khadira, and pîyûkshâ.

Thus प्रवणम् ; कार्ष्यवणम्, ॥ The word is कार्ष्य and not कार्ष्ये, and it is this ण that causes the ण change.

Note :—The word vana is understood from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 4 S. 1049.

१०५१ । विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं वा स्यात् । वूर्वावणम् । वूर्वावनम् । क्षिरीषवणम् । क्षिरीषवनम् ।

द्व्यङ्ग्यङ्ग्यामेव * ॥ नेह । देवदारुवनम् ॥

हरिकाविभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ हरिकावनम् । मिरिकावनम् ॥

1051. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

Note :—When the pûrvapada is a word denoting आषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakoṣha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara). The क्षिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense: because it has visible flowers and fruits both. But the word vanaspati in the sūtra is taken here as synonymous with 'tree' in general. See note below. This is an optional rule.

Thus :—वूर्वावनम् or वूर्वावणम् ; Here वूर्वा is the name of आषधि ॥ Similarly क्षिरीषवनम् or क्षिरीषवणम् ; is an example of vanaspati.

Vart :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or a trisyllabic word Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ॥

Vart :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c. As इरिकावनम् । मिरिकावनम् ॥

Note :—Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika :—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called शीरुषः ॥

१०५२ । वाहनमाहितात् । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

आरोप्य बहुव्रते तद्वाचिस्थानिनिमित्तात्परस्य वाहननकारस्य णत्वं स्यात् । इक्षुवाहनम् । माहितात्किम् । इन्द्रवाहनम् । इन्द्रस्वामिकं वाहनमित्यर्थः । वहतेल्युटि वृद्धिरिदं सूत्रे निपातनात् ॥

1052. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् 'a sugar-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहितम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra'.

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह, and the vṛiddhi lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

१०५३ । पानं देशे । ८ । ४ । ९ ॥

पूर्वपदस्यानूनिमित्तात्परस्य पानस्य नस्य णत्वं स्याददेशे गम्ये । क्षीरं पानं येषां ते क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः । सुरापाणाः प्राच्यः । पीयते इति पानम् । कर्मणि ल्युट् ॥

1053. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change ; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk." is formed by the affix ल्युट् III. 3. 113 S. 2841. The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. सुरापाणाः प्राच्यः 'the wine drinking Prāchyas'.

Note :—Why do we say "when denoting a country" ? Observe दक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis

The words दहीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

१०५४ । वा मासकरणयोः । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पानस्येत्येव । क्षीरपाणम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनदीनां वा * ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिणी । अक्रान्तिम्बा । अक्रान्तिम्बा ॥

1054. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपाणम् "drinking of milk" is an example of मास or condition.

Note :—Similarly क्षीरपाणः or क्षीरपाणः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk.' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart :—Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी; or गिरिणी; अक्रान्तिम्बा or अक्रान्तिम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रतिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पूर्वपदस्याभिनिमित्तात्पदस्य एषु स्थितस्य नस्व णो वा स्यात् । प्रतिपदिकान्ते, माषवापिणौ । नुमि. ब्रीहिवापणि । विभक्तौ, माषवापेण । पक्षे, माषवापिनावित्यादि । उत्तरपदे यस्यानिपदिकं तदन्तस्येव णत्वम् । नेह । गर्गाणां भगिनी गर्गभगिनी । अत एव नुम्वहणं कृतम् । अङ्गस्य नुम्वधान्नसङ्गतो हि नुम्व नूत्तरपदस्य । किञ्च । ग्रहिण्यन्त्रित्यादौ हिर्वर्तुनो णत्वार्थमपि नुम्वग्रहणम् । मन्वनमित्यादौ तु शुभ्नावित्वात् ५

पुवादेर्न * ॥ रम्ययुता । परिपक्वानि ॥ (एकाञ्चुत्तरपदे णः ॥ नित्यामिच्छुक्तम् । वृचङ्गो । हरि मानयतीति हरिमाणी । नुमि, क्षीरपाणि । विभक्तौ, क्षीरपाणे । रम्यविष्णु ॥)

1055. Optionally ए is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'masha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81. S. 2991

To take the example of a नुम् augment; ब्रीहिवापणि or ब्रीहिवापनि nominative plural neuter. The augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 from ब्रीहान् वपयन्ति = ब्रीहिवाप with कर्मणि णञ्, the plural णि is added by VII. 1. 20 S. 312 and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माध्यादेन or मापधादेन, ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prati-padika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गायां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभयः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga". In this case, like the word मातृभोगीयः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place. The very fact that नुन् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference. The नुन् is ordained with regard to an *anga*; so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound. So the root हिवि takes नुन् and becomes हिविन् (Bhuādi root 622). This न् is changed to य as in ग्रहिवन् । But in प्रेक्षन् नुन् no change takes place; as it belongs to kshubhnādi class (VIII. 4. 39 S. 792)

The word मध्यापिनी. or °नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:— (II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kāraḥ, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit- affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृतिः सप्त समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुद्धेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माध्यापिन् (माध् + यापिन्) and thus the second term यापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुन् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As रम्ययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ ग्रहिवक्त्राणि is a gati-samas, दीर्घाद्दी शरत् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(वृत्तिः ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन्नित्यसमासे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तित्यस्य पूर्वपदस्य निदिच्छादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं नकार आदेशो भवति ॥)

1055. A. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is न् invariably in the room of य of the second member, provided that the न् is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment **नुम्**, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

This sūtra has already been read as Sūtra 307 see page 171. It is repeated here to complete the context. This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it. See Sūtra 307.

Thus वृषहृणो 'the Vṛtra-killer' = वृषहन्तवन्तो with क्तिप् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998) So also हरि मानयति = हरिमाणी "Hari worshipper." करिषाणि "Drinkers of milk": सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine': are examples of **नुम्** VII. 3. 88, क्षीरक्षेप and रम्यविणा are examples of case-terminations.

Note :—The word रम्यवि 'a beautiful bird'; is a compound of रम्य and वि (रम्यश्चासौ विभ्र) ॥ The नः is Instrumental Singular (VII. 4 120 S. 244).

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

१०५६। कुमति च । ८ । ४ । १३ ॥

कवर्गेवत्युत्तरपदे प्राग्वत् । हरिकामिणौ । हरिकामाणि । हरिकामेण ॥

1056. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment **नुम्**, or occur in a vibhakti.)

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As हरिकामिणौ, नुम् :—हरिकामाणि ॥ विभक्ति :—हरिकामेण ॥

१०५७। पदव्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । ३८ ॥

पदेन व्यवधानेऽपि णत्वं न स्यात् । मापकुम्भवापेन । चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥

अतश्चिन्त इति वाच्यम् * ॥ आर्द्रगोमयेण ॥ शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

1057. The न is not changed to ण when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word **पदेन व्यवाय** is a compound meaning **पदेन व्यवाय** 'separated by a Pada'. Thus **माषकुम्भवापेन, चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥** Here the Padas **कुम्भ**, and **अङ्ग**, intervening, the change does not take place.

Part :—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like **आह्नोगामयेण, ह्युक्कगामयेण ॥**

Note :—Here **गो** takes the affix **मयद्** by 1V. 3. 145, S. 1525 and the word **गो** is a Pada by I. 4. 17, S. 230 and it intervenes between **मयद्** and the first word. The author of Mahābhāṣya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the **पदव्यवाय** means **पदे व्यवाय ॥**

१०५८ । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः । ६ । १ । १४३ ॥

अत्र सुनिपात्यते । कुस्तुम्बुरु धान्याकम् । क्लीबत्वमतन्त्रम् । जातिः किम् । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि । कुस्तितानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थः ॥

1058. The word **कुस्तुम्बुरु** is irregularly formed with the augment **सुद्** and means 'a species of herb'.

The **कुस्तुम्बुरु** is the name of coriander : i. e. **धान्याकम्**; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter. Why do we say when meaning a species of herb? Observe **कुस्तुम्बुरुणि = कुस्तितानि तुम्बुरुणि ॥** The word **तुम्बुरु** here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

१०५९ । अपरस्परः क्रियासातत्ये । ६ । १ । १४४ ॥

सुनिपात्यते । अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति । सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः । क्रियेति किम् । अपरस्पर गच्छन्ति । अपरे च परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

1059. The word **अपरस्परः** is formed by the augment **सुद्** when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus **अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥** Why do we say 'un-interrupted action'? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have **अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥**

Note :—The **सातत्ये** comes from **सततं**, by adding **व्यञ्** to form the abstract noun, **सततस्य भावः** (V. 1. 123 S. 1787) = **सातत्ये ॥** How do you explain **सततम्**. it ought to be **सन्ततम्**? The **म्** of **सम्** is optionally elided before **सतं**, on the strength of the Kārika :—"the **स्** of **अवश्यम्** is elided before a word ending in a kṛtya affix, the **स्** of **तुस्** is elided before **काम** and **मनस्**, the **स्** of **सम्** is elided optionally before **हित** and **सत**, the final **अ** of **मांस** is elided before **पाक** or **पचनम्** ॥" As (1) **अवश्यं कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं**, (2) **भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, श्रोतुमनः ॥** (3) **सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् सतं = सततं ॥** (4) **मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥**

१०६० । गोस्पदं सेवितसेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुद सत्त्वं चत्वं च निपात्यते । गावः पद्यन्तेऽस्मिन्देशे स गोभिः सेवितो गोस्पदः । असेविते गोस्पदान्यप्यन्येति । प्रमाणे गोस्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गोः पदं गोपदम् ॥

1060. The word गोस्पद is formed by सुद, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोस्पदो देशः—गावः पद्यन्ते अस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोस्पदात्परपदानि ॥ The word गोस्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows.' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोस्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम्, ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land. Why do we say 'a locality visited &c.' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम्—गोः पदम् ॥

Note :—What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra; the word गोस्पद will give अगोस्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोस्पदम्—अगोस्पदम् ? The force of क्षेत्रम् compound is that of सहस्र "like that but not that". As अजाग्रज् means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone &c.". Therefore अगोस्पद with नम् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोस्पदम् ॥

१०६१ । आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मयापनाय स्थाने सुद निपात्यते । आस्पदम् । प्रति किम् । आपदापदम् ॥

1061. The word आस्पद is formed by सुद when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority.' Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place' ? Observe आपदापदम्—आपदम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अद्भुतं सुद । आश्चर्यं यदि स शुद्धीति । अनित्ये किम् । आश्चर्यं कर्म । शोभनम् ॥

1062. The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुद, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix वत् to the verb अश्चर with

the preposition **आ**, and the augment **सुट्** ॥ Thus **आअर्थे यदि स भुञ्जीत** ॥ Why do we say 'unusual'? For when not having this sense, we have **आअर्थे कर्म भोजनम्** ॥

१०६३ । **वर्चस्केऽवस्करः** । इ । १ । १४८ ॥

कुत्सितं वर्चः वर्चस्कम् भक्षणं तस्मिन् सुट् । अवकीर्यत इत्यवस्करः । वर्चस्के किम् । अवस्करः ॥

1063. The word **अवस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called **वर्चस्क** (**कुत्सितं**) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root **कृ** is added the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232), the preposition **अव** and irregularly the **सुट्** ॥ Thus **अवस्करोऽन्नमलम्** ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have **अवस्करः** ॥

१०६४ । **अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्** । इ । १ । १४९ ॥

अपस्करोऽन्यः ॥

1064. The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from **कृ** with the preposition **अप** and the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232) and **सुट्** augment. When not having this meaning we have **अपस्करः** ॥

१०६५ । **विक्रिः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा** । इ । १ । १५० ॥

पक्षे विक्रिः । वाच्येनैव सुद्धिकल्पे सिद्धे विक्रिमहणं तस्यापि शकुनेत्यत्र प्रयोगे भाव्यति वृत्तिस्तत्र । भाष्यविरोधान् ॥

1065. The word **विक्रि** is formed with **सुट्** optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being **विकिर** ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix **क** (III. 1. 135 S. 2897) to **कृ** with the preposition **वि** and the augment **सुट्** ॥ The word **विक्रि** also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase **शकुनिर्विकिरो वा** is added from the *Vārtika* and is no part of the original *sūtra*. Thus **सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्य विक्रिः । कुक्कुदाहते ॥** "Though the *sūtra* **विकिरो वा शकुनौ** would have given the optional form **विकिर**, the specific mention of this form in the *sūtra* indicates that **विकिर** always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise **विकिर** would have

referred to something other than a bird.”—this opinion of Kāśikā is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahābhāṣya.

१०६६। प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः। ६। १। १५२ ॥

कश गतिशासनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यच्चि सुट् निपठ्यते ध्वं च। सहायः पुरोयायी वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते। कशेः किम्। प्रतिगतः कशां प्रतिकशोऽप्यः। यद्यपि कशेरेव कशा तथापि कशोरिति धातोर्महणमुपसर्गस्य प्रतिमहणार्थम्। तेन धात्वन्तरोपसर्गात् ॥

1066. To the root कश् ‘to go, to punish’, is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding कश् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with the prefix प्रति॥ Thus ग्रामस्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ‘I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary.’ The word प्रतिष्कशः means “a messenger, a herald, an emissary”. Why do we say “to the root कश्”? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां = प्रतिकशोऽप्यः ‘a horse guided by the whip.’ Here though कशा is derived from कश्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

१०६७। प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी। ६। १। २५३ ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रमहणमन्त्रार्थम्। कपीति किम्। प्रकण्वो देशः। हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः ॥

1067. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व कषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र कषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 S. 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. Why do we say ‘Rishis’? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देशः, (कण्वं पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्), हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य सुधस्य) ॥

१०६८। मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिवाजकयोः। ६। १। १५४ ॥

मकरशब्दोऽप्युपनस्तस्य सुडिनिष् निपात्यते। वेण्विति किम्। मकरो बाहः। मकरी सपुङ्गः ॥

1068. The word मस्कर means ‘a bamboo’, and मस्करिन् means ‘a mendicant monk’.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when ‘a bamboo’ is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say “when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोपाहः "an alligator", मकरी सङ्ग्रहः "an ocean".

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix मच्, the long आ being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of तच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशीलः = मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "माकुर्वतः कर्मणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

१०६६ । कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे । ६ । १ । १५५ ॥

ईषत्तीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीरं नाम नगरम् । अजत्येव तुन्दमस्येति अजस्तुन्दं नाम नगरम् । नगरे किम् । कासीरम् । अजस्तुन्दम् ॥

1069. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कासीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजत्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

१०७० । कारस्करो वृक्षः । ६ । १ । १५६ ॥

कारं करोतीति कारस्करो वृक्षः । अन्यत्र कारकरः । कोविन्दु कस्कादिभिवं पठन्ति न सुश्रु ॥

1070. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ठ (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism. Some read it in Kashkādi (VIII. 3. 48 S. 144).

१०७१ । पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् । ६ । १ । १५७ ॥

एतानि समुदाहानि जिपात्यन्ते नामि । पारस्करः । किष्किन्धा ।

तद्बृहतीः करपश्योश्चौरदेवतयोः सुद् तलोपम्* ॥ तात्पूर्वं अर्धेन वकारोपि बोध्यः । तद्बृहतीर्ह-
कारतकारौ लुप्येते । करपश्योस्तु सुद् । चौरदेवतयोरिति समुदायापाधिः । तस्करः । बृहस्पतिः ॥

प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयोः* ॥ प्रायश्चित्तम् । प्रायश्चित्तम् वनस्पतिरित्यादि । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1071. The words पारस्कर &c. are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुद् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pārāṣkara'. किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave'.

Vartika:—तस्कर 'a thief' and बृहस्पति 'N. of a deity' are formed by inserting सुद् in the compounds of तत् + कर, बृहत् + पति and eliding त् ॥ Why do we say 'when' meaning a thief and a diety'? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Gaṇapāṭha merely for the sake of diversity; the word संज्ञा would have connoted that.

Vart:—Before the words चित्ति and चित्त is added the augment सुद् when प्राय precedes. Thus प्रायचित्तम्, प्रायचित्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृत्तः, 3 रथस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा सुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपयाश्चौरैवेतयोः सुद् तलोपश्च (तस्करः चौरैः, बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप्तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the prepositon प्र, there is added सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पतिः वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥

This is an ākṛitigana.

अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१६७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इदं पदव्ययमधिक्रियते । प्राग्दिश इति यावत् । सामर्थ्यं परनिष्ठत्वम् । कृतसंधिकार्यत्वाविति यावत् ॥

1072. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, *viz.* (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction, (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first; (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1. S. 1947.) The word sāmārthya means the word-form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation: *i. e.* in its parinishṭhata state. The word parinishṭhata means a completed word, *i. e.* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction. Thus सु + उत्थित = सूत्थित ॥ Add इम्, and we have सौत्थितिः, and not सौ + उत्थिति = सात्थितिः (S. 1088). The anuvṛitti of वा however extends further than S. 1947.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional."

Note:—The fifteen sūtras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas. We shall take up the further explanation of this sūtra in S. 1088.

१०७३ । प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण् । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन दीव्यतीत्यतः प्रागणधिक्रियते ॥

1073. The affix **अण्** should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism *tena divyati &c.*

Up to the aphorism IV. 4. 2 S. 1550, the affix **अण्** has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adhikāra sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā sūtra* or a *vidhi sūtra*.

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

पृथोऽण् स्यात् प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु । वक्ष्यमाणस्य ण्यस्यापवादः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to the aphorism, IV. 1. 85. S. 1077 by which the affix **ण्य** would have come after words ending with '*pati*'. The present *sūtra* enjoins **अण्** instead.

The following is a list of words belonging to **अश्वपत्यादि** class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गायपति 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्यपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादेः । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

अति णिति च तद्धिते परेऽचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ॥

1075. The *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a *Taddhita*-affix having an *indicatory अ* or **ए** follows.

Note :—As **गार्ग्यः** from **गर्ग** + **इअ्**, so also **वारस्यः** ॥ **वाक्षिः** (**वक्ष** + **इअ्**), **हाक्षिः**, **औपमवः** (with **अण्** from **उपयु**) **कापठवः** &c. This debars the *Vṛiddhi* of VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and VII. 2. 116, S. 2282 as **त्वाष्ट्रः** from **त्वष्टृ**, and **आगतः** from **अगत** ॥

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च तथा । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि आश्वपतम् । गाणपतम् । गायपत्यो मन्त्र इति तु प्राणादिकमेव ॥

1076. The *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a *Taddhita* affix with an *indicatory क* follows.

Note :—As **नाडायन्** with **फक्**, so also **आरायणः** (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101), and **आक्षिकः** and **आलाक्षिकः** with **ठक्** (IV. 4. 1 S. 1548).

-Thus अश्वपति + अण् = अश्वपतम् (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 142 S. 311. So also गणपतम् ॥

The form गणपत्यः as used by Haradatta in गणपत्यौ मन्त्रः is wrong.

Note :—The Tattvabodhini, however, justifies this use of Haradatta.

१०७७ । दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदारण्यः । ४ । १ । ८५ ॥

दित्यादिभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः स्यादणोऽपवादः । दैत्यः । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्यः । प्राजापत्यः ।

यमाच्चेति काशिकायाम् * ॥ याम्यः ॥

पृथिव्या माञ्जौ * ॥ पार्थिवा । पार्थिवी ॥

देवाद्यमञ्जौ * ॥ दैव्यम् । देवम् ॥

बहिषदिलोपो यञ्च * ॥ बाह्यः ॥

ईकक्च * ॥ बाहीकः ॥

स्थानोऽकारः * ॥ अश्वस्थानः । पृषोदरादित्वात्सस्य तः ॥

भवार्थे तु लुग्राच्यः * ॥ अश्वस्थाना ॥

लोभोऽपत्येषु बहुव्यकारः * ॥ बाह्वासीभोऽपवादः । उडुलोमाः । उडुलोमान् । बहुषु किम् ॥ औडुलोमिः ।

गोरजादिप्रसङ्गे यत् * ॥ गव्यम् । अजादिप्रसङ्गे किम् । गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य आगतं गोरूप्यम् । गोमयम् ॥

1077. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dīvyati &c, after the proper names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya ; and that which has the word पति as its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti,' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi' The form आदित्य may also denote the son of आदित्य or sacred to Aditya. आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as मजापात +, ण्य = प्राजापत्यं ; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word यमः, as, याम्यः ॥ This Vartika is found in the Kāsika and not in the Mahābhāṣya.

Note :—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच, मति and पितृमत्त comes the affix ण्य ॥ As, वाच्यम् (Vs. 13. 58.) माल्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes ञ् and ञ्च come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ञ् = पार्थिवः ; पृथिवी + ञ्च = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, S. 454 and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15 S. 470.

Vart:—The affixes यञ् and अञ् come after the word देव 'a god.' As देव्यञ् or देवअञ् 'divine.'

Vart:—There is elision of the final syllable of बहिस्, before the affix यञ्; as बहिस् + यञ् = बाह्यः 'external.'

Vart:—And the affix ईकञ् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकञ् = बाहीकः 'external.' (VII. 2. 118, S. 1076).

Note:—In the Ohbandas it takes the affix ईकञ् as बाहीकः the difference being in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686),

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its हि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the हि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ bha. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ् (the हि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the हि of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya आरात् we get आरासी &c; here the हि is not elided.

Vart:—Of the word स्थान् the हि is replaced by अ, as अश्च + स्थान् अश्चस्थानः ॥ The स is changed to ण as the compound belongs to Prishodarādi class.

Vart:—But there is elision of the Taddhita affix अ after स्थान् when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as अश्चस्थाना ॥ The word अश्चस्थान् means अश्चस्येव स्थानस्य "whose strength is like that of a horse". It is a Bahuvrīhi.

Vart:—The हि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow; as उडुलोमा, उडुलोमान् ॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness औडुलोमि, (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096).

Vart:—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यञ् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c.) from गो is expressed by गोव्यञ् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63), Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य or आगतं = गोरूप्यञ् and गोमयञ् ॥

Note:—These affixes प्य &c. taught in this sūtra will come to the exclusion of all the other affixes here-in-after taught which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words इति &c. अण् will not be employed, but ण, as हेत्यः 'a descendant of इति' ॥ So also वानस्पत्यञ् (= वनस्पतीनाम् सपुङ्गवः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 S. 1243 &c, In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यञ् (I. 4. 2 S. 175) does not hold here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form हेतुभ्यः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word इति but from इति, the feminine of the word इति

formed by the affix डीष् (IV. I. 45, the word दिति being formed by the Kṛit-affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word दिति is added ढक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि महण्यम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form दैतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣya or any Vārtika.

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ८६ ।

औत्सः ॥

अग्रिकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्यः * ॥ अग्रेरपत्यादि भाग्रेयम् । कलिद्यम् ॥

1078. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-divyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV. i. 83 S 1073. as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औत्सपानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

I उत्स, 2 उदपान, 3 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर, 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 सरण, 9 तिलुन, 10 वक्ष्यासे, 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पत्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अतुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशीनर, 20 भीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण्ड, 22 उदस्थान देशे, 23 पृषवश, 24 मल्लकीय, 25 रयन्तर, 26 मध्यदिन, 27 वृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 30 कुह, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उषिणह, 34 ककुभ, 35 सुवर्ण, 36 देव, 37 भीष्माश्चछन्दसि ॥

Note :—The word भीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody.' Therefore it is not so here: 'ग्रेष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Trisṭup metre.' But ग्रेष्मः 'belonging to summer.' The word छन्दस् here means 'metre,' and not Veda. The word वक्ष्यासे = वक्ष्य वसे, the phrase वसे meaning वसमासि, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवक्ष्यः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā महण्यता प्रातिपदिकेनतस्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have अधिनवम् (अधेनुनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः; otherwise औदस्थानिः 'the son of Udashthāna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share', otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्श्वतोऽंशः ॥

Vārt :—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prāgdivyatiya. (See IV. 2 8, S. 1209) भाग्रेयम् and कालेयम् meaning 'born of Agni' and 'of Kali' respectively.

Here ends the section of affixes that denote patronymics &c. in general.

१०७६ । स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्नञौ भवनात् । ४ । १ । ८७ ॥

धात्वानां भवन इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां कमानञ्स्नञौ स्तः । स्त्रियः । पौंस । वयर्थे न । स्त्रीपुंसश्चेति ज्ञापकात् । स्त्रीवत् । पुंसवत् ।

1079. The affixes नञ् and स्नञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as “dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ” (V. 2. 1 S. 1802).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम् ‘feminine’.

Note :—The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore, the word स्त्रीणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवे (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), ‘existing in females’, or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) ‘a collection of females’; or स्त्रीभ्यां आगतं (IV. 2. 74 S. 1453) ‘what has come from females’; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V I. 5 S. 1665) ‘suitable for females.’ &c.

Similarly पुंस + स्नञ् = पौंसम् ‘masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.’

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. S. 1778. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुंसवत् (and not पौंस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, S. 831 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, I. 2. 66 S. 932 the affix स्नञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत् ॥ The forms स्त्रीस्त्वं, स्त्रीसा पुंस्त्वं and पुंस्त्वा are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. S. 1788 The स् of पुंस् is elided before कञ् by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54; had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

१०८० । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये । ४ । १ । ८८ ॥

द्विगोर्निमित्तं यस्तद्विज्ञेऽजादिरनपत्यार्थः प्राग्दीव्यतीयस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पुरोडाशः पञ्चकपालः । द्विगोर्निमित्तस्येति किम् । पञ्चकपालस्येवं खण्डः पाञ्चकपालम् । अजादिः किम् । पञ्चगर्गरूप्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । द्वयोर्निघशोरपत्यं द्वैनिघिः ॥

1080. A Tadhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedant to tena dīvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग् दीव्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः the sacrificial rice cake ‘prepared in five cups.’

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound'. The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्येह = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups."

Note :—Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashti, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a prātipadika like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः? This is not so; there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz. पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samāhāra Dvigu). A Samāhāra and a Taddhitārtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in पञ्चभ्यो गर्गेभ्य आगतं = पञ्चगर्गेभ्यम् or पञ्चगर्गभ्यम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while rūpa and maya begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic"? Observe द्वैमित्रिः a descendant of two Mitras.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Note :—Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati?" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

Note :—How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and षाट्कुलः? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु भवः but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे भवः = पञ्चनदः ॥ So also with षाट्कुलं ॥

१०८१। गोत्रेऽलुगाच्च। ४। १। ८९ ॥

अजादी प्राग्दीव्यतीये विवक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यालुक् स्यात्। गर्गाणां छात्राः। वृद्धाच्छः ॥

1081. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sūtras II. 4. 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena dīvyati* &c. (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of *गार्ग्यः* is *गर्गाः* (II. 4. 64 S. 1108). But the disciples of *गर्गाः* will be formed by the affix *छ* (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) which is a *prāgdīvyatiya* affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be *गार्ग्यः* as if there was no elision. Thus *गार्ग्यः + छ* ॥

Here applies the next sūtra.

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १५१ ॥

इलः परस्यापत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते परे न स्वाकारि । गार्गीयाः । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम् । गर्गेभ्यो हितम् गर्गीयम् । अन्धि किम् । गर्गेभ्य भागतम् गर्गरूप्यम् ॥

1082. The *य*, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an *आ* ॥

Thus *गार्ग्याः + छ* = *गार्गीयाः* (VII. 1. 2. S. 475) and not *गार्गीयाः*:

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prāgdīvyatiya* affix"? Thus *गर्गेभ्यो हितम्* = *गर्गीयम्* 'what is fit for the Gargas.'

Note :—Here the affix *छ* (V. 1. 1. S. 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sūtra V. 1. 5. S. 1665 not one of the *prāgdīvyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe *गर्गेभ्य भागतम्* = *गर्गरूप्यम्* and not *गार्गरूप्यम्* ॥ Here the affix *रूप्य*, a *prāgdīvyatiya* affix taught in sūtra IV. 3. 81 S. 1461 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to *गर्ग* and not *गार्ग्य*.

१०८३ । युनि लुक् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

प्राग्दीव्यतीये अजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । ग्लुचुकस्य गोत्रापर्यं ग्लुचुकायनिः । वक्ष्यमाणः फिन् । ततो यूयन् । ग्लुचुकायनः । तस्य छात्रोऽपि ग्लौचुकायनः । अणोलुकि धृज्जत्वाभावाच्छोन ॥

1083. There is *luk*-elision of the *Yuvan* Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prāgdīvyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the *Yuvan* affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prāgdīvyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining.

Thus the Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनि: (IV. 1. 160 S. 1184) with the affix फिन् to be taught hereafter. The Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) with the affix अण् ; the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि). When अण् is elided the word ग्लौचुकायन becomes ग्लुचुकायन, and as the first syllable has no Vṛiddhi letter now, there is no adding of लृ in the sense of pupils ; for लृ is added by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vṛiddhi letter.

१०८४। पैलादिभ्यश्च । २। ४। ५६ ॥

भ्यो युवप्रत्ययस्य लृक् । पीलाया वत्स्यण् । तस्मादणो अच् इति फिम् । तस्य लृक् । पैलः पिता पुत्रश्च ॥

तद्राजाद्यायः ॥ अस्मन्मधेत्पण्णन्तासङ्गसङ्गावणो अच् इति फिम् लृक् । आङ्गः पिता पुत्रश्च ॥

1084. And after the words पैल &c., there is the लृक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + अण् = पैलः (IV. 1. 118 S. 1121). 'The Gotra descendant of Pīla.' पैलः + फिम् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिम् is elided ; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word.

Note :—Some say that the 'Paila &c., words are formed by the affix इङ् ; (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prāchyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. सान्यकि. 4. साग्यकामि. 5. राहवि. 6. रावणि. 7. औदञ्जि. 8. औदत्रजि. 9. औदमधि. 10. औदव्यजि. 11. औदमजि. 12. औदभृजि. 13. देवस्थानि. 14. पैङ्गलायनी. 15. राहसुति. 16. मौलिङ्गि. 17. राजि. 18. औदन्धि. 19. आङ्गाहमानि. 20. औजिज्वान. 21. औदशुचि. 22. तद्राजाद्यायः

G. sūtra :—The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadrāja affix अण् ॥ Thus the word आङ्ग is formed by adding the affix अण् under IV. 1. 170 S. 1188 to अङ्ग ; to this is added फिम् under IV. 1. 156 S. 1180. This फिम् is elided. As आङ्गः meaning both father and son.

१०८५। इजः प्राचाम् । २। ४। ६० ॥

मोत्रं य इङ् तदन्ताद्युवप्रत्ययस्य लृक् न्यातृ तद्येहीचं प्राचां भवति । पन्नागारस्यापत्यम् । अतः

इञ् । यन्मिञ्चैति फक् । तस्य लुक् पान्नागारिः पिता पुत्रश्च । प्राचां किञ् । दक्षिः पिता । दक्षायणः पुत्रः ॥

1085. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prāchya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागरा + इञ् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendant of Pannāgāra'; after this the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. Why do we say प्राचां? The word प्राचां here qualifies the word Gotra understood, and does not mean that it is an optional rule, "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians." When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दक्षिः the Gotra descendant of Daksha; and दक्षायणः 'son of 'Dākshi.' (Yuvan.)

१०८६ । न तौल्वलिङ्गः । २ । ४ । ६१ ॥

तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । पूर्वेण प्राप्तः । तुल्वलः । तत इमि फक् । तौल्वलिः पिता । तौल्वलायनः पुत्रः ॥

1086. After the words तौल्वलिः and the rest, there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः formed by इञ् added to तुल्वल is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. धारणि. 3. पारणि. 4. रावणि. 5. दैलीपि. 6. वैवति. 7. वार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. देवमित्रि. 11. देवमति. 12. वैवयि. 13. चाफटकि. 14. वैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैङ्कि. 17. आनुहारति. 18. आनुराहति. 19. पौष्करसाहि. 20. आनुरोहति. 21. आनुति. 22. प्रादोहति. 23. नैमिथि. 24. प्राडाहति. 25. बान्धकि. 26. वैशीति. 27. आसिनासि. 28. आहिासि. 29. आनुति. 30. नैमिथि. 31. आसिबन्धकि. 32. पौष्पि. 33. कारिणुपालि. 34. जैकणि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैहति ॥

१०८७ । फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ९१ ॥

युनिलुगिति निर्ये लुकि प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थं सूत्रम् । कात्यायनस्य छात्राः कातीयः । कात्यायनीयाः । यस्कास्यापत्यं यास्कः । शिवाद्यण् । तस्यापत्यं युवा यास्कायनिः । अणो अच इति फिञ् । तस्य छात्राः यास्कीयाः । यास्कायनीयाः ॥

1087. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the Sûtra IV. 1. 90 S. 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present Sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes कक् and किम् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कृत् is कात्स् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107); the Yuvan of कात्स् is formed by कक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) कात्स्यायनः ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kâtâyana will be कातीय or कात्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix किम् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायानि (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीयाः or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

१०८८ । तस्यापत्यम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

पञ्चमन्तात् कृतसन्धेः समर्थपत्येऽयं वक्ता वक्ष्यमाणश्च प्रत्यया वा स्युः । उपगोरपत्यं औपगवः ।
आदिबुद्धिरत्योपधावृद्धी बाधते ॥

तस्येवमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवातो वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं भानवः । कृतसन्धेः किम् । सौस्थितिः । अकृतव्यूहपरिभाषया
सावृत्तिरितिर्भा भूत् । समर्थपरिभाषया नेह । वच्छुपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य । प्रथमात्मिकम् । अपत्यवर्-
चकावृष्टपर्यं ना भूत् । वाग्वृणाद्वाक्यमपि । देवयज्ञीति स्वभाव्यतरस्यामह्णादुवृत्तेः समासोऽपि ।
उपवपत्यम् । जातित्वान् ङीष् । औपगवी । आश्रयतः । दैत्यः । औत्सः । स्त्रैणः । पौत्रः ॥

1088. (The affixes अण्, पय &c, already mentioned in IV. 1. 83 S. 1673 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इञ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction).

Note :—This Sâtra points out the meaning of the affixes ; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) e. g. अण्, पय अञ् &c, and to the affixes that follow such as इञ् &c. The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved.

Note :—उपगु + अण् = औपगु + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI. 4. 146 S. 847 causing guṇa of final उ, and VII. 2. 115 S. 254 requiring the vṛddhi of the final. The following discussion shows why guṇa takes place to the exclusion of vṛddhi though subsequent. ओगुर्णः VI. 4. 146 S. 847 ("for उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is, substituted guṇa before a Taddhita affix") is debarred

by the *subsequent* sūtra अचोऽङिति VII. 2. 115 S. 254 (‘before the affixes having an indicatory अ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end vowel of a stem’) for guṇa will find scope in विचन्व &c. So let there be vṛiddhi of the final व् of उपयु ॥ This is one objection.

Note :—But if vṛiddhi is not allowed, and व् is guṇated to ओ, and we have by sandhi उपयो + अ = उपयव् + अ then arises another difficulty; for the अ् of य now being penultimate requires vṛiddhi by अत उपधायाः VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.

Ans. To remove both these difficulties the author says आदिबुद्धिरन्यो पधावृद्धी नाधेते “the vṛiddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 debars the two vṛiddhis, namely the vṛiddhi of the final required by VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ् required by VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.”;

Note :—Because rule VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 is *subsequent* to these two. The vṛiddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in शैः (the affix सु being णि by VII. 1. 90 S. 284 causes vṛiddhi of शै by VII. 2. 115), and पाचकः with ण्डल् added to पच् respectively where VII. 2. 116 applies. While the vṛiddhi of the initial will find its free scope in सौधुतः from सुधुतः ॥ But in स्वाष्टः from स्वष्ट् and आगतः from जगत् the rules VII. 2. 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII. 2. 117, and in their case the vṛiddhi of the *initial* takes effect; because that rule (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) is *subsequent* This we do on the maxim सकृदिति &c. as well as by the inference of finding the word पुष्करसत् in the list of Anuṣatikādi VII. 3. 20.

Note :—For if the *initial* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282), then we would have got the form पोष्करसादिः regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII. 2. 116 and 117; S. 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuṣatikādi class. But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛiddhis cannot take place simultaneously.

Verse :—The general sūtra tasyedam (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) would have included the particular case of tasyāpatyam (what is the necessity of the latter). It is made in order to prevent the application of Vṛiddhāch chhah (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). For छ of S. 1337 excludes the अण् of S. 1500 in case of Vṛiddha words, but it is intended that it should not exclude that, even in Vṛiddha, hence the present sūtra. The sense of apatyā can be included in the word sesha of S. 1392 and so the अण् of tasyedam can come in the sense of apatyā. The separate present sūtra has for its object to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words (like bhānu).

Note:—The tasyedam would certainly have included tasyāpatyam; for *idam* may be anything apatya &c. The necessity for making a separate sūtra for apatya is this. The Vṛiddhāch chhah excludes the अण् of tasyedam; so that in case of Vṛiddha words we have छ instead of अण् ॥ But छ does not come after Vṛiddha words in the sense of apatya. Hence this separate sūtra. If it be said that neither the अण् of tasyedam nor its exception the छ of Vṛiddhāch chhah can ever come in the sense of apatya, for they come in the śaishika senses only and apatya is not included in the śaishika sense; we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of apatya also in the śaishika sense, of sūtra IV. 2. 92. S. 1392. Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this sūtra is really to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words. Thus the son of भानु (a Vṛiddha word) will be भानवः by the अण् of this sūtra, and not भानवीशः by छ of S. 1337, which would have been the case had this sūtra not existed, and had tasyedam IV. 3. 120 S. 1500 been requisitioned to denote apatya also.

By the general rule samartha-pada vidhih (II. 1. 1. S. 647); the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction. Thus the words उपगौरपत्यम् "Upagu's" "offspring" are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence:—वस्त्रमुपगौरपत्यं चैत्रस्य "the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra."

Why do we say "after the first word"? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case. Thus in इन्द्रो देवता अस्य हविः = ऐन्द्रिः हविः, the affix is added to Indra in the first case in construction, similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य = औपगवो देवदत्तः or देवदत्तोऽपत्यमस्योपगोः = देवदत्तिरुपगुः should not be formed.

By force of the word वा in IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 we can have a sentence also. As उपगौरपत्यम् ॥

And by drawing in the anuvṛitti of anyatarasyām from the sūtra IV. 1. 81 S. 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative. As उपगवपत्यम् ॥

The Patronymic being a jāti word takes ङीष् in the feminine. As औपगवी ॥

So also आश्वपतः । दैत्यः । औत्सः । खैयः । पौलः ॥

Note:—In explaining IV. 1. 82 S. 1072, we have used the words कृतसन्धिकार्यत्वम् "after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed." Why have we used those words? Otherwise observe the anomaly. Thus सु + वस्यित = सुवस्यितः, वि + ईक्षमाणः = वीक्षमाणः ॥ If the affix be not added to the form सुवस्यित, but to सु + वस्यित, so also not to वीक्षमाणः but to विईक्षमाणः that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be सौ वस्यिति =

साधुस्थितिः and वायीक्ष्माणिः by force of वायीक्ष्मां बलीयः maxim, but the proper forms are सौस्थितिः and वैक्ष्माणिः ॥

Q. The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antaranga, will take effect *first*, and then the Vṛiddhi operation, which though an anga rule, is after all bahiranga with regard to sandhi; what is the necessity of using the word समर्थ at all in the sūtra IV, 1, 82 S. 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धिः ?

Ans. The very fact that Pāṇini has used the word समर्थ in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः "The followers of Pāṇini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears." (See p-30). Therefore had Pāṇini not used the word समर्थ in the sūtra IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the antaranga operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the bahiranga vṛiddhi and the forms would have been साधुस्थितिः and वायीक्ष्माणिः ॥ To prevent this समर्थ has been used.

Kārikā. तस्येवमित्यपत्येपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।
उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

Note:—The Karikā should be broken up in order to understand it. तस्येवमित्यपत्येऽपि ॥ The sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इदम् may be applied to all things like अपत्य, समूह, विकार &c. Therefore अ् will come, by force of that sūtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sūtra tasyāpatyam? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sūtras अत इम् &c. (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then why make a separate sūtra and not join it with the last? Ans: बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sūtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sūtra वृद्धाच्छ (IV. 2. 114. S. 1337). That sūtra supersedes तस्येदम्, and so in the case of apatyam also, छ would have applied instead of अण् where the base was a Vṛiddham word. But that is not desired. Hence the separate sūtra.

If it be objected that "the अण् of tasyedam, and its apavāda the the affix छ of vṛiddhāch chhah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2. 92 S. 1312 as the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance, and so the above objection does not arise." To this the answer is

Ans. उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ ॥ This sense of apatyā is an utsarga śeṣa. The meaning is this. Had there been no yoga-vibhāga i. e. had tasyā-

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sūtra with अत इम् something like तस्यापत्यम् अत इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then it will govern those bases only that end in अ and the bases like बाहु &c. (IV. 1. 95 and 96 S. 1095 and 1096), and not bases like उपगु; and therefore with regard to the base उपगु there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the śaishika तस्येदम् ॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a śesha under the above circumstances. It will be an utsarga-śesha i. e. the remainder not covered by a general rule: the general rule here by supposition being अत इम् &c. Therefore अण् of तस्येदम् with the force of apatya, will come after Upagu, but it will be debarred in the case of भानु &c. by the rule वृज्जाच् छ ॥ But if we make tasyāpatyam a separate sūtra, then there being no śesha, the छ will never come under any circumstances.

Obj. If it be said that for bases like उपगु &c, which are not Vṛiddham words, there will be no occasion for the addition of छ, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sūtra. To this we reply.

Ans: वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् The necessity of this sūtra is in the case of Vṛiddham bases like भानुः, श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावो स्य) &c.

Therefore there must be this separate sūtra. Thus भानोरपत्यं = भानवः ॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sūtra "tasyāpatyam" is made for the sake of Vṛiddham bases. Otherwise "tasyedam" would have been sufficient for bases like Upagu &c.

Note :—Now we take up the farther explanation of the sūtra samarthânâm prathamād vâ" (IV. 1. 82, S. 1072). Its explanation was postponed till now.

The maxim तस्यैः पतविधिः (II. 1. 1. S. 647) applies here also. Thus वस्त्रं उपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य "the garment of Upagu, the son of Chaitra". Here the two words उपगोरपत्यम् are not in construction; for उपगोः governs वस्त्रं and अपत्यं is governed by चैत्रस्य, and so there is no affix.

Why do we say "after the first"? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations. In the sūtra तस्यापत्यम् there are two words, तस्य and अपत्यं, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatyam. Therefore, when searching for the base to which the affix is to be added, we shall take तस्य ॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word प्रथमान् at all.

Ans: The words "after the first" are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the name of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word. Thus the sūtra tasyāpatyam

is really ambiguous ; for it literally means "let the affix *अण्* &c. come in the sense of "His son". The affix may come after Upagu exhibited in the genitive case ; or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of Upagu. Thus if Devadatta be the name of the son of Upagu ; then *देवदत्तः* is *उपगोरपत्यम्* ; then by *tasyāpatyam*, the affix might be added either to *उपगुः* or to *देवदत्तः* ॥ To prevent this, *अथनात्* is used in the sūtra.

Moreover as in the case of *इन्द्रो देवता यस्य हविः* : ' Indra is the devatā of this offering ' we add the affix to *इन्द्र* denoted by the genitive case under the rule *सास्यदेवता* (IV. 2. 24. S. 1226) ; and get the form *इन्द्रः* as applied to *हविः* ; similarly *उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य* " Upagu is the son of this Devadatta " we will have *औपगवो देवदत्तः* : " Devadatta Aupagava " i. e. " Devadatta whose son is Upagu " ; or in *देवदत्तोपत्यमस्योपगोः* : " Devadatta is son of this Upagu ", we shall have *देवदत्तिरुपगुः* : " Upagu whose son is Devadatta ". Now this is not intended. We cannot have *औपगवः* in the sense of " He whose son is Upagu ", nor *देवदत्तः* in the sense of " He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "In the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence ; thus we may say *उपगोरपत्यं*, instead of the *taddhita* formed word *औपगवः* ॥

Note :—The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (*samāsa*) ; as *उपग्वपत्यम्* 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the *samāsa* rule here is not superseded by the *Taddhita*-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2, S. 175 because the *anuvṛitti* of *अन्यतरस्याम्* is understood here from sūtra IV. 1. 81, S. 1201 so that in the alternative when the *Taddhita* affix is not employed, the *samāsa* rules will find scope. The word *औपगवः* being a *जाति* denoting word (because *jāti* includes *शोचं च चरयैः सह* see *Kārikā* to IV. 1. 83, S. 518 ; therefore its feminine will be by *लीङ्* (VI. 1. 83) As *औपगवी* ॥

१०८६ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्यत्वेन विवक्षितं पौत्रादि गोत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1089. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

Note :—When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be *गार्गिः*, and the son or grandsons &c of *गार्गिः* with reference to Garga will be *गर्ग्यः* ॥ Similarly *वास्यः* ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus *कौञ्जिः*, *गार्गिः* ॥

Note :—Q. The word अपत्यं has been read uselessly in this sūtra, for grand-sons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sūtra could have been well stated as pantra-pravṛiti gotram'.

Ans. Yes. Therefore in explaining the sūtra, the author has said "apatyatvena vivakshitam"—"when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant." Why do we say "when it is intended to express"? As a matter of fact, even grand-sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गार्गिः formed under the शेष rule गर्गस्येवम्, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent. The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here.

Others say that the force of vivakshita is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship. Therefore औपगवः though formed by वण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word.

१०६० । जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा । ४ । १ । १६३ ॥

वंश्ये पित्रादौ जीवति पौत्रद्वयस्य चतुर्थादि तद्युवसंज्ञमेव न गोत्रसंज्ञम् ॥

1090. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

*Note :—*The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line.' One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such a vāṅśya is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर्यद् अपत्यं 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra however this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गार्गः ॥

अपत्यम्—	{	गार्गिः (son or putra)
		गार्ग्यः (Gotra)
		गार्ग्ययुवः (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gargi &c be alive).

The force of the word तु, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

१०६१ । भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । ४ । १ । १६४ ॥

यद्येष्टे भ्रातरि जीवति कनीयाच्च चतुर्थादियुवा स्यात् ॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Note.—Even when a बन्धुः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is no vaṅśya) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus: गार्ग्यीयणः॥

The word बन्धुः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vaṅśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vaṅśya is not meant. Thus Gārgyāyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsyāyana, Dākshyāyana, and Plākshāyana.

१०६२ । वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति । ४ । १ । १६५ ॥

आतुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । एकं जीवतिग्रहणमपत्यस्य विशेषणम् । द्वितीयं सपिण्डस्य । तद्वन्निर्देशो ऽभयोक्त्यर्थः । स्थानेन वयसा चोत्कृष्टे पितृव्ये मातामहे भ्रातरि वा जीवति । गार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् गार्ग्यीयणः । गार्ग्यो वा । स्थविरिति किम् । स्थानवयोन्युने गार्ग्य एव । जीवतीति किम् । मृते मृतो वा गार्ग्य एव ॥

वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ गोत्रस्यैव वृद्धसंज्ञा प्राच्यम् । गोत्रस्य युवसंज्ञा पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । तत्रभवान् गार्ग्यीयणः । पूजेति किम् । गार्ग्यः ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायां गोत्रसंज्ञेति वाच्यम् * ॥ गार्ग्यो जातमः । कुत्सेति किम् । गार्ग्यीयणः ॥

1092. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvritti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. S. 1090. This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda. The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*, such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c. when alive.

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्यीयणः or गार्ग्यः ॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only. Why do we say

“when alive?” When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapiṇḍa is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्यः only.

Vārtika :—The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians. As तन्न भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः “you honored Gārgyāyana or Gārgya”.

Why do we say ‘when respectful reference is intended’? Observe, गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हितम् वृद्धम् ॥

Vārt :—The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जातुः or गार्ग्यायणो जातुः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥

१०९३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ९३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्ययः स्यात् । उपगोगोत्रापत्यं औपगवः । गार्ग्यः । नाडायनः ।

गोत्रे स्वैकोनसंख्यानं प्रत्ययानां परम्परा ।

यद्वा स्वद्व्युनसंख्येभ्योऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते ॥ १ ॥

अपत्यं पितुरेव स्यात्ततः प्राचामपीति च ।

मतभेदेन तद्वान्यै सूत्रमेतत्तथोत्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

पितुरेवापत्यमिति पक्षे हि उपगोस्तृतीये वाक्ये औपगवादिभ्यः स्यात् । चतुर्थे स्वजीवज्ज्येष्ठे घृतवंश्ये औपगवेः फक् । इत्थं फगिभ्योः फगिभ्योः परम्परायां मूलाच्छततमे गोत्रे एकोनशतं प्रत्ययाः स्युः । पितामहादीनामपीति दुष्यपक्षे तु तृतीये वाक्ये उपगोरणा इष्टे सिद्धेऽपि अण्यन्तादिभ्यः स्यात् । चतुर्थे फगिति फगिभ्योः परम्परायां शततमे गोत्रेऽष्टनवतिरिति प्रत्ययाः स्युः । अतो नियमार्थमिदं सूत्रम् । एवमुत्तरसूत्रेऽप्युक्तम् ॥

1093. One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low so-ever) is to be indicated.

Note :—The word Gotra is defined in sūtra IV. 1. 162 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गिः (IV. 1. 93) The son of गार्ग्यः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 106). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of a गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no

new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix **यञ्** will be added to the word **गर्ग**, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of **गार्ग्य** will be formed by adding the affix **यञ्** not to the base **गार्ग्य** (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 S. 1088 strictly applied), but to the base **गर्ग** ॥ So that one base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

Thus the Gotra descendant of **उपगु** is **औपगवः**; of **गर्ग** is **गार्ग्यः**, of **नद** is **नादायनः** ॥

Note :—The word **गोत्रे** in the sūtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class; i. e. all gotra descendants. The word **एकः** is a numeral. If the sūtra be translated thus :—“when a Gotra-descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only”—then in the case of gotra-descendant the *first* word only takes the affix, and not any other. On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an *apatya*-affix, then there is not *one* affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant. Hence the author has explained by saying “One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c”. The word *apatya* is read into the sūtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section.

Others explain the word **एक** as equivalent to **प्रथम** or first; and the *first* means the base which is devoid of any *apatya*-affix. They explain the sūtra thus. “The first or the original word takes the *apatya*-affix in denoting Gotra.”

Thus the son of **Upagu** is **Aupagava**, the gotra descendant will be also **Aupagava**. The gotra-affix will be added to **Upagu** and not to **Aupagava**. Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix **अण्** also, just as the immediate descendant (i. e. son) is formed by **अण्**; and not by **इञ्** ॥ For though **औपगव** ‘son of Upagu’ is a word which ends in **व**, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix **इञ्** ought to be added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095; yet **अण्** is added by force of this sūtra. There is no *specific* Gotra affix for this word **उपगु** ॥

Similarly **गार्ग्यः** formed by **यञ्** of IV. 1. 105 S. 1107. Here **यञ्** is specifically ordained to denote Gotra-descendants, and therefore, there is not **इञ्** added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i. e. son) is to be denoted. Thus here we have two forms, the son of **Garga** is **गार्ग्यः**, while the grandson and lower descendants will be **गार्ग्यः** ॥ Thus **गार्ग्यः** denotes not only the grandson of **Garga**, but the son of **Gārgya** as well. The word denoting the son of **Gārgya** (the grandson of **Garga**) will not be formed by **फक्** added to **गार्ग्यः**, because of the restriction of this rule: since *one* affix only can be added. The affix **फक्** would have been added by IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. in denoting the son of

Gārgya, for he is a Yuvan : as Gārgyāyana. But when he is considered as a Gotra-descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gārgya.

Similarly नादायनः formed by क् under IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. Here also क् is specifically ordained to come after Naḍādi words, and therefore the general affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) is precluded : which now finds its scope in denoting the immediate descendant i. e. the son of Naḍa. Thus Nādi is son of Naḍa : while Nāḍāyana is the grandson of Naḍa. The son of Nāḍāyana will be Nāḍāyana : and not Nāḍāyani, with the इञ् of IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 ; because of the restriction of this sūtra which says only one affix is to be added.

Verse :—"In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant : or two less in number : the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base".

"The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only ; and in relation to older (than father) also," according to diversity of opinions. Hence the necessity of this sūtra, as well as of the next sūtra, to remove these anomalies."

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say "a grandfather's apatya") ; when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इञ् to औपगवः, (thus giving the form Aupagavi "the grand-son of Upagu"). Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vanśya) are dead, the affix क् is added (and we have औपगवायनः) ॥ (The son of Aupagavāyana will be by इञ्, Aupagavāyani, his son will be Aupagavāyana and so on). Thus by the constant recurrence of क् and इञ् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninety-nine affixes.

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand-father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अण् added to उपगु ; i. e. औपगवः will express the grandson also of Upagu : and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इञ् will also come after अण्-ending औपगवः ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be क् and then will commence the recurrence of क्, इञ् क्, इञ् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes.

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule, has this sūtra been enunciated.

This must be understood in the next sūtra also.

Note :—Objection. How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting *one* Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sūtra useless ?

Ans :—No. The following considerations show the necessity of this sūtra. Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or propositus his son will be second, his grand-son will be third, and so on. The first or the Propositus takes no affix, in denoting the son or the *second* there will be *one* affix added ; in denoting son's son or the *third*, two affixes will be added, and so on ; so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety-nine affixes will be added. Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगवः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of Aupagava will be औपगव + इञ् = औपगविः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + क् = औपगवायनः ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवायन will be औपगवायन् + इञ् = औपगवायनिः and then will commence the recurring series Thus. 1. Upagu, 2. Aupagava, 3. Aupagavi, 4. Aupagavâyana, 5. Aupagavâyani, 6. Aupagavâyana, 7. Aupagavâyani, 8. Aupagavâyana, 9. Aupagavâyani &c. Thus the second in degree or son has *one* affix अण्, the third has *two* affixes, अण् ; and इञ् ; the fourth has *three* affixes अण्, इञ् and क् the fifth has *four* affixes अण्, इञ्, क् and इञ् and so on. Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे स्वैकोनसंख्यानां प्रत्ययानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (paramparā) of affixes whose number will be *one less* (eka-una) than the *degree* of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted." This is one anomaly to remove which the present sūtra has been made.

Though as a matter of fact, the final अ and इ would have been always elided by यथेति च (VI. 4. 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इञ्, yet the *number* of affixes added will be always one less than the *degree* of descent.

Another necessity of this sūtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the base or prātipadika in the case of son is Upagu ; in the case of grandson or third descendant is Aupagava, or *one* new base ; in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Aupagavi or *second* prātipadika. and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be ninety-eight new prātipadikas ; i. e. always *two* less than the degree of descent. Therefore the verse says : यद्वा स्वद्वयून संख्येभ्योऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते "Or the anomaly (anishṭa) arises in the case of those prātipadikas which are less by two than the degree of descent." Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable prātipadika i. e. Aupagava : i. e. the affix is added to Aupagava and not to Upagu : in the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable prātipadika i. e. affix is added to Aupagavi and not to Upagu ; and so on. Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being *two* less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sūtra in order to restrict the number of stems to *one*,

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word *apatya*. In one view the word *अपत्य* is restricted to the *son* of the father only: and not to grand-sons &c. This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines *apatya* thus :—

आत्मजस्तनयः सुतः सुतः पुत्रस्त्रियां त्वमी ।
आहुर्दुहितरं सर्वेऽपत्यं तोकं तयोः समे ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree *Gotra* descendant.

The other and *siddhānta* view is that *apatya* not only means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand-daughter and lower descendants also. Thus *apatya* is not only of father, but of those who are older (*prāchām*) than father also, i. e. of grand-father and great-grand father &c. In other words the word *apatya* should be taken in its etymological sense i. e. “he who prevents the fall (*patan*) of another”—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the *fall* of ancestors from heaven “न पतन्त्यनेनेति”—*अपत्यम्*” or *यन्निमित्तं यस्यापतनं, तत् तस्यापत्यम्* ॥ And as grandsons &c prevent the fall of grand-father &c. so they are also called *apatya* (fall-preventer) of grand-father &c. In fact, it is in this wider sense of a “descendant,” that the word *apatya* is used by Pāṇini himself in the *sūtra* *apatyam pautra pravṛiti gotram* (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089).

१०६४ । गोत्राद्यन्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

युवपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा । गर्गस्य युवापत्यं गार्ग्यायणः । स्त्रियां गोत्रत्वविक एव प्रत्ययः ॥

1094. When a descendant of the description denoted by *Yuvan* (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (*gotra*): but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the *Yuvan* of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). Similarly वात्स्यायनः, दाक्षायणः, प्लाक्षायणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say “but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*”? Observe दाक्षी which is the Feminine of दाक्षिः (*Gotra*) as well as of दाक्षायणः (*Yuvan*), Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षिः and प्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, *Yuvan* affixes are not added in the Feminine, If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the Sâtra should be divided in two, e. g. योवाद् युनि प्रत्ययौ भवति (2); ततोऽस्त्रियाम् । (2) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

१०९५ । अत इञ् । ४ । १ । ९५ ॥

अदन्तं अन्त्यातिपदिकं तन्मकृतिकात्पञ्चयन्तादिञ् स्यादपत्येऽर्थे । दाक्षिः ॥

1095. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debarbs अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'a descendant of Daksha.'

Note:—Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter त् added to अ by I. 1. 69 and 70 S. 14 and 15)? The descendant of दुर्भयाः or कीलानपाः (words which end in long अ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sūtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Daśaratha’.

१०९६ । बाह्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ९६ ॥

बाह्विः । औडुलोमिः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1096. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ् ॥ Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. So also औडुलोमिः ॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण) ॥

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपबाहु, 4 निवाहु, 5 शिवाहु, 6 वदाहु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपनिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 पलाका, 12 मृषिका, 13 कुशला, 14

भगला (छगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्री, 18 हुमित्री, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 वज्रचक्र, 28 सन्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितीजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 34 माष, 35 शाराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 शृङ्खलतेतिदन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमदिन्, 41 प्राकारमदिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्ग, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम् 53 संयुयाम्भसीः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्विकः 58 जाड्यधिषः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name; otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहुवः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father-in-law' is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरिः ॥

Note:—The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

१०६७ । सुधातुरकङ् च । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

चादिञ् । सुधातुरपत्यं सौधातकिः ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

1097. The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the च् of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri'.

Vart:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः, निषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sūtra.

१०६८ । न उवाच्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् । ७ । ३ । ३ ॥

पदान्ताभ्यां यकारवकाराभ्यां परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ क्रमादेवावागमौ स्तः । वैयासकिः । वारुडकिरित्यादि ॥

1098. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्,

but **दे** and **औ** are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is **दे** is placed before **वृ**, and **औ** before **वृ** ॥ As. **वैयासकिः**, from **व्यास**; **वारुडकिः** &c so also **वैयाकरणः** from **व्याकरणं** (**व्याकरणमधीते**) **सौवशः** from **स्वशः** (**स्वशस्यापत्यं**) ॥

१०९६ । गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चफञ् । ४ । १ । ९८ ॥

1099. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'kuñja' &c, when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted.

This debars **इञ्** ॥ Of the affix **चफञ्** the letter **ञ्** is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix **फञ्**; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113 S. 1100 by which the words ending in the affix **चफञ्**, take the further affix **य** (**उय**), in order to form a complete word. The letter **ञ्** of this affix causes Viddhi (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). Then remains **फ** which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, S. 475 is replaced by **आयन्** ॥

Note:—The word **गोत्रे** of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

११०० । व्रातचफञोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्रातवाचिभ्यश्चफञन्तेभ्यश्च स्वार्थे उयःस्यान्तु स्त्रियाम् । कौञ्जायन्यः । बहुल्वे तद्वाजस्त्राल्लु-
ग्वक्ष्यते । ब्राधनायन्यः । स्त्रियां कौञ्जायनी । गोत्रत्वेन जातिस्त्वान्डीप् । अनन्तरापत्ये कौञ्जिः ॥

1100. The affix **ñya** comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in **chphañ** (**आयन** IV. 1. 98 S. 1099), without change of sense; but not in the feminine.

Note:—A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence is called **व्रात** or 'wild band'.

Thus **कुञ्ज + चफञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + अ = कौञ्जायन** ॥ This is not a complete word as yet. We must add **य** by the present sūtra thus the full word is **कौञ्जायन्यः** 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is **कौञ्जायन्यौ**, plural is **कौञ्जायनाः**; the affix **उय** being elided by II. 4. 62, S. 1193 in the plural, it being an affix of the **तद्वाज** class (IV. 1. 174 S. 1192). Similarly **ब्राधायन्यः**, **ब्राधायन्यौ**, **ब्राधायनाः** ॥

Why do we say "not in the Feminine? Observe **कपोतपाकी**, **श्रीहिमत**, **कौञ्जायनी**, **ब्राधायनी** ॥ The affix **डीप्** is added as Gotra is a **jāti** word.

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जि: "the son of Kuñja". Here इञ् is added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant.

११०१ । नडादिभ्यः फक् । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । नाडायनः । चारायणः । अनन्तरो नाडिः ॥

1101. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नङ् and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नङ् + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 S. 1076 and VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नङ् will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलङ्कु is changed to शलङ्क before this affix. Thus शलङ्कायनः ॥ The word शलङ्किः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, S. 1084. The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शलङ्किः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, S. 1096 as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अभिशर्मान् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. अभिशर्मायणः = वार्ष्णिगणः; otherwise the form will be आभिशर्मान् ॥ The word कृष्ण will form कृष्णायनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कर्ण्डिः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राणिः ॥ The word कौण्डु is changed to क्रौष्ट as क्रौष्टायनः ॥

1 नङ्, 2 चर (वर) 3 बक, 4 हुंज. 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 लमक. 10 शलङ्कु शलङ्क च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक, 14 अभिशर्मान्वृषगणे । 15 प्राण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 विङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुरयप) 28 काश्य, 29 काश्य 30 अज, 31 अष्टुष्य (अष्टुष्म) 32 कृष्णराणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अभिन्न, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रौष्ट क्रौष्ट च, 38 लोहं, 39 दुर्ग 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशका, 42 अघ, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 कच, 49 जलधर, 50 अध्वर, 51 युगधर, 52 हंसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिरड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अन्न, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानप्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्तरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

११०२ । हरितादिभ्योऽजः ४ । १ । १०० ॥

एभ्योऽजन्तेभ्यो यृनि फक् । हरितायनः । इह गोत्राधिकारेऽपि सामर्थ्याद्व्ययम् । नदि गोत्रादपरो गोत्रप्रत्ययः । विदाद्यन्तर्गणो हरितादिः ॥

1102. The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c. when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104)

The words हरित &c. form a subdivision of बिद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्) ॥ The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95 Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः " the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita." In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra-affix अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

११०३ । यजिञोश्च । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोत्रे यौ यजिञौ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनातीत्युक्तेरापत्यस्येति यलोपो न । गार्ग्ययणः । दाक्षायणः ॥

1103. The affix फक् is added in denoting a (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) - गार्ग्य ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्ययणः ॥ दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः ; दाक्षि + फक् = दाक्षायणः ॥

It is not every word that ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक् ; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 S. 1380 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वैप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरार्थिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ।

११०४ । शरद्वच्छुनकदभ्रिद्विगुवत्साम्रायणेषु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोत्रे फक् । अमिञोरपवादः । आयौ बिदादी । शरद्वत्तायनो भार्गवश्चेत् । शरद्वत्तोऽन्यः । शौनकायनो वात्सवश्चेत् । शौनकोऽन्यः । दार्भायण आमायणश्चेत् । दार्भिरन्यः ॥

1104. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'śaradvat', 'śunaka' and

‘darbha’, when they denote the descendants of Bhrigu, Vatsa and Âgrâyaṇa respectively.

The first two words शरद्धत् and शुनक belong to बिदादि class, and therefore would by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead. This debars the affixes अञ् and इञ् ॥ The affix फक् is a Gotra affix here.

Thus शारद्धात्तायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शारद्धतः (formed by अञ्) शौनकायनः = वास्यः ; otherwise शौनकः, दार्भायणः = आमायणः otherwise दार्भिः, formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95).

११०५ । द्रोणपर्वतजिवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १०३ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रे फक् वा । द्रोणायनः । द्रौणिः । पार्वतायनः । पार्वतिः । जैवन्तायनः । जैवन्तिः । अनादिदिह द्रोणः । अश्वत्थाम्यनन्तरे दूषणारात् ॥

1105. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words ‘Droṇa,’ ‘Parvata,’ and ‘Jivanta.’

This debars इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रौणायनः or द्रौणिः ; पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः ; जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः”? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhārata, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Drauṇāyaṇa, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६ । अनुप्यान्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । १०४ ॥

एभ्योऽञ् गोत्रे ये त्वचानृषयस्तेभ्य अनन्तरे । सूत्रे स्वार्थे ऽञ् । बिदस्य गोत्रापत्यं वैदः अनन्तरो वैदिः । बाह्वादेशकृतिगणत्वादित् । पुत्रस्यापत्यं पौत्रः । दैहित्रः ॥

1106. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remoter (Gotra) descendant : but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant.

The word *anantarya* in the *sūtra* is formed by the affix *अन्त्य* without changing the sense. In fact *आनन्तर्य* is equal to *अनन्तर* "an immediate descendant." Thus the *Gotra* descendant of *Bida* will be *बैदः*; but the immediate descendant will be *बैदिः* formed by *इम्* of IV. 1. 96 S. 1096, as it belongs to *Bāhvādi* class which is an *Akṛitigaṇa*. Similarly the son of a son (*putra*) will be *पौत्रः* ॥ So also *दौहित्रः* ॥

Note.—This *Sūtra* consists of four words : *अनृषि* "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; *आनन्तर्ये* 'in expressing an immediate descendant.' *विदादिभ्यः* "after *Bidādi* words" *अम्* "the affix *अम्*" Thus of the words falling in *Bidādi* class, the words like *पुत्र* 'son,' *दुहित्र* 'daughter,' *नानान्द* 'sister-in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix *अम्* is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant. Thus *पुत्र + अम् = पौत्रः* 'grand-son.' *दुहितृ + अम् = दौहित्रः* "daughter's son." But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix *अम्* makes the *Gotra* descendants. Thus *बिद + अम् = बैदः* 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of *Bida*.'

How in a context relating to *Gotra* affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this *sūtra*? To this we reply, that the phrase *अनृष्यान्तर्ये* should be thus construed. The word 'anṛishi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word *आनन्तर्य* is the same as *अनन्तर* the affix *अम्* being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like *पौत्र* &c. denote the *immediate* (*anantara*) descendants of *पुत्र* &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (*gotra*), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means :—'after a *Bidādi* word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'an' is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.'

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words *बिद* &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus *बिद* forms *बैदिः* 'a descendant of *Bida*' by IV. 1. 96 S. 1096 *इम्* and not by *कृष्यण्* of IV. 1. 114, because *बिद* is supposed to belong to the *Akṛitigaṇa* of *Bāhvādi*.

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किन्दर्प) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋषिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्म, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कृचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शनिक, 25 अश्वान्तान, 26 श्यामक, 27 श्यामक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 इयापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 क्रिदास, 32 बहस्क, 33 अर्कजूप (अर्कलुक) 34 बध्योज, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रथित, 39 रथितर (रथितर) 40 गतिष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलत, 44 मठर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 सृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्धू, 49 पुत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्द, 52 परस्त्री परशु च। 53 किलातप, 54 सम्बक् श्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ्. Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Sūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race)

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII. 3. 20 S. 1438) and कल्याणयादि (IV. 1. 126 S. 1131) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रैष्यः, with double vṛddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20 : S. 1438; which does not take place in the पारशवः ॥

११०७। गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् । ४ । १ । १०५ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । गार्ग्यः । वात्स्यः ॥

1107. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

गर्गः, 2 वत्सः, 3 वाजासे, 4 संस्कृतिः, 5 अञ्ज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदधत्, 8 प्राचनियोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवट, 20 मनक, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाय, 25 लोहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्ड, 30 गण्ड, 31 शंकु, 32 क्षिणु, 33 सुहृद, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंजु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनाथी, 41 स्रुत, 42 कथक, 43 कन्धक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनड्डह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुल्ल, 59 शक्ति, 60 कयव, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अर्गस्थ, 64 कुण्डिनी, 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्यवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगाय, 70 रूपाय, 71 शशिडल, 72 वर्णक (चशक) 73 तुलुक, 74 सुसल, 75 सुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जलकर्ण, (जातकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 भक्ति, 81 अशमय, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पूतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अवरक (अरक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज) 93 भिषाज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डित, 96 दल्भ, 97 चेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुदीय, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्धु, 111 श्रुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुक्ष, 114 प्रचुल, 115 विलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

Note:—The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष् after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, S. 476; how then the form मानवी

in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no alpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a name of Parāśram the son of Jamadagni or why Vyāsa the son of Parāśara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्ररूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatya forms are by ऋष्यञ् (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥ In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies :—

११०८ । यञञोश्च । २ । ४ । ६४ ॥

गोत्रे यञञन्तमञन्तं च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुक्स्यात्तत्कृते बहुव्ये न तु स्त्रियाम् । गार्गाः । वत्साः । बिदाः । ऊर्वाः । तत्कृते इति किम् । प्रियगार्ग्याः । स्त्रियां तु गार्ग्यः स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् । द्वेभ्याः । औत्साः । प्रवराध्यायमसिद्धमिह गोत्रम् । तेनेह न । पौत्राः । दैहित्राः ॥

1108. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and अञ् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यञ् = गार्ग्यः ; plural गर्गाः 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga.' So also वत्साः 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः ॥ Similarly, बिद + अञ् = बौदः (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) ; plural बिदाः, similarly और्वः singular ; ऊर्वाः plural.

Why do we say tat-krite bahutve 'when the plural is of that word alone' ? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved ;' प्रियबौदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.' Here the Plural is not of the word Gārgya, but of those who love Gārgya.

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः is the feminine plural of गर्गी ॥

Why do we say "when these denote Gotra descendants" ? Otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यञ् = द्वेभ्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वेभ्याः ; here the affix यञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः ॥ Here the Gotra is taken in the sense of a founder of a class, Pravara ; i. e. what is read in pravara list, and is not a Grammatical Gotra. Hence this अञ् is not elided in पौत्राः, दुहित्राः ॥

११०६ । मधुवध्नो ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः । ४ । १ । १०६ ॥

गोत्रं यञ् । माधव्यो ब्राह्मणः । माधवोऽन्यः । बाधव्यः । कौशिकमृषिः । बाधवोऽन्यः ।
बध्नुशब्दस्य मार्गादिपाठान्तिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । मार्गादिपाठफलं तु लोहितादि कार्ययम् । बाधव्यायणी ॥

1109. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बध्नु, when the words so formed mean 'a Brāhmaṇa' and 'a Kauśika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brāhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu."
बाधव्यः = कौशिकः Rishi. Otherwise बाधवः ॥

The word बध्नु belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a niyama or restriction, viz. बध्नु takes यञ् then only when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 S. 476 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ ॥ Thus बाधव्यायणी ॥

Note :—In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapāṭha, instead of writing बध्नु alone, there was बध्नु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

१११० । कपिवोधनाङ्गिरसे । ४ । १ । १०७ ॥

गोत्रं यञ् स्यात् । काप्यः । बोध्यः । आङ्गिरसे किम् । कापेयः । बौधिः ॥

1110. The affix यञ् comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras'. So also बौध्यः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125) 'the gotra-descendant of Kapi' so also बौधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096) class.

Note :—The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18 S. 476. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi"

११११। वतण्डाच्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातण्ड्यः । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गणादौ शिवादौ च पाठाद्यङ्गौ । वातण्ड्यः । वातण्डः ॥

1111. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant, of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आङ्गिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and in the Sivādi class (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). It would have taken both affixes यञ् and अण् ॥ The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both those affixes e. g. वातण्ड्यः and वातण्डः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

१११२। लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतण्डाद्येति विहितस्य लुक् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । शार्ङ्गरवादित्वात् ङीन् । वतण्डी । अनाङ्गिरसे तु वातण्ड्यायनी । लोहितादित्वात् ष्फः । अणि तु वातण्डी । ऋषित्वाद्भ्यमाणः व्यङ् न ॥

1112. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. As the word belongs to Śaraṅgaravādi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV. 1. 73.

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 S. 527) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vātaṇḍa of the clan Angirasa." Why do we say "of Angirasa?" Observe वातण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitādi rule (IV. 1. 18 S. 476). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Sivādi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अङ्, yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), because Vātaṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

१११३। अश्वदिभ्यः फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । अश्वायनः ॥ पुंसी जाति * ॥ पुंसीति तु प्रकृत्यविशेषणम् । जातस्य गोत्रापत्यं जातायनः । पुंसीति किम् । जाताया अपत्यं जातेयः ॥

1113. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛitti of Āgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व + फञ् = अश्व + आयन (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'.

Note :—Similarly आश्वायनः ॥ There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आत्रेय, वैत्थ, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ठक् (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125), वैत्थ = विलि (a Rajarshi) + व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). The word शय takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायनः, otherwise शायिः, with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥

Vārtika :—The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातियः with ठक् ॥

The word आत्रेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, S. 3399 leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्वमन् 3 शंख 4 शङ्खक 5 विद 6 पुद 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर)
9 खण्डार 10 बस्त 11 पिञ्जल 12 भण्डिल 13 भडिल 14 भण्डित 15 भडित 16
प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलोक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट
25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूय 33
वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुद 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 ग्रीष्म 41
अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 क्षुप 48 दासक 49 वैत्थ
50 (वैत्थ) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस्
58 नम 59 (मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भारद्वाजे 62 भारद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64
आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिष्ट 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 ग्रीवा
73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 वीक्ष्य 77 वह 78 खेड 79 नत्त 80 ओजस,
81 नम ॥

१११४ । भर्गाञ्जिगर्ते । ४ । १ । १११ ॥

गोत्रे फञ् । भार्गयणञ्जिगर्तः । भार्गिरत्यः ॥

1114. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भार्गवणः = वैगर्तः; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095)

१११५ । शिवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । शिवस्यापत्यं शैवः । गाङ्गः । पक्षे तिकादित्वात् फिम् । गाङ्गायनिः । शुभादित्वाद्धक् । गाङ्गेयः ॥

1115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛtti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debarbs इम् &c. Thus शिव + अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'.

Note :—The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class. Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इण् by IV. 1. 158; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्व् ordained by IV. 1. 152. S. 1176. Thus तक्षन् + अण् = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन् + ण्य = तक्षण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134.

The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in the Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) and the Tikādi (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). There are thus three forms of this word :—गाङ्गः; गाङ्गायनिः with फिम् and गाङ्गेयः with ढक् ॥

The word विषास occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099). It has thus two forms : वैषासः and वैषासायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river : the affix ढक् (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113 1116) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name चिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116), as चैवेणः but this is replaced by चिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 मोष्ठ 3 मोष्ठिक 4 षण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुभ्
(ककुभा) 10 अनभिस्तान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुस्थ 16 कहेड
17 कोहड 18 कह्य 19 कहय 20 रोधं 21 कर्षिजल (कुर्षिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड
24 तृणकर्ण 25 क्षीरहृद 26 जलहृद 27 परिल 28 पक्षिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हेहय 31 पार्थिका
32 गोविका 33 कविलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मंजीरकं 37 38 मजिरक 39
वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मर 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विभ्रवण 47
रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 मीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तच्चाक 54 नभाक
55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पृथा 58 उत्तेष 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका

62 आर्यधेत (अर्यधेत) 63 सुषिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खदूरक
68 तक्षत्र 69 ऋषिपणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 जह्य 74 हुह्य 75 अयः स्थूण
76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 79 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सप्तली
83 ह्यचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कवोध 88
गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१११६। अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अवृद्धेभ्यो नदीमानुषीनामभ्योऽण् स्यात् । ढकोऽपवादः । यायुनः । नार्मदं । चिन्तिताया अपत्यं
चैन्तितः । आवृद्धेभ्यः किय् । वासवदत्तेयः । नदीत्यादि किय् । वैनतेयः । तन्नामिकाभ्यः किय् । शोभनाया
अपत्यं शौभनेयः ॥

1116. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vṛiddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

Note:—The word Vṛiddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like IV. 1. 166, S. 1092 but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (1. 1. 73 S. 523) The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः declares the meaning of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus ययुना—यायुनः 'a son of the Yamunā'. नार्मदः 'son of the Narmadā'. These are all names of rivers. Similary चैन्तितः 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe वासवदत्तेयः formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why do we say being 'names of rivers or women'. Observe वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शौभनेयः "the son of a beautiful woman".

१११७। ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

ऋषयो मन्त्रद्वारः । वासिष्ठः । वैश्वामित्रः । अन्धकेभ्यः, श्वाफल्कः । वृष्णिभ्यः, वासुदेवः । अनिरुद्धः । शौरिरिति तु बाह्वाहिव्वादिभ्यः । कुरुभ्यः, नाकुलः । साहदेवः । इम एवायमपवादौ मध्यपवाद-
न्यायात् । अग्निशब्दान्तु परत्वाद्धक् । आनेयः ॥

1117. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vṛishṇi, and Kuru.

This debars the affix **इम्** ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvāmitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also आफल्कः, रान्धसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka; and बासुदेवः, अनिरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi. The word क्षौरिः however, is formed by **इम्** because it belongs to Bāhvādi class. And नाकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

This sūtra debars **इम्** only, on the maxim मध्येऽपवादः ॥ The word अत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins **अण्**; but IV. 1. 122 S. 1125. enjoins **ढक्**; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of अत्रि will be formed not by **अण्** but by **ढक्** ॥ Thus आत्रेयः ॥

Similarly उमसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औमसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by **ण्य**; and not by **अण्**; so also वैश्वकसेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi family; so also भैमसेन्यः 'son of Bhīmasena' a person of Kuru family.

१११८ । मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृशब्दस्योदादेशः स्यादप्रत्ययश्च । द्वैमातुरः । सांमातुरः । षाण्मातुरः । भाद्रमातुरः । आदेशार्थं वचनं, प्रत्ययस्तुतसंज्ञेन सिद्धः । स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशोऽर्थापेक्षः । तेन धान्यमातुर्न । संख्येति किम् । सौमात्रः । शुभादित्वद्वैमात्रेयः ॥

1118. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word **mātri** when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words **सम्** or **भद्र**; and the letter **उ** is substituted for the final **ऋ** of **mātri**,

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः " the son of two mothers i. e. the son of one and adopted by another ". (द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + अ = द्वैमातृ + उ + इ + अ I. 1. 51 S. 70). Similarly षाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short **उ** for the **ऋ** of मातृ : for the word मातृ would have taken the affix **अण्** by the general rule IV. 1. 83. S. 1073 The sūtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes a female.

Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumātri'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 S. 1126 as belonging to Subhrādi class

१११९ । कन्यायाः कनीन च । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

ढकीऽपवादोऽण् तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनादेशश्च । कनीनी व्यासः कर्णश्च । अमूढाया एवा-
पत्यमित्यर्थः ॥

1119. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'kanyā'.

Thus कन्यायाः अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz. Karṇa or Vyāsa. This debarb the ढक् of IV. 1. 121.

Note:—The word कन्या means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. हुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

११२० । विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

अपत्येऽण् । वैकर्णो वात्स्यः । वैकर्णित्यः । शौङ्गो भारद्वाजः । शौङ्गिरन्यः । छागल आत्रेयः ।
छागलिरन्यः । केचित्तु शुङ्गस्याबन्तं पठन्ति तेषां ढक् मत्पुदाहरणम् । शौङ्गेयः ॥

1120. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छागल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्स. otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥
छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुङ्गा ending with the feminine affix आप् is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

११२१ । पीलाया वा । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

तन्नामिकाणं बाधित्वा व्यचक्षति ढकि प्राप्ते षच्चेऽण् विधीयते । पीलाया अपत्यं पैलः । पैलेयः ॥

1121. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by IV. 1. 113 S. 1116; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 S. 1124 as it is a disyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sutra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pīla.'

११२२। ढक् च मण्डूकात् । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

आदण् । षच् इच् । माण्डूकेयः । माण्डूकः । माण्डूकिः ॥

1122. The affix ढक् comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ढक् = मण्डूकेयः; मण्डूक + अण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डूक + इच् = माण्डूकिः (IV. 1. 95).

११२३। स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् । ४ । १ । १२० ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक् स्यात् । वैनतेयः । बाह्वादिस्त्रीभिः । शिवादिस्त्रीसापन्नः ॥

1123. The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes ढक् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2 S. 183). So also सौपर्णेयः "the son of Vinatā or Suparṇī" But the son of सुमित्रा will be सौमित्रिः as it belongs to Bāhvādi class. (IV. 1. 96. S. 1096). Similarly the son of सपत्नि will be सापन्नः as it belongs to Śivādi class. (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115).

But ऐडबिडः and दारदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इडबिड and दारद, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affixes.

The affix ढक् comes after षड्वा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus बाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be बाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

The feminine words कुञ्जा and कौकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo"

११२४। द्यचः । ४ । १ । १२१ ॥

द्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपले ढक् । तन्नामिकाणोऽपवादः । दत्तेयः । पार्यं इत्यत्र तु तस्येदमित्यण् ॥

1124. The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113. S. 1116.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दातेयः 'the son of Dattā' But the son of दूता is however, दार्यः by अण् of IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.

Note:—Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe दामुनः "son of दमुना", which is a trisyllabic word and not dissyllabic.

११२५। इतश्चानिजः। ४। १। १२२॥

इकारान्ताद् अचोऽपत्ये ढक् स्यात् न त्विजन्तात्। दौलेयः। नैधेयः॥

1125. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ् ॥

The anuvṛitti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word अचः of the last sūtra. Thus दौलेयः 'the son of Duli'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधि' ॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "the son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe दाक्षायणः 'the son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095); so also प्लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचि" ॥

११२६। शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १२३॥

ढक् स्यात्। शुभ्रस्यापत्यं शौभ्रेयः॥

1126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शौभ्रेयः ॥

Note:—This debars इञ् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an

आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गंगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलाघल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाभू, 7 लेखाभू, (लेखाभ्र), 8 विकंसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिशु, 13 शालुक, 14 अजवस्ति, 15 शंकाधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 देवतर, 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उम, 24 ज्ञातल, (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्ड, 27 विस्त्रि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्ड, 32 शाताहर, 33 पवण्डुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठे। 36 गौधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण; 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 शुकण्ड, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदत्त, 49 सुवत्स, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कहु, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुगरिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिन, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धविह्वला, 67 खड्गोन्मत्ता, 68 अतुदष्टिन्, (अतुदष्टि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलिवर्दिन्, 71 विम, 72 वीज, 73 जीव, 74 म्वन्, 75 अरमन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर, 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यष्ट, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकयु, 86 यमष्ट, 87 कष्ट, 88 शुकण्ड, 89 शुव, 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥ The word Pravahana (39) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sūtra 1129 in forming its derivative.

११२७ । विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे । ४ । १ । १२४ ।

अवले ढक् । वैकरणेयः । कौषीतकेयः । अन्यो वैकर्णिः । कौषीतकिः ॥

1127. 'The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushīta', when they mean the descendants of Kāśyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौषीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

११२८ । भ्रुवो वुक् च । ४ । १ । १२५ ॥

चाड्ढक् । भ्रौवेयः ॥

1128. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रु + ढक् = भ्रु + वुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46 S. 36) = भ्रुव् + ढक् = भ्रौवेयः (VII. 1. 2.)

११२६। प्रवाहणस्य ढे। ७। ३। २८ ॥

प्रवाहणशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्यान्तमाहरेचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा हे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं प्रावाहणेयः। प्रावाहणेयः ॥

1129. Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥

Note :—The affix ढक् IV. I. 123, S. 1126 is added, here. Similarly प्रवाहणेद्यी भार्यास्य = प्रावाहणेद्यीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculation prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as “ Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vriddhi ”, and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, S. 842 (जाते) ॥

११३०। तत्प्रत्ययस्य च। ७। ३। २६ ॥

ढान्तस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्यान्तमाहरेचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं प्रावाहणेयः। प्रावाहणेयः ॥ बाह्यतद्धितानिनिष्ठा वृद्धिर्वाश्रयेण विकल्पेन बाधितुं न शक्यते इति सूत्रारम्भः ॥

1130. Even in a new derivative from प्रवाहणेय itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क्, there is vriddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member.

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः, ॥ In other words, the external vriddhi might have been caused by इञ् is not able to supersede the internal optional vriddhi de-pendent upon ढ ॥ Hence a separate sūtra.

११३१। कल्याणयादीनामिन्ङ्। ४। १। १२६ ॥

एषामिन्ङदेशः स्यात् ढक् च। काल्याणिन्यः। बान्धकिन्यः ॥

1131. The affix ‘ढक्’ comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

Note :—In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इन्ङ् for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1 120. S. 1123. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ढक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'the son of Kalyāṇi'
So also बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि)
7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

११३२ । कुलदाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इनङ्मात्रं विकल्प्यते ढक् तु नित्यः पूर्वयैव । कौलदिनेयः । कौलदेयः । सती भिक्षुवच
कुलदा । या तु व्यभिचारार्थं कुलान्यदति तस्याः क्षुद्राभ्यो वेति पक्षे ढक् । कौलदेरः ॥

1132. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा has another meaning also of a nun. Literally it means one who wanders (अदति) from one family (कुल) to another. i. e. "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman." This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have always taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120 S. 1123. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिने + ढक् = कौलदिनेयः, or कौलदेयः 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar'. This word कुलदा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 131 S. 1137. Thus कौलदेरः ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलदेरः and कौलदेयः and never कौलदिनेयः ॥

Note :—See Amarakosha II. 6. 26.

११३३ । हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

हृदाद्यन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भिति णिति किति च । सहवोऽपत्यं सौहार्दः
सुभगाया अपत्यं सौभागिनेयः । सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः सक्तुसिन्धवः । तेषु भवः साक्तुसैन्धवः ॥

1133. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ण्, ज्ञ् or क् ॥

As सहवोऽपत्यं = सौहार्दम्, सौभागिनेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), ॥

Note :—The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyāṇādi class (IV. 1. 126 S. 113) and the affix ढक् and इनङ् augment are added, सुभग also occurs in Udṅātṛ class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛiddhi in the second member, as महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly.

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have साक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhâdi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4, 150.
The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

११३३ । चटकाया षेरक् । ४ । १ । १२८ ॥

चटकायेति वाच्यम् * ॥ लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्त्रिया अपि । चटकस्य चटकाया वा अपत्यं चाटकैरः ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुक्वक्तव्यः * ॥ तयोरेव स्त्र्यपत्यं चटका । अजादित्वाद्वाप् ॥

1134. The word चटका takes the affix षेरक् in forming the Patronymic.

Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chatakâ'.

Vdt :—It should be rather stated that the word चटकः (masc.) takes the affix षेरक् ॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chaṭaka, it would be extended to the feminine chāṭakâ also, by the maxim liṅgavishishta &c. Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭaka'

Vdt :—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका, will be चटका, the दाप् being added, as it belongs to the Ajâdi class IV. 1. 4,

११३५ । गोधया दूक् । ४ । १ । १२९ ॥

गोधैरः । शुभादित्वात्पक्षे दक् । गोधेयः ॥

1135. The affix 'दूक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दूक् = गोधैरः ॥

Of the affix 'dbrak,' the letter द् is replaced by एङ् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475.), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076) and makes the udātta accent fall on the final (VI. 1. 165 S. 3712) Thus the real affix is एङ्ग, but the य is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śūbhrâdi class IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'dhak' as well. Thus गोधेयः ॥

११३६ । आरगुदीचाम् । ४ । १ । १३० ॥

गोधैरः । रकासिद्धे आकारोच्चारणमन्यतो विधानार्थम् । जडस्यापत्यं जाडारः । पण्डस्यापत्यं पाण्डारः ॥

1136. The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधरः ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and वण्ड also take this affix, as जाडरः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

११३७। क्षुद्राभ्यो वा। ४। १। १३१ ॥

अङ्गहीनाः शीलहीनाश्च क्षुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा ढक्। पक्षे ढक्। काणेरः। काण्येयः। दासेरः। दासेयः ॥

1137. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects.

The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. The anuvṛitti of ढक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. This sūtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काण्येयः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

११३८। पितृष्वसृङ्छण्। ४। १। १३२ ॥

अयोपवादः। पितृष्वस्त्रीयः ॥

1138. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृष्वसृ' ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसृ + छण् = पितृष्वस्त्रीयः, 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ् affix is replaced by ईय ॥

११३९। ढकि लोपः। ४। १। १३३ ॥

पितृष्वसृरन्यलोपः स्याद्ढकि। अत एव ज्ञापकात् ढक्। पितृष्वसेयः ॥

1139. The final vowel of 'पितृ-स्वस्' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृस्वस् + ढक् = पितृस्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृस्वस् takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

११४० । मातृस्वसुश्च । ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृस्वसुश्चैदुक्तं तदस्यापि स्यात् । मातृस्वस्त्रीयः । मातृस्वसेयः ॥

1140. So also, after the word 'मातृ-स्वस्' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

Whatever has been taught in the sūtras IV. I, 132, 133 S. 1138, 1139 above, as regards pitṛisvasṛi, apply to मातृस्वस् also. As मातृस्वस्त्रीयः or मातृस्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister.'

११४१ । चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् । ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debarb अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

११४२ । ढे लोपोऽकद्वाः । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कद्बुभित्रस्योवर्यान्तस्य भस्य लोपः स्यात् ढे परे । कामण्डलेयः । कमण्डलुशब्दश्चतुष्पाज्जाति-विशेषे ॥

1142. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Kadrū'

Thus कामण्डलेयः, but काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्य ॥ Here the word कमण्डलु means a certain quadruped.

११४३ । गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्यो ढञ् स्यात् । अण्डकोरपवादः । गार्ह्यः । मिर्चयोरपत्यम् । ऋष्यायि प्राप्ते ढञ् ॥

1143. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debarb अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ह्यः; हार्ह्यः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विभि, 6 कुत्रि, 7 अजवस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ॥

The word मित्रयु also belongs to this class and takes ढञ् instead of अण् of Rīṣi (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116) Thus मित्रयोरपत्यम् = मित्रयु + ढञ् ॥ Now the following sūtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of मित्रयु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलथानां यादेरियः । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषां यकारादेरिय् आदेशः स्यात् भिति यिति किति च तद्धिते परे । इति इयदेशे प्राप्ते ॥

1144. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ए or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकेयः (= केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1168) : similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with दुञ् (V. 1. 134 S. 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 S. 1799 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलेयम् (= प्रलयादागतं) ॥ As प्रलेयदुदकं ॥

Thus मित्रयु + ढञ् = मैत्र + इय् + एय ॥ This would give the form मैत्रेयेयः ; which is wrong. Hence the following sūtra

११४५ । दारिडनायन हास्तिनायनार्थवर्णिक जैह्याशिनेय वाशिनायनि झौणहत्य धैवत्य सारवैश्वक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ८ । ४ । १७४ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति युलोपः । मैत्रेयः । मैत्रेयौ ॥

1145. The following are irregularly formed ; 1. Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Âtharvaṇika, 4. Jaibmâsineya, 5. Vâsināyani, 6. Bhraṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya, 8. Sârava, 9. Aikshvâka, 10. Maitreya and 11 Hiraṇmaya.

Note :—These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दारिडनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly : दण्डिनोऽपत्यं =

वाण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV. 2. 63 S. 1273). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvanika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशिन् and वासिन् are Jaihmaśineya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Subh-râdi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126). and the latter with the affix फिन् of IV. 1. 167 S. 1181. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त् = भ्रूणहन्तो भावः, धीवन्तो भावः ॥ हन् takes त् before affixes having an indicatory ण् or झ् by VII. 3. 32 S. 2574: it might be said त् would be added to भ्रूणहन् before व्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like औषधी, वार्ष्णिः ॥ The त् in Bhraṇḇhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वां भव, = सारवमुदकं ॥ (9) The son of ईक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186), the final उ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेभ्यः भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अण् (IV. 2. 132 S. 1356). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकैः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grishtyâdi class IV. 1. 136, S. 1143 and takes ढञ् as मित्रयु+एय, Here VI. 4. 146, S. 84 requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of उ, but VII. 3. 2, S. 1144 required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, S. 311 before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asidha VI. 4. 22 S. 2183; however the result is the same, for अ+ए=ए by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The dual is मैत्रेयोः ॥ The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sūtra.

Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2 S. 1144. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु+अञ्=मित्र+इय (VII. 3. 2 S. 1144)+अ=मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4. 63 S. 1146) for then by II. 4. 63, S. 1146 अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, S. 1507 and not with डुञ् under IV. 3. 126 S. 1506; but

we require वृष्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

११४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपत्यप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्तत्कृते बहुल्ये न तु स्त्रियाम् । मित्रयवः ॥

1146. After the words यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural ; but not in the feminine.

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रयवः ॥

Note :—यस्क + अण् = यास्कः, a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson. In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः, 'the descendants of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क ॥ 2. लह्य ॥ 3. द्रुह्य ॥ 4. अयस्थूण ॥ 5. अयः स्थूण ॥ 6. वृणकर्ण ॥ 7. सदामत्त ॥ 8. कम्बलहार ॥ 9. बहिर्योग ॥ 10. कर्णाढक ॥ 12. पिण्डि अङ्घ्र ॥ 13. वकसस्थ ॥ 14. वकसक्य ॥ 15. विश्वि ॥ 16. कुद्रि ॥ 17. अजबस्ति ॥ 18. मित्रयु ॥ 19. रत्तोमुख ॥ 20. जङ्गारय ॥ 21. उत्कास ॥ 22. कटुक ॥ 23. मयक ॥ 24. मन्थक ॥ 25. पुष्करद् ॥ 26. पुष्करसद् ॥ 27. विषपुठ ॥ 28. उपरिमेखल ॥ 29. क्रोष्टुकमान ॥ 30. क्रोष्टुमान ॥ 31. क्रोष्टुपाद ॥ 32. क्रोष्टुमाय ॥ 33. शीर्षमाय ॥ 34. श्वरप ॥ 35. पदक ॥ 36. वषुक ॥ 37. भलन्दन ॥ 38. भण्डिल ॥ 39. भण्डिल ॥ 40. भङ्गित ॥ 41. भण्डिल ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोऽयश्च । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तत्कृते बहुल्ये न तु स्त्रियाम् । अत्रयः । भृगवः । कुत्साः । वसिष्ठाः । गोतमाः । अङ्गिरसः ॥

1147. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + ङक IV. 1. 122 S. 1125), the descendant of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः ; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः ; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमा, अङ्गिरसः ॥

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus धृगु + अण् = भार्गवः 'the descendant of Bhṛign.' Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इक् and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आनेयः, भार्गवः; dual आनेयौ, भार्गवौ; plural आनेयः, धृगवः &c.

Note :—But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियाचेयः or प्रियभार्गवः ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus :—आनेयः स्त्रियः ॥

११४८ । बह्वच इजः प्राच्यभरतेषु । २ । ४ । ६६ ॥

बह्वचः परो य इम् प्राच्यगोत्रे च वर्तमानस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पन्नागारः । युधिष्ठिराः ॥

1148. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इक् (IV. I. 95 S. 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पन्नागारः is पन्नागारः, there being elision of इक्; so also मयरेषणाः plural of मान्यरेषणिः; so the plural of युधिष्ठिराः is युधिष्ठिराः 'the descendants of Yudhishtira.'

Note :—But वैकिः and पौष्पिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्यः and पौष्प्यः ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas' ? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्यः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिवास्यः plural of हस्तिवासिः ॥

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4. 60 S. 2131. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

११४९ । न गोपवनादि : । २ । ४ । ६७ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । विदोयन्तर्गणोऽयम् । गोपवनाः । क्षेमवाः ॥

1149. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus गोपवन + अम् = गोपवनाः, plural गोपवनाः; singular गोपवः, plural गोपवाः ॥ The गोपवन &c., belong to Bidādi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104. S. 1106 and are the following :—गोपवनः शिशुः, बिन्दुः, भजन्, अश्व, अवतान, श्यामक and श्वापर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

११५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयश्च कैतवायनयश्च । तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् तस्य लुक् । तिककितवाः ॥

1150. After the words तिक-कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). Its plural is तैकायनयः । तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः ॥ There is elision of फिञ् ॥

So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) + भण्डीरयः = बांखरभण्डीरयः ; there is elision of इञ् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बांखरभण्डीरयाः 3. उपकल्मकाः (औपकायनाः + लामकायनाः, IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. elision of फक्), 4. पफकनरकाः (पाफकयः + नारकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of इञ्), 5. वकनखगुदपरिणद्धाः, 6. उब्जककुभाः (औब्जयः IV. 1. 95 S. 1095. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, S. 1115 then the elision of इञ् and अण्), 7. लङ्क्यान्तमुखाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 1. 95 as in 4), 8. उत्तर-सलङ्कदाः, or उरसलङ्कदाः (औरसायनः IV. 1. 154, + लङ्कितयः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of फिञ् and इञ् ॥ 9. भ्रष्टक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इञ् 'as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इञ्) 11. अग्निविश-वासेरकाः (आग्निवेशः IV. 1. 105 S. 1107 + वासेरकयः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of both यञ् and इञ्) ॥

११५१ । उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे चाद्वन्द्वे च । औपकायनाश्च लामकायनाश्च नडादिभ्यः फक् तस्य लुक् । उपकल्मकाः । औपकायनलामकायनाः । आष्टककपिष्ठलाः । आष्टकिकापिष्ठलाः । उपकाः । औपकाः । लमकाः । लामकायनाः ॥

1151. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. According to the *Kāshikā* the elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकजमकाः, or औपकायन-लामकायनाः ॥ भ्राष्टककपिष्ठलाः, or भ्राष्टकि-कापिष्ठलयः ॥ कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः ॥ But the plurals of औपकायनः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99 S. 1101) is उपकाः or औपकाः (or औपकायनाः) of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of भ्राष्टकि is भ्राष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः, or भ्राष्टकायनाः ॥ The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः ॥ The plural of काष्णोजिनः is कृष्णाजिनाः, or काष्णाजिनयः ॥ The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or काष्णसुन्दरयः ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

- 1 पण्डारक ॥ 2 अण्डारक ॥ 3. गडुक ॥ 4. सुपर्यक ॥ 5. सुपिष्ट ॥ 6. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7. खारीजङ्घ ॥ 8. शलानल ॥ 9. पतञ्जल ॥ 10. कठेरणि ॥ 11. कुशीतक ॥ 12. काशकृष्ण ॥ 13. निगघ ॥ 14. कलशीकण्ठ ॥ 15. शमकण्ठ ॥ 16. कृष्णपिणल ॥ 17. कर्णक ॥ 18. पर्णक ॥ 19. जटिलक ॥ 20. वधिरक ॥ 21. जन्तुक ॥ 22. अनुलोम ॥ 23. अर्द्धपिणलक ॥ 24. प्रतिलाम ॥ 25. प्रतान ॥ 26. अनभिहित ॥ 27. चूडारक ॥ 28. उदङ्क ॥ 29. सुधायुक ॥ 30. अन्नन्धक ॥ 31. पदञ्जल ॥ 32. अनुपद ॥ 33. अपजगघ ॥ 34. कमक ॥ 35. लेखाभ ॥ 36. कमन्दक ॥ 37. पिञ्चल ॥ 38. मसूरकर्ण ॥ 39. मराघ ॥ 40. कवामत्त ॥ 41. शमकण्ठ ॥

११५२ । आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् । २ । ४ । ७० ॥

एतयोरवयवस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्याऽणो यमश्च बहुषु लुक् स्यादवशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् एतावद्विशौ स्तः । अगस्तयः । कुण्डिनाः ॥

1152. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यञ् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः ॥ The affix अण् (IV. I. 114 S. 1117). after आगस्त्य and the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105 S. 1105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

११५३ । राजश्वशुराद्यत् । ४ । १ । १३७ ॥

राज्ञो जातावेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥

1153. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर' ॥

This debars अण् and इण् respectively.

Vart:—In the case of राजन्, the affix यत् would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jāti). Thus राजन्-यत् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra which prevents the elision of अन् before यत् ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यावौ तद्धिते परे अन् प्रकृत्या स्यान्न तु भावकर्मणोः । राजन्यः । श्वशुर्यः । जातिग्रहणाच्छूद्रावा-
बुत्पन्नो राजनः ॥

1154. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus राजन्यः (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word ; it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

As the word Jāti is used in the vārtika under IV. 1. 137 S. 1153. a son born of a Śūdrā wife by a Kshatriya will be राजनः ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि अन्प्रकृत्या स्यादिति दिलोपो न । अभावकर्मणोः किम् । राज्ञः कर्म भावो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वैमनः, सौख्यनः, जैत्यनः, from सामन्, वैमन्, सुखन् and जित्वन् ॥

Thus सामन्तु साधुः = सामान्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥

Why have we used the words "when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation" in the sūtra VI. 4. 168 S. 1154.? Observe राज्यम् meaning the "royalty," the state of being a king or the avocation. But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to the Lurohitādi class and takes यक् (V. 1. 128).

११५६ । संयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्प्रकृत्या स्यादणि परे । चक्रिणोऽपत्यं चाक्रिणः ॥

1156. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it

Thus चक्रिणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रिणः ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्यं चर्मणः । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽन्प्रकृत्या न स्यादपत्येऽणि । भाद्रसाम् । मपूर्वः किम् । सौत्वनः । अपत्ये किम् । चर्मणा परिवृत्तश्चर्मणो रयः । अवर्मणः किम् । चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

वा हितनाम्न इति वाच्यम् * ॥ हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं हैतनामः । हैतनामनः ॥

1157. In a stem in अन् with a preceding ष, with the exception of चर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus भाद्रसामः from भाद्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by ष'? Observe सौत्वनः, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चर्मणा परिवृत्तो रयः = चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167 S. 1155. Why do we say 'with the exception of चर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vāri :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजातौ । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागोऽत्र कर्तव्यः । ब्राह्म इति निपात्यते अनपत्येऽणि । ब्राह्मं हविः । तनोऽजातौ । अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मण्डिलोपो न स्यात् । ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं ब्राह्मणः । अपत्ये किम् । ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

1158. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a caste or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मं हविः, ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix: as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥ ब्राह्मोऽहर्त्तः, ब्राह्मः स्थालीपाकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes a caste'? Observe ब्राह्मोऽनारदः 'Nārada the son of Brahmā'.

११५६ । औक्षमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अणि विलोपो निपात्यते । औक्षं पदम् । अनपत्ये किम् । उक्ष्णोऽपत्यम् ॥

1159. From उच्चन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant?' Observe औक्षः = उक्ष्णोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided by VI. 4. 135 S. 1160 as given below.

११६० । अपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

अपूर्वो योऽन् तस्य हनाविअ भस्यातो लोपोऽणि । औक्षः । ताक्षः । भौग्नः । धृतराज्ञोऽपत्यं धार्तराज्ञः । अपूर्वेति किम् । सामनः । अणि किम् । ताक्ष्यः ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन् the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षः, ताक्षः, भौग्नः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्ष्यः formed by the affix य्य under IV. 1. 152 S. 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan.

११६१ । क्षत्राद्धः । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

क्षत्रियः । जातानिसेव । क्षत्रिरन्यः ॥

1161. The affix 'gha' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'Kshattrā'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya'. This is also a *class* name. The *son* of क्षत्र will be क्षत्रिः ॥

Note :—The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes त्रघ and तमघ् (I. 1. 22).

११६२ । कुलात्कः । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

कुलीनः । तदन्तादपि । उत्तरसूत्रेऽपूर्वपदादितिलिङ्गात् । आद्यकुलीनः ॥

1162. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'

Thus कुलीनः ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sūtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakafi'. That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus आन्वकुलिनः ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यङ्ढकञौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलादित्येव । पक्षे खः । कुल्यः । कौलेयकः । कुलीनः । पदमहणं किम् । बहुकुल्यः । बाहुकुलेयकः । बहुकुलीनः ॥

1163. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

Why do we say 'पद'? The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14 S. 29. The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V. 3. 68. S. 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादभ्यसञौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवर्तते । पक्षे खः । माहाकुलः । माहाकुलीनः । महाकुलीनः ॥

1164. The affixes 'अभ्य' and 'सञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahākula'

The word anyatarsyām 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra is understood here also. So we have ख also in the other alternative.

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139 S. 1162.

११६५ । दुष्कुलाद्दङ् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

पूर्ववत्पक्षे खः । शैष्कुलेयः । दुष्कुलीनः ॥

1165. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkula.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ण् also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

११६६ । स्वसुश्रुः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्त्रीयः ॥

1166. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars षण् ॥ Thus स्वस्त्रीयः 'the sister's son'

११६७ । भ्रातृव्यञ्च । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

चाच्छः । अणोऽपवादः । भ्रातृव्यः । भ्रात्रीयः ॥

1167. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars षण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The न् of व्यन् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

११६८ । व्यन्सपत्ने । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातृव्यन् स्यादपत्ये प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायेन शत्रौ वाच्ये । भ्रातृव्यः शत्रुः । पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येणेति तुपचारान् ॥

1168. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ', when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The difference between व्यन् and व्यन् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus भ्रातृव्य शत्रुः nephew who is an enemy पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and bhrātriya means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning. According to Kāśnikā, this bhātriya with acute on the first, never means nephew, but 'an enemy' pure and simple: the force of the affix is not that of a patronymic.

११६६ । रेवत्यादिभ्यश्च ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169. The affix 'उक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars उक् &c. Thus रेवती + उक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालकः (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). The उ is replaced by इक by the next sūtra.

१ रेवती, २ आश्वपाली, ३ मणिपाली, ४ हारपाली, ५ वृक्षजिह्वम्, ६ वृक्षपञ्च
७ वृक्षपाह, ८ कर्णपाह, ९ वृक्षपाह, १० कुक्कुटाक्ष, ११ (ककुशाक्ष) १२ आश्वपाह,

११७० । उत्येकः । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

आश्वपाहस्य उत्येकादेशः स्यात् । रेवतिकः ॥

1170. For उ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

Thus रेवती + उक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati.'

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुट्मने ण च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

गोत्रं वा स्त्री तद्वाचकाच्छब्दशब्दान् शब्दकौ स्तः कुत्सायाश्च । सामर्थ्याद्युनि । गार्ग्यं आपल
गार्गो गार्गिको वा ज्ञातः ॥ भस्यादे तद्धिते इति पुंस्त्रियावाङ्मार्ग्यशब्दाण्युत्तमौ । अत्येति लोपः ।
आपत्यस्येति यलोपः ॥

1171. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix उक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः ज्ञातः ॥ By the vārtika भस्यादे &c. (VI. 3. 35 S. 836), there is masculinisation, and so the affixes ण and उक् are added to गार्ग्य and not गार्गी ॥ Then by the sūtra VI. 4. 148. S. 311 the अ of गार्ग्य is elided. Then by VI. 4. 151. S. 1082, the ण is elided. Thus we get the form गार्गः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचकायनी will be ग्लौचकायनः and ग्लौचकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix.

Note :—Why do we say ‘a Gotra descendant.’ Observe कारिकोऽथ जाल्मः (formed by ठक् IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why ‘do we say female descendant? Observe औपशविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say ‘when contempt is meant’? Observe मार्गेऽथ माश्वकः which is to be explained as मार्ग्या अपत्यं पुमान् शुवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेरुपलक्षणाद्यर्थे प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

११७२ । वृद्धाठक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

सुवीरेषोऽङ्गाः सौवीराः । वृद्धास्तौवीरगोत्राद्यानि बहुलं ठक् स्यात् कुत्सायाम् । भागवित्तेर्भा-
गवित्तिकः । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तायनः ॥

1172. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix ‘ठक्’ is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after a Vridhdha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिक ‘the son of Bhâgavitti.’ In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) as भागवित्तायनः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तायनः only.

११७३ । फेदु च । ४ । १ । १४९ ॥

फिज्मन्तास्तौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः ठक् च कुत्सने गम्ये । यमुन्स्यापत्यं यामुन्दायनिः । तिकादिस्वात् फिम् । तस्यापत्यं यामुन्दायनीयः । यामुन्दायनिकः । कुत्सने किम् । यामुन्दायनिः । औत्सर्गिकस्याणोऽप्यक्षत्रियेति लुक् । सौवीरेति किम् । तैकायनिः ॥

1173. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिज् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन् will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix फिम् (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikâdi class., The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यामुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

Why do we say ‘contempt.’? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + अ (II. 4. 58 S. 1276) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Sauvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

Note :—The फेः of the sūtra refers to फिम् and not to फिन्, for a stem formed by फिन् will not have a Vridhdhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called Vridhdham; the anuvitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to a Kārikā, three फिमत् stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra, viz. वसुन्ध, सुयामा and वाष्वायनिः ॥ The son of वसु is Vāśhyāyani.

११७४ । फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिजौ । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौविरेषु । नेह यथासंख्यम् । अस्पात्तरस्य परनिपाताङ्गिरिति वृत्तिकारः । भाष्ये तु यथासंख्यमेवेति स्थितम् । फाण्डाहृतः । फाण्डाहृतायनिः । नैमत्तः । नैमत्तायनिः ॥

1174. The affixes ण and फिज् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvīra country, after the words Phāntāhrita and Mimata.

This debars फक् ॥ The Sauvīra is understood here also. The rule of I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply. For according to Kāśikā the reason is this. "By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, S. 905 the word मिमत् consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and फिज् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively." But according to the Mahābhāṣya. The rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies, and ण and फिज् are added respectively. Thus फाण्डाहृतः or फाण्डाहृतायनिः ; नैमत्तः or नैमत्तायनिः ॥

Note :—When not denoting Sauvīra Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनः and नैमत्तायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 S. 1103 and IV. 1. 99 S. 1101). The word मिमत् belongs to the Nāḍādi-class (IV. I. 99).

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपत्ये । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणाः । वावदूक्याः ॥ साध्याजः क्षत्रिये * ॥ साम्राज्यः । साम्राज्योऽन्यः ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also नार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 so that the form कौरव्यः is evolved both under the present sūtra and sūtra IV. 1. 172 S. 1190; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62 S. 1193); but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178), and it takes as such the affix फिज् ॥ As कौरव्यायनिः ॥ So also वावदूक्याः ॥

*Note :—*The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yajnyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix प्य not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

*Note :—*The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिप्यः ॥ There will not be puṇvadbhāva as required by VI 3. 34 S. 83 &c. For had there been puṇvadbhāva, then by मस्यङ्गे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṇvad before a taddhita affix except ङ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + प्य = केशिन + प्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 S. 1059 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केश् + प्य = केश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

*Note :—*The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore the form वेन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

*Note :—*The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kanvadi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. I. 105 S. 1107). Thus the pupils of वामरथः will be formed by the affix भञ् (IV. 2. 111 S. 1332). As वामरथ्य + भञ् = वामरथः (VI. 4. 151 S. 1082). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 65 S. 1147). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16 S. 471) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17 S. 473). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1108). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c. is expressed (IV. 3. 127 S. 1507): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kanvadi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by यथ, that is, it will have udātta on the last syllable.

Vārt :—The word सम्राज् takes the affix प्य when denoting a Kshatriya, Thus साम्राज्यः; otherwise साम्राजः, ॥

1 कुरु, 2 शर्गर (शर्ग K.), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक K.), 5 रथकार.
6 वावट्क, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कषि, 9 विमति (मति K.), 10 क्वापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक्
(or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 वितृप्तन्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि K.), 15 एजि*, 16
वातकि*, 17 शमोष्णीवि, 18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुठ, 21 शलाका (शलाका),
22 घुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक K.), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 भन्न, 27 बर्भ, 28 केशिनी,
29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 ग्रणर्थाय 31 श्यावनाथ, 32 श्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार,
35 बडभीकार 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्क, 40 शाक, 41 शार्कन्, 42
शालीन*, 43 कर्ह, 44 हद्, 45 हन्, 46 पिण्डी (हन्पिण्डी K.), 47 वामरथस्य
कण्वादिबस्वरवर्जम् ॥ (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्काण्डक, 51
पातकि, 52 घेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार ॥

११७६। सेनान्तजज्ञकारिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १५२ ॥

एभ्यो ण्यः । एति संज्ञायामिति सस्य षः । हारिवेण्यः । लाक्षण्यः । कारिः शिल्पी तस्मात्
तान्त्ववाय्यः । कौम्भकार्यः । नापित्यः ॥

1176. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus हारिवेण्यः, (त is changed to ष by VIII. 3, 99 S. 1023) लाक्षण्यः, तान्त्ववाय्यः, कौम्भकार्यः, नापित्यः ॥

११७७। उद्दीच्यामिञ् । ४ । १ । १५३ ॥

हारिवेण्यः । लाक्षणिः । तान्त्ववायिः । कौम्भकारिः । नापिताच्च परश्चात् फिञ्च । नापिताय-
निः ॥ तदर्थोऽण उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ताक्ष्यः । पक्षे ताक्ष्यः ॥

1177. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus हारिवेण्यः, लाक्षणिः, तान्त्ववायिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ The word नापित being a Vridhdha, non gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV. 1. 157 S. 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

Vārtika :—The affix अण् comes after तत्तन् carpenter.' (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 and VI. 4. 65 S. 1160. Thus it will have ताक्ष्यः or ताक्ष्यः but will not take इञ् ॥

११७८। तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् । ४ । १ । १५४ ॥

तैकायनिः ॥

1178. The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, ॥

The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate ष as वृषव्यायिणिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya : because it is immediately preceded by the word कौरव = उरसा सोते = उरशः कश्चिदः, his son will be aurasa with aś, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 S. 1174

will take the affix इञ् and not फिञ् of this Sūtra. See II. 4, 58 and 68 S. 1276, 1150.

1 तिक 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला, (बाल K.) 5 शिखा, 6 वरम् (वरण), 7 शाव्य (शाव्य K.) 8 सैन्धव, 9 यक्ष्ण, 10 रुच्य, 11 द्याव्य, 12 नील, 13 अविन्, 14 गौकश्य, 15 कुह (कह K.) 16 वेवर्य, 17 तैतल (तैतिल K.) 18 भौरस (भौरश), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौलिकि, 22 चौपयत, 23 चैटयत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत K.) 25 सैतयत, 26 वाजयत (धवाजयत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस्, 28 सुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 बरेण्य, 31 सुषामन्, 32 आरज्ज (आरहव), 33 वक्ष्यका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य K.) 35 हव, 36 ज्योमक, 37 उदज्ञ (उदय्य K.) 38 बज्ञ, 39 सुयामन्, 40 कश्य (कश्य), 41 भीत, 42 जाजल, 43 रस, 44 जावक, 45 धवजवद, 46 वज्ञ, 47 बन्धु, 48 आबन्धका (as well as आबन्धका) ॥

११७६ । कौशल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १५५ ॥

अपत्ये फिञ् । इमांऽपवादः ॥ परमप्रकृतेरेवायमित्यले * ॥ प्रत्ययसंनिधौमेव प्रकृतिरूपं निपात्यते । कुशलस्यापत्यं कौशल्ययनिः । कर्मरस्यापत्यं कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ छागवृषयोऽपि * ॥ छाग्यायनिः । वाव्यायनिः ॥

1179. The affix फिञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kauśalya, and Kārmārya.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कौशल्ययनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौशल्य or कार्मार्य", but they mean "the son of कौशल, and कर्मर," because of the following Ishti.

Ishti:—The affix however denotes the descendant of the first original words कुशल and कर्मर ॥

Vart:—The words छाग and वृष take the augment बुद् before the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus छाग्यायनिः and वाव्यायनिः ॥

११८० । अणो ह्यचः । ४ । १ । १५६ ॥

अपत्ये फिञ् । इमांऽपवादः । कार्मार्यायनिः । अण इति फिञ् । वाचायणः । ह्यचः फिञ् । औपगविः ॥ त्यादादीनां फिञ् वा वाच्य * ॥ त्यादायनिः । त्यादः ॥

1180. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कार्मार्यायनिः 'son of Kārtra', हात्र्यायनिः 'son of Hātra'.

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe वाचायणः 'son of Dākṣhī (IV. 1. 101), Why do we say 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

nouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix **फिञ्** ॥
शयनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or लादः ॥

बृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । १५७ ॥

तु । आभ्रगुप्तिः । बृद्धात्किन् । वाक्किः । अगोत्रात्किन् । औपगविः ॥

According to the opinion of the Northern school, a word with a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, extra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the augment.

"son of आभ्रगुप्त", ॥

According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable वाक्किः 'son of वक्त्रः' ॥ Why do we say 'not being वाक्किः औपगविः ॥

दीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । १५८ ॥

तस्यापत्यं वाकिनकायनिः । वाकिनिः ॥

The augment **क्** (Kuk) is added to the word when the patronymic affix 'phiñ'

केः ॥ This debars इञ् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of the aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In the alterative:—वाकिनिः ॥

(गोरध K.) 3 कार्कष्य (कार्कष्य K.), 4 जाक, 5 लङ्का,

इदंन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १५९ ॥

स्तस्मिन्परे पुत्रान्तस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गादिपुत्रकायणिः । गार्गा-

The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' is added.

anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern school a word with a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sūtra. Of course a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. I. 157 S. 1181; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कृक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

११८४ । प्राचामवृद्धाफिन्बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायनिः ॥

1184. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लुचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka'.

Note :—Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" ? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz प्राचाम् and बहुलं ? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of sūtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as शक्तिः, क्वाकिः ॥

११८५ । मनोजातावड्यतौषुक च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

समुदायार्थो जातिः । मानुषः । मनुष्यः ॥

1185. The affixes अण् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अण् = मानुषः "a man or man-kind", So also मनुष्यं formed with यत् ॥

Note :—These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु + अण् = मानथः 'son of Manu', as in मानवीप्रजा ॥ So also the word माण्यन्, where न् is changed into यन् denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदक्षत्रिययोर्वाचकादञ् स्यादपत्ये । क्षत्रियजनानेति सूत्रं निपातनाद्विज्ञेयः । ऐक्ष्वाकः । ऐक्ष्वाकौ ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् । तद्वाज्जमाचक्षात्तज्ञान इत्यन्वयसंज्ञासामर्थ्यात् । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चालः ॥ पुरोरण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पौरवः ॥ पाण्डोर्द्व्यण् * ॥ पाण्डवः ॥

1186. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus ऐक्ष्वाकः, dual ऐक्ष्वाकौ, plural ऐक्ष्वाकवः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. The final उ of ऐक्ष्वाकु is elided before this affix अञ् and we get the form ऐक्ष्वाकः because this anomalous form is so shown in VI. 4. 174 S 1145.

Note :—Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण् ; the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drūhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Pūru'. Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV, 1. 95 S. 1095) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king there of. Thus पञ्चालानाञ् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वदेहिः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

Vart :—Let the affix अण् come after पूरु ॥ Thus पौरवः ॥ "The king of the Pūrus." The word pūru is not the name of a country. The form would have been evolved by Pragdivyattya अण्, the present vartika is made in order to give it a tadrāja designation.

Vart :—The affix 'dyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पाण्डवः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

Note :—The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81 S, 1293. These words when denoting a country are always in the Plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular.

११८७ । साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६६ ॥

आभ्यामपत्येऽञ् । वृद्धेदिति व्यङ्गोऽपवादः । साल्वेयः । गान्धारः । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ।

1187. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhâri or the king of Gândhâri?' The vârtika under sūtra IV 1. 168 S. 1186 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'.

११८८ । मगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादृश । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अञोऽपवादः । मगध् । कलिङ्गः । सूरमसः । कालिङ्गः । सौरमसः । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1188. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus आंगः, वांगः सौह्रः, मागधः, कालिङ्गः, and सौरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa.' The Vârtika 'तस्य राजानि' given above applies to this also, as आंगो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

११८९ । वृद्धेऽक्रौस्तलाजादाञ्ज्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

वृद्धात् । आम्बङ्ग्यः । सौवीर्यः । इत् । आवन्त्यः । क्रौस्तल्यः । अजादस्यापत्ये आजाद्यः ॥

1189. The affix 'ज्यञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vṛiddha words, आम्बङ्ग्यः, सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambaṣṭha and Sauvira'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः 'the sons or kings of Avanti.' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also क्रौस्तल्यः and आजाद्यः, which are neither Vṛiddha nor end in short इ ॥

११६० । कुरुनादिभ्य एयः । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्यः । नैषध्यः । स नैषधस्यार्यपतेरित्यादौ तु चैषिकोऽण् ॥

1190. The affix एय comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'aṇ' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषध्यः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note :—How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेद्वच्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्यपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license, or the अण् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaishika aṇ of IV. 2, 92 S. 1312.

११६१ । साल्वावयवप्रत्ययप्रथमकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्य इञ् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वो जनपदस्तदवयवा उदुम्बरादयस्तेभ्यः प्रत्ययथादिभ्याम्भ्यश्च इञ् । अश्वोऽश्वपदः । औदुम्बरिः । प्रात्यमयिः । कालकूटिः । आश्मकिः ॥ राजन्यपेयवच् ॥

1191. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūṭa', and 'Āsmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) formed by इक्; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakārāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ, and Śaradandāḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः, माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यमयिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahābhāṣhya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍa, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसिः, अजमीढिः and अजकन्दिः ॥

११६२ । ते तद्राजाः । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अमादय एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1192. These (viz. the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 S. 1186. &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note :—The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of

before IV. I. 168 S. 1186; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yavan. See II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

११९३ । तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् । २ । ४ । ६२ ॥

पुत्रवर्षेषु तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात्तदर्थकृते बहुष्वे नतु स्त्रियाम् । इक्ष्वाकवः । पञ्चाला इत्यादि । कथं तर्हि कौरव्याः पशवः । तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्या इति च । कौरव्ये पाण्ड्ये च साधव इति समाधेयम् । रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये, निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथञ्चिदिति तु रघुयदुषाङ्गयोस्तदपत्ये लक्षणया ॥

1193. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174 S. 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the tadrāja-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अङ्ग + अण् (IV. 1. 170 S. 1188) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural आङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛidhi vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63 S. 263); but आङ्गवः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But अिद्वयं 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural अिद्वयं 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision.

Thus इक्ष्वाकवः the princes of Ikshvāku tribe; plural of ऐक्ष्वाकः; the tadrāja affix अङ्ग (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) is elided in the plural and so also, पञ्चालाः (plural of पाञ्चालः) the princes of the Pañchalās.

Why are the tadrāja affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्यः and पशवः, in the following phrases :—"कौरव्याः पशवः" ॥ "तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः" ॥

The affix य after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the tadrāja affix य, but the तपसायुः (IV. 4. 98 S. 1650) affix यत् ॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्य or पाण्ड्ये च साधवः = कौरव्याः or पाण्ड्याः ॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and यदु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the apatya affixes added to them can never get the designation of tadrāja, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in "रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये" ॥ "निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथञ्चिदित्" ॥ In other words, why have not the forms been राधवाणो and यादवैः? Ans. Here the words रघु and यदु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and यदु ॥ So the words have taken no apatya affix, and so there is no occasion for eliding any affix in the plural.

११९४ । कम्बोजाल्लुक् । ४ । १ । १७५ ॥

अस्मात्तद्राजस्य लुक् । कम्बोजः । कम्बोजौ ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ चोलः । शकः । अश्लक्ष्णस्यापो लुक् । केरलः । यवनः । अश्वो लुक् । कम्बोजाः समरे इति पाठः शुभानः । शीर्षादपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो येषामित्यर्थः । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणमावित् ॥

1194. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrāja affix.

Namely, the affix *अण्* which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'. कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas"

Vart :—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholā' &c Thus चोलः 'the king of the Cholās'. Here as well as in शकः the अण् (IV. 1. 121. S. 1124.) that comes after a dissyllabic word is elided. So also शकः, केरलः, यवनः ॥ The elision in the last two is of अण् ॥ "कम्बोजाः समरे" is a better reading than कम्बोजाः समरे ॥ If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that कम्बोजाः is formed by अण् of the sūtra IV 3. 93 S. 1473 : in the sense of "whose native land is Kamboja"; and as it is not a Tadrāja, it is not elided in the plural.

११९५ । स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुष्यश्च । ४ । १ । १७६ ॥

तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात् । अवन्ती । कुन्ती । कुरुः ॥

1195. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrāja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'āyañ'. (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. S. 521.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

११९६ । अतश्च । ४ । १ । १७७ ॥

तद्राजस्याकारस्य स्त्रियां लुक् स्यात् । शूरसेनी । मदी । कथं माद्रीसुताविंशति । ह्रस्व एव पाठ इति हरयतः । भर्गवित्त्वं वा कल्प्यम् ॥

1196. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrāja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी; *m.* माहः, *f.* मही ॥

The word *मतः* of the *sūtra* should not be construed by the rule of *tadananta vidhi* (I. I. 72 S. 26). If so construed it will mean "a *Tadrāja* affix ending in *अ* is elided". There have been taught five *Tadrāja* affixes, namely ' *अ* (*अ*)', ' *अप* (*अ*)', ' *न्या* (*अ*)', ' *न्या* (*अ*)' and ' *इ* (*इ*)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in *अ*; therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous *sūtra*, for then the present *sūtra* would have covered the case of ' *Avanti*', ' *Kuntī*', and ' *Kuru*' But the very fact of this *sūtra* IV. 1. 178 S. 1195 indicates by *ज्ञापक*, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore the feminine of *भारम्बद्धः* is *भारम्बद्धा*, of *सौवीर्यः* is *सौवीर्या* ॥

How do you explain the form *माही* in *माहीसुतो*? According to *Haradatta* it is wrong, the proper form is *महीसुतो* ॥ Or the form *माहीसुतो* is valid under the *Bhargādi* class (IV. 1. 178. S. 1197) and so the *Tadrāja* affix is not elided.

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्यः । ४ । १ । १७८ ॥

पुंभ्यस्तद्वाजस्य न लुक् । पाञ्चाली । वैदर्भी । आङ्गी । वाङ्गी । मागधी । एते प्राच्याः । भार्गी । कारुणी । कैकेयी । केकयीत्यत्र तु जन्यजनकभावतत्तुजे पुंयोगे ङीप् । युधा । शुक्रा । आभ्यां द्वय इति ङक् । ततः स्वार्थे षष्ठादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणमावित्यम् । भार्गवरायस्य इति ङीप् । अतस्तेति लुकि तु उगन्तस्वात् ङीप्पुनस्तनिर्वृत्तिस्वरः स्यात् । यौधेयी शौकेयी ॥

1197. The *Tadarāja* affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the *Kshatriyas* of the East, or it comes after the word ' *Bharga* ' &c. and ' *Yaudheya* ' &c.

This *sūtra* debars the elision of the *Tadrāja* affix *अ* (required by the last *sūtra*). Thus *पाञ्चाली* *वैदर्भी*, *आङ्गी*, *वाङ्गी*, *मागधी* these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the *Sarasvati* river. Similarly of *भर्ग* &c. Thus *भार्गी*, *कारुणी*, *कैकेयी* ॥ The form *केकयी* without *vridhi* is formed by the feminine affix *ङीप्* added to *केकय* with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter. So also of *यौधेय* &c. Thus *यौधेयी*, *शौकेयी* and *शौकेयी* ॥ The forms are thus derived. To *युधा* and *शुक्रा* is added the affix *ङक्* because they are dissyllabic words (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124). Then is added to them *अम्* without change of signification, by V. 3. 117 S. 2070. This *अम्* is a *Tadrāja* affix by virtue of V. 3. 119 S. 2072. Thus we get *यौधेयः* and *शौकेयः* ॥ Their feminine is formed by *ङीप्* as they end in the affix *अम्* ॥ (IV. 1. 73. S. 527). Now had we elided the affix *अम्* (V. 3. 117 S. 2070) which is a *Tadrāja*, by the last *sūtra* IV. 1. 178 S. 1196; the words would have been *ङक्*-ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in *ङीप्* which being *anudatta* would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udātta by VI. 1. 161 S. 3651. and so डीप् would become udātta, and the feminines would be final acute. But it is desired that the final should not be udātta. Hence अञ् is not elided. Thus we have औक्षेयी and औक्केयी with udātta on the initial as formed by डीप् (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686), and not औक्षेयी and औक्केयी ॥

The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word औषेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 S. 1196 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119 S. 2066 &c. Thus the Tadrāja affix ञप् in (V. 3. 117) added to पर्शु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पर्शु, m. मासुरः f मासुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुष (करुष K.) 3 केकय, 4 करमीर, 5 सास्व, 6 सुस्याल, 7 जरम् (जरश्च and जरस् K.) 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 औषेय, 2 औक्केय, 3 औक्षेय, 4 व्यावाणेय (यावाणेय K.), 5 धौर्तेय (धातेय; धातेय K.) 6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशीनर ॥ K. 9 धातेय ॥

११६८ । अणिओरनार्षयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः व्यङ् गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ७८ ॥

व्याशीनामन्युत्तमं तस्य समीपशुपोत्तमम् । गोत्रे आचक्षिमां विहितवनापौ तदन्तयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्रातिपदिकयोः स्त्रियां व्यङ्देशः स्यात् । निर्विशयायास्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिमोरेव । षड्विंशौ । यङ्भाष । कुमुदगन्धेरपत्यं स्त्री कौमुदगन्ध्या । आराह्या । अनार्षयोः किम् । वासिष्ठी । वैश्वामित्रौ । गुरुपोत्तमयोः किम् । औपगन्धी । जातिनक्षत्रो डीप् । गोत्रे किम् । अहिच्छन्ने जाता आहिच्छन्नी ॥

1198. Of the affixes अण् and इञ् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (व्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long आ under IV. 1. 74 S. 528; provided that, they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable.

Note:—The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिमोः 'of an and in,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi,' (3) गुरुपोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) व्यङ् 'the substitute is *shya*.' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting *gotra*.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by व्यङ् before the feminine affix आप्, in those words which denote non-rishi gotras, and have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like शक्ति &c.

Paribhāṣā :—Substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule. (See p. 117). Therefore the substitute व्यङ् replaces अण् and इङ् only.

Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ञ् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is ञ्, the letter ङ् differentiating this affix from व्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both.

In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV. 1. 74 S. 528. Thus कुसुमगन्धि 'having the smell of the white lotus', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus कुसुमगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088). Now we replace this affix by व्यङ् and have कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इङ् (as taught in Sūtra अतइङ् IV. 1. 75 S. 529): as वाराहः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'of अण् and इङ्' ? Witness आर्त्तमाणा from ऋतमाणा ॥ Here the word ऋतमाणा belongs to विशादि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अङ् in forming the gotra patronymic: this affix अङ् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इङ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी which is formed by ङीष् denoting jāti. (IV. 1. 63. S. 518). Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'a woman born in Ahichhatra',

११९९ । गोत्रावयवात् । ४ । १ । ७९ ॥

गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्यास्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरपि गोत्रोः स्त्रिया व्यङ्देशः स्यात् । अयुक्पोत्तमार्थं आरम्भः । पौण्ड्र्या । भौण्ड्र्या ॥

1199. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इङ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अणिमोः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अयुक्पोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i. e. names of kulas i. o. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुण्ड्रिक, भुण्ड्रिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list (Pravara-adhyāya). भौण्ड्र्या and भौखर्या ॥

Note :—The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like वैवदत्ता वासदत्ता ॥ These

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवशाध्याय ॥ These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । कौड्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८० ॥

स्त्रियां व्यङ् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अयुरूपोत्तमार्पेऽनगिर्मयश्चरम्भः । कौड्या । व्याड्या । स्रुत युवत्याम् * ॥ स्रुता ॥ भोज क्षत्रिये * ॥ भोज्या ॥

1200. The affix व्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इङ् ॥ In fact व्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौड्या 'a female kraudi', So also व्याड्या 'a female vyādi'.

1 कौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति, These are formed by इङ् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1096). 6 औपयत, 7 वैदयत (वेदयत), 8 लैकवत (लैकयत) 9 वैस्वयत (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि ॥ This is formed by इङ् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97 S. 1097) added to सुधात् ॥

11 स्रुतयुवत्याम् *Vārtika*:—The word स्रुत takes व्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden, as स्रुता; ; otherwise स्रुता 'a daughter', formed by टाप्, or स्रुती by ङीष् denoting a jāti.

12. भोजक्षत्रिये. *Vārtika*:—This debars ङीष् of jāti as भाज्या, (otherwise टाप् as भोजाः भाजयतीति), 13 यौतकि, 14 कौदि, 15 भोरिकी, 16 भौलिकी, 17 शास्मलि, 18 शास्मास्याल, 19 कापिष्ठांल 20 गौकश्य (गौलश्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by य of Gargādi class.

१२०१ । दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रिकाण्डेचिद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ ।

१ । ८१ ॥

एभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः व्यङ्वा । अगोचार्यनिदं गोत्रेऽपि परस्वात्प्रवर्तते । पक्षे इती मनुष्येति ङीष् । दैवयज्ञ्या । दैवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201. The affix व्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्डेचिद्धि ॥

Thus दैवयज्ञ्या or दैवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इङ्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyāñ would have come by that sūtra, it would have come

by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87 S. 1079. In the alternative when अह् is not added, ह्रीप् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 S. 520

अथ तद्वित् चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE QUADRUPLE SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्तं रागात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

रज्यतेऽनेनेति रागः । कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं काषायम् । माङ्गिजम् । रागात् किम् । देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम् ॥

1202. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby"

The verb रज्ज् means to change the white color into another color. That by which a thing is colored is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also माङ्गिजम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

Note:—In the sentence "काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हरिद्वौ कुक्कुटस्या पादौ" the words काषायौ and हरिद्वौ are used metaphorically.

From this sâtra up to IV. 2. 12 S 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence IV. 1. 82 S. 1072): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

१२०३ । लाक्षांरोचनादृक् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिकः । रौच्यनिकः ॥ शकलकर्दमाभ्यामुपसख्यानम् * ॥ शाकलिकः । कार्दमिकः । आभ्यामण-
पीति वृत्तिकारः । शाकलः । कार्दमः ॥ नील्या अन् * ॥ नील्या रक्तं नीलम् ॥ पीतात्कन् * ॥ पीतकम् ॥
हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामन् * ॥ हरिद्रम् । माहारजनम् ॥

1203. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lâkshâ, and rochanâ, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्तं वक्षः = लाक्षिकम्, so also रौषणीकम्,
Vārtika :—So also after शकल and कर्दम ॥ Thus शाकलिकः and कार्दमिकः ॥

According to the opinion of the author of Kāśikā the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दमः । Thus शाकलः and कार्दमः ॥

Vārt :—The affix अण् comes after नीलीः as नील्या रक्तं = नीलं वक्षः ॥ This debars अण् ॥

Vārt :—The affix कञ् (I. 3. 8 S. 195) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vārt :—The affix अञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महाएजन, as हाडिरञ् and माहाएजनञ् ॥

१२०४ । नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः । ४ । २ । ३ ॥

पुष्येण युक्तं पौषमहः । पौषी रात्रिः ॥

1204. The affix अण् already ordained by IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

Note :—A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms ; when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction.

Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौषः (VI. 4 149 S. 499) e. g. पौषमहः and पौषीरात्रिः “ the night in which the moon is in the Pushya ”

Note :—Why do we say नक्षत्रेण ‘connected with the asterism’ ? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल ‘time’ ? Observe पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

१२०५ । लुपविशेषे । ४ । २ । ४ ॥

पूर्वेण विहितस्य लुप्स्यान् षष्ठित्वात्मकस्य कालस्यावात्तगविशेषश्चेन्न गम्यते । अथ पुष्यः । कथं तर्हि पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषीति । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्य इति निर्देशेन पौर्णमास्यामयं लुप् वेति ज्ञापितत्वात् । श्रवणशब्दात् अत एव लुप् युक्तवद्भावाभावश्च । अवाधकात्यापि निपातनानि । श्रावणी ॥

1205. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours,

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 dandas (24 hours) such as night &c. A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kala) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing an asterism. To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (aviśeṣha). To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically. This can be done by affixes. Thus अद्य पुष्यः to day belongs to the asterism Pushya meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

If the full day of 24 hours, being aviśeṣha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a *full moon day*? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्यपुष्याः पौर्णमासी &c for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be *full moon day*; for then we must say अद्यपौषी पौर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्याः पौर्णमासी ॥

Why is the affix not elided in पौषी in the sentence पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी (Amara Kosha I. 26). by the present sūtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a *full-moon* in that asterism. This rule we deduce by inference from the sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225, where Pāṇini has exhibited the words Phālgunī, Kārtikī, and Chaitrī without the elision of the case-affix.

The words Phālgunī &c there mean "the day in which the full-moon is in the asterism Phālgunā, Kṛittikā, or Chitrā" That sūtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon-asterism, see IV. 2. 21. S. 1221.

That sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism अवण there is lup-elision of the day-denoting affix, even where such day is the full-moon day. For the full-moon day would have been आवणी like फाल्गुणी, but that sūtra shows it as अवण ॥ The word अवण means that Purnamāṣī day when the full moon is in Śravanā. Not only this, but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by lup after अवण yet the rule I. 2. 51 S. 1294 does not apply. That rule declares that where there is a lup-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original. The form ought to have been अवणः and not अवणम् had I. 2. 51 S. 1294 applied; as we find मूलः and अवयवः in मूलेनावहयेद् देवी अवणेन विसर्जयेत् see II. 3.45 S. 642.

The form आवणी without lup-elision is also valid, on the maxim अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि "The anomalous forms (nipātanās) are also non-deterrents i. e. they do not debar the regular forms". Therefore the irregular अवण

and the regular *श्रावणी* both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in *śravaṇā*" are valid.

Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours. Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism. (1) As *पौषीरात्रिः* 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya.' *पौषमहर्* "the day in which &c." (2) But when the *full* period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also. As *अद्यपुष्यः* "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya." In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms. (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full. There the affix must be added. As *अद्यपौषी*, "today is the day when the *full*-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also. In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is *full*. As *पौषो मासः* "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya."

१२०६ । संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् । ४ । २ । ५ ॥

विशेषार्थोऽयमारम्भः । श्रवणा रात्रिः । अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः । संज्ञायां किम् । श्रावणी । आश्वत्थी ॥

1206. The affix above ordained is elided by *lup*, after the words *Śravaṇā* and *Aśvattha*, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

This sūtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or *prahara* &c.

Thus *श्रवणा रात्रिः*, *अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः* "the night called *Śravaṇā*; the *Muhūrta* called *Aśvattha*". Why do we say 'when it is a Name or *Sanjñā*?' Observe *श्रावणी* or *आश्वत्थी* ॥

१२०७ । द्वन्द्वाच्छुः । ४ । २ । ६ ॥

नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वाद्युक्ते काले छः स्यात् विशेषे सत्यसति च । तिथ्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः । राधातुसाधीया रात्रिः ॥

1207. The affix *छ* comes after the *Dvandva* compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms; whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time.

Thus राधातुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥

Note :—So also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अथ राधातुराधीयम्, अथ तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4. S. 1205 which ordains लुप (1. 4. 2 S. 175). Kāśikā; Or the हृ is not elided on the maxim मध्येऽपवाद “an apavāda rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it.” Therefore अण् which precedes IV. 2. 4 S. 1205 will be debarred and not हृ which succeeds it.

१२०८। दृष्टं साम । ४ । २ । ७ ॥

तेनेलेव । वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं वासिष्ठं साम ॥ वास्मिन्नर्थेऽण् ङिङ्वाक्त्वयः * ॥ उशनसा दृष्टमौशनम् । औशनसम् ॥

1208. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of “seen”—the thing seen being the Sāma Veda.

Thus वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं = वासिष्ठं साम “the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Vasishṭha”.

Vārt :—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of “the Sāma-Veda seen.” Thus उशनसा दृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of ङित् being to elide the ङि portion; VI. 4. 143 S. 316).

१२०९। कलेर्दक् । ४ । २ । ८ ॥

कलिना दृष्टं कलेयं साम ॥

1209. The affix दक् comes, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word ‘Kali’, being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम = कलेयं ॥ “The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali”. This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt :—The affix ‘ḍhak’ comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of the Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् ‘the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni’. अग्नौ भवं = अग्नेयम् ‘who stays in Agni’ (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428) अग्नेरागतं, “what has come from Agni” = आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कलेयम् means ‘the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt :—The affix अण् in the sense of ‘born’, is optionally treated as ङित् provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV. 1. 83. ; but it is debarred by उच् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषः or शतभिषजः ॥

Vārt :—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयिकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तार्तीयिकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt :—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt :—The affix वुच् IV. 3. 126 has the force of “ the Sama-Veda seen ” when it comes after a Gotra-word. Thus औपसवकम् or कापथकम् ‘the Sāma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava’. The affix वुच् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana. The following Kārikā sums up the above vārtikas,

दृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विण्डिङ्गा विधीयते ।

तीयादीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्कदादिष्यते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाङ् इयङ् इत्यौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धे यस्येति लोपेन किमर्थं यस्यतो ङितौ ॥

महणं माऽतदर्थं भूङ्गामदेव्यस्य नञ्त्वरे ॥

1210. 'The affixes इयत् and इय come after the word Vāmadeva, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory न् in ‘dyat’ shows that य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 185 S. 3729).

Kārika :—Why the affixes य and यत् have an indicatory ङ, when the elision of the final णि would have taken place by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148. S. 311) even ? Ans. They are ङित् in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udātta when a negative particle is added to it. It serves the purpose of regulating नञ् accent.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided by the rule VI. 4. 148 S. 311, without making this affix ङित्, then what is the use of making this affix ङित् ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jāpaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhāṣhās निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य “when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it” तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातनुबन्धकस्य “when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it”.

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of ‘dyā’ and ‘dyat’, then by rule VI. 2. 156 S. 3890 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udātta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2. S. 3736). As अ वामदेव्यं ॥

१२११। परिवृतो रथः । ४ । २ । १० ॥

वस्त्रैः पारवृतो वास्त्रो रथः । रथः किम् । वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः । समस्ताद्देहितः परिवृत उच्यते । तेनेह न । छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded'; the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रैः परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth.' The word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृता रथः "the chariot surrounded by pupils."

१२१२। पाण्डुकम्बलादिभिः । ४ । २ । ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृतः पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्तरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वाचकः । मत्वर्थीयेनैव सिद्धे वचनमणो निवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥

1212. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, which has the sense of matup, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

१२१३। द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् । ४ । २ । १२ ॥

द्वैपिनो विकारो द्वैपम् । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एवं वैयाघ्रः ॥

1213. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyāghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥

Note :—This affix अञ् debarb अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

१२१४। कौमारापूर्ववचने । ४ । २ । १३ ॥

कौमारित्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वस्य निपातनमिदम् । अपूर्वपतिं कुमारी पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारः पतिः । यद्वा । अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिरुपपन्ना कौमारी भार्या ॥

1214. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारः पतिः = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारीकुम्पन्नः 'the husband of a virgin', i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिस्तुपत्न्या "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

Note :—The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमारीच आवः = कौमारः ; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तत्रोद्धृतममन्त्रेभ्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

शराव उद्धृतः शराव ओदनः । उद्धरतिरिहोद्धरणपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । तेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य निहित इत्यर्थः ॥

1215. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमन्त्र means 'vessels': उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner'. Thus शरावेषुद्धृतः = शराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish." That is, the uchchiṣṭa or leavings of food already eaten; or the remainder of food that remains after dinner. So also मालिकाः, कार्परः ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another. Hence the Locative. In other words-uddhṛita means here "placed".

Note :—Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel" ? Observe पाणवुद्धृत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 S. 1223 inclusive.

१२१६ । स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । समुदायेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते । स्थण्डिले शयते स्थाण्डिलो भिक्षुः ॥

1216. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमन्व = स्थण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârt.

Note :—Why do we say 'vow' ? Observe स्थण्डिले शयितुं ब्रह्मव्रतः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'.

१२१७। संस्कृतं भक्षाः। ४। २। १६॥

सप्तम्यन्तादण् स्वात्संस्कृतेऽर्थे यत्संस्कृतं भक्ष्येति स्युः। आद्ये संस्कृता आद्या वधाः। अट्ट कपालेषु संस्कृतोऽटाकपालः पुरोडाशः॥

1217. The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus आद्ये संस्कृता भक्षा = आद्याः 'barley fried in the pan'. Similarly अटा-कपालः पुरोडाशः here अण् is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080

Note :—Why do we say "if it means food" ? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालायुगः॥

१२१८। शूलोखाद्यत्। ४। २। १७॥

अणोपवाहः। शूले संस्कृतं शूल्यं मांसम्। ज्वला पात्रविशेषः। तस्यां संस्कृतम् उच्यते॥

1218. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and ज्वला ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ज्वलयम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'. For accent see VI. 1. 213 S. 3701.

१२१९। दध्नेष्टक्। ४। २। १८॥

इति संस्कृतं दधिकम्।

1219. The affix टक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus इति संस्कृतं = दधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'.

Note :—This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3 S. 1551, but the दधिकम् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the दधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

१२२०। उद्विधितोऽन्यतरस्याम्। ४। २। १९॥

उक् द्यास्पक्षेण॥

1220. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उदध्वित्** ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus **औदध्वित्कम्** (VII. 3. 51), or **औदध्वितम्** by **अण्** ॥ The word **औदध्वित्कम्** is thus formed. **उदध्वित् + ठक्** ॥ Here applies the following rule.

१२२१ । **इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥**

इस् उस् उक् त एतदन्तात्परस्य **ठस्य कः** स्यात् । उदकेन ध्वयति वर्धते इत्युदध्वित् । तत्र संस्कृतः औदध्वित्कः । औदध्वितः । **इसुसु**ः प्रतिपशोक्तयोर्महणान्नेह । आशिषा चरति आशिषिकः । उषा चरति औषिकः ॥

लेश उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ शोभ्यो चरति दौष्कः ॥

1221. **क** is substituted for **ठ** after a stem ending in **इस्**, **उस्**, **उक्**, (**उ**, **ऊ**, **ऋ**) and **त्** ॥

This word *udaśvit* literally means that which grows by water. It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd. Thus **औदध्वित्कः**, or **औदध्वितः** by **अण्** ॥ The **इस्** and **उस्** are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, **आशिषिकः** (= **आशिषा चरति**), **दौष्कः** (= **उषा चरति**) ॥

Vart:—So also after **दोस्**, as **दौष्कः** (**दोभ्यो चरति**) ॥

१२२२ । **क्षीराद्धञ् । ४ । २ । २० ॥**

अत्र संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते ननु भक्षा इति । तेन यवाग्न्यामि भवति । क्षीरेषी ॥

1222. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshîra', ending in the locative case in construction.

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food'; and therefore the derivative applies to **यवाग्नू** (which is not an article of food.?).

This debar **अण्** ॥ Thus **क्षीरे संस्कृतः** = **क्षीरेषी यवाग्नू** 'milky gruel'.

१२२३ । **सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । ४ । २ । २१ ॥**

इतिशब्दात्संज्ञायामिति लभ्यते । पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् पौषो मासः ॥

1223. The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word **इति** in the *sûtra* indicates that we should read **संज्ञायाम्** here.

Note:—The word **स** means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV 1. 82 S. 1072 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction".

अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word संज्ञायाम् in the sūtra. It does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by the author of the Kāśikā from a Vārtika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः 'the month Pausa i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'.

Note :—Similarly पौषोऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् इशरात्रे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

Note :—The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way :—पुण्यो माः = पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इवम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means "moon".

१२२४। आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाढक् । ४। २। २२ ॥

अये हायनमस्या इत्याग्रहायणी । प्रज्ञादेशकृतिगणवाद्यम् । पूर्वपदार्थसंज्ञायामिति जन्मम् । आग्रहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आग्रहायणीको मासः । अश्वत्येन युक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्यः । निपातनात्पौर्णमास्यामपि लुप् । आश्वत्थिकः ॥

1224. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'āgrahāyaṇī' and 'aśvattha' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ The word āgrahāyaṇī is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning agre hāyanam asyāḥ : "that which has the year (hāyana) before it"—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix अण्, because it belongs to Prajñādi class which is an ākṛitigana (V. 4. 38 S. 2106). Thus अग्र + हायन + अण् = आग्रहायण ॥ The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. Thus आग्रहायणीको मासः 'the month called āgrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of āgrahāyaṇa'. Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha. The affix denoting time is elided as nipātana. From it we have आश्वत्थिकः ॥

१२२५ । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यश्च पक्षेऽण् । फाल्गुनिकः । फाल्गुनी मासः । श्रावणिकः । श्रावणः । कार्तिकिकः । कार्तिकः । चैत्रिकः ॥ चैत्रः ॥

1225. The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words 'Phālgunī', 'Śravanā', Kārtikī' and 'Chaitrī' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full in those asterisms.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् which also comes in the alternative

१२२६ । साऽस्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्येति ऐन्द्रं हविः । पाशुपतम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । त्यज्यमानद्वये उद्देश्यविशेषो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः । आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति तु शैबिकेऽयं सर्वत्रापीति ठक् ॥

1226. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his".

सा = 'after a word in the first case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रादेवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् हविः 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly पाशुपतम् 'oblation belonging to Paśupati.' So also बार्हस्पत्यम् ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रोमन्त्रः the word aindra means the *hymn* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered. The affix is added, therefore, to, denote the mantra by which a devatā is praised, and who is referred to, while the offering is thrown into fire. (Mantra-stutyā = mantreṇa stutyā. Stutyā is a feminine word in apposition with devatā, and formed by kyap and ṭap. See III. 1. 109. S. 2857). And in आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति the affix ठक् is added by IV. 2. 33 S. 1236 in the śāśika sense to agni. It is added by analogy.

Note :—The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV, 2. 35 S. 1238. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV, 2. 21 S. 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not

extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍaśa &c. offered in a sacrifice'.

१२२७ । कस्येत् । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

कस्येत् इति शब्दः स्वात्मत्यसन्नियोनेन । यस्येति लोपात्स्वस्वादिबुद्धिः । को ब्रह्मा ईशतास्या कायं हविः । श्रीदेवतास्य आयम् ॥

1226. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः ॥ Similarly आयं from श्री "the oblation sacred to Śrī". The rule VI. 4. 148. S. 311 required the elision of इ before अण्; but it is prevented by the rule of vṛiddhi VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 which is subsequent to it.

१२२८ । शुक्राद्धन् । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

शुक्रियम् ॥

1228. The affix घञ् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'śukra'.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus शुक्र + घञ् = शुक्रियम् हावः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

१२२९ । अपोनप्त्रपात्रन्तृभ्यां घः । ४ । २ । २७ ॥

अपोनप्त्रियम् । अपानप्त्रियम् । अपोनपात् अपानपाच्च देवता । प्रत्ययसन्नियोनेन तृक्तं रूपं निपात्यते । अत एवापोनपाते अपानपातेऽनुब्रूहीति प्रेषः ॥

1229. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपानप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपानपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in न्तृ when the affix is to be added, otherwise they retain their form. As in the directory sentence : अपोनपाते अपानपातेऽनुब्रूहि ॥

१२३० । छ च । ४ । २ । २८ ॥

योगविभागो ययासंख्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः । अपोनप्त्रियम् ॥ अपानप्त्रियम् ॥ शतरुद्राश्च * ॥ चाच्छः । शतं रुद्रा देवता अस्य शतरुद्रियम् । शतरुद्रियम् । घच्छयो निधानसातर्थाद्वाङ्मोर्लुगनपत्ये इति न लुक् ॥

1230. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity',

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apānnaptri. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपानप्रीयं or अपानप्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapāt or Appānnapāt'.

Note :—This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I. 3. 19 S. 128. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus : "The affixes घ and छ come after Aponaptri and Apānnaptri", the meaning of which according to I. 3. 19 S. 128 would have been "the affix घ comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apānnaptri" But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vart :—The word शतसह takes घ and छ both in the sense of 'that its deity.' e. g. शतसहस्रियं and शतसहस्रं ॥ The luk-elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not take place here ; for then the Vārtika would have become useless. The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word śatarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

११३१ । महेन्द्राद्याणो च । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

आच्छः । महेन्द्रियं हविः । महेन्द्रम् । महेन्द्रियम् ॥

1231. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity"

As महेन्द्रियम् हविः = महेन्द्रम् and महेन्द्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

१२३२ । सोमाद् व्यण् । ४ । २ । ३० ॥

सौम्यम् । दिव्यान्डीप् ॥ सौमी ऋक् ॥

1232. The affix व्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity"

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of व्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ण् causes the affixing of डीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150 S. 472) = सौमी ॥

१२३३ । वायवृत्तुपिबुषसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । ऋतव्यम् ॥

1233. The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vāyu', 'ṛitu', Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम् ॥ The next form पितृ + यत् requires the following sūtra for its evolution.

१२३४ । रीडृतः । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अकृषकारेऽसार्धधातुके सकारे च्चौ थ परं ऋन्ताङ्गस्य रीडोदेशः स्यात् । अत्येति च । पित्र्यम् उषस्यम् ॥

1234. **री** is substituted for the final short **क्** of a stem, before an affix beginning with **ये**, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sārvadhātuka affix, and before the adverbial affix **ञि** ॥

The anuvṛitti of **किङ्ति** is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of **चनौ** and **अकृतार्धधातुकयोः** is present. The **किङ्** and **तिङ्** not being understood here, we have **वितावेवताभस्य=विञ्यम्** which is thus formed **विञ् + यत् = पित्री + ङि = पिञ् + ङ** (**ङि** being elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311). So also **उपत्यम्** ॥

Note :—Why do we say short **दृ**? Observe **चेकीर्यते**, from **कृ** **विद्यते**, with **बद्ध** **कृतः** धातोः and **हलि** **च** lengthening. **मिषेयित्यते** from **कृ** and **गु** ॥

१२३५ । द्यावापृथिविशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमिवास्तोषपतिगृहमेधावच्छ च ।
४ । २ । ३२ ॥

चाद्यत् । द्यावापृथिवीयम् । द्यावापृथिव्यम् । शुनासीरीयम् । शुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235. The affix **छ** comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvâ-Prithivî', 'Śunāsira', 'Marutvat', Agnîshoma', 'Vāstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars **अण्** and **ण्य** ॥ Thus **द्यावापृथिवीयम्** or **द्यावापृथिव्यम्** 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. **शुनासीरीयम्** or **शुनासीर्यम्** 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śira (Sun)' (VI. 3. 26 S. 922 for the lengthening of the **अ** of **शुन**) **मरुत्वतीयम्** or **मरुत्वत्यम्** ॥ **अग्निषोमीयम्** or **अग्निषोम्यम्** ॥ **वास्तोष्पतीयम्** or **वास्तोष्पत्यम्** ॥ **गृहमेधीयम्** or **गृहमेध्यम्** ॥

Note :—According to Haradatta, Śunāsira is an epithet of Indra, Marutvân is also a name of Indra, meaning 'Lord of Maruts'. Agnîshoma is formed by VI. 3. 27. S. 923. Vāstoshpati is an irregularly formed word = Vāstunah pati.

१२३६ । अग्नेर्देव । ४ । २ । ३३ ॥

आग्नेयम् ॥

1236. The affix **दण्** comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agnî.

Thus **अग्निर्वेवताऽस्य=आग्नेयः** ॥

१२३७ । कालेभ्यो भववत् । ४ । २ । ३४ ॥

नास्तिकम् । प्रावृषेण्यम् ॥

1237. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 to IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'

Thus by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 (read with IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), the affix डम् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there.' The same affix will also come in the sense of साऽस्त्वदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + डम् = मास = इक VII. 3. 50 S. 1170); मावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17 S. 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासा देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

१२३८ । महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाङ्गम् । ४ । २ । ३५ ॥

महाराजिकम् । प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

1238. The affix डम् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârāja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपदिकं ॥

१२३९ । द्येताङ्गश्चे च । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अथ पूर्वोत्तरपदयोराद्यो वृद्धिः स्यात् मिति णिति किति च परे । आग्निमाहृतम् ॥

1239. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas.

As आग्निमाहृती in आग्निमाहृतीमनकुहीनामनेत् ॥ आग्निमाहृते कम् ॥

Note :—The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि) ॥ Therefore, not here. स्कान्दविशाली देवैतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशालः (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226). So also ब्रह्मप्रजापत्यम् by ण् from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26 S. 922.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमाहृत, आग्निमाहृतम् is by VI. 3. 28 S. 925. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering.

१२४० । नेन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्येन्द्रस्य वृद्धिर्न स्यात् । सौमेन्द्रः । परस्य किम् । ऐन्द्राग्रः ॥

1240. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of Indra when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, अग्निन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्र मेकादशकपालं चरं निर्वपेत् ॥

Note :—There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the इ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148 S.

311, and the other (i. e. the इ) coalesces with the last vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + न्द्र + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim: बहिरङ्गनापि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्योत् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गाऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antaranga, take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पुर्वैषुकामरुम (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vriddhi.

१२४१ । दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य । ७ । ३ । २३ ॥

दीर्घस्वरस्य वरुणस्य न वृद्धिः । ऐन्द्रावरुणम् । दीर्घात्किम् । आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत ॥ तस्मिन्वर्तते इति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ नावयज्ञिकः कालः । पाकयज्ञिकः ॥ पूर्वमासोऽस्यां वर्तते इति वार्जमासी तिथिः ॥

1241. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, इ or ऊ, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणो &c (VI. 3. 26 S. 922). Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत where a short vowel precedes it.

Note:—This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणो the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27 S. 923. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28 S. 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

Vart:—After the words नवयज्ञ &c. the affix उभ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः ॥

Vart:—After the words पूर्वमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्वमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = वार्जमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

१२४२ । पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एतेनिपात्यन्ते ॥

पितृभ्रातरि ष्वत् * ॥ पितृभ्राता पितृव्यः ॥ मातृकुलम् * ॥ मातृभ्राता मातुलः ॥

मातृपितृभ्यां पितरि डामद्वयम् ॥ मातुः पिता मातामहः । पितुः पिता पितामहः ॥ मातरि षिच् * ॥ मातामही । पितामही ॥

अवेदुग्धे सोढदूतमरीसचो वन्तव्याः * ॥ सकारपाठसामर्थ्यात् षः । अविमरीसम् ।
अविमरीसम् ॥

तिलानिष्फलात्पिञ्जपत्रौ * ॥ तिलपिञ्जः । तिलपेजः । वन्त्यस्तिल इत्यर्थः ॥

पिञ्जरक्तुन्सि डिञ्च * ॥ तिलपिञ्जः ॥

1242. The words *pitri*vyā, 'a father's brother', *mātula*, 'a mother's brother', *mātāmaha*, 'a mother's father' and *pitāmaha*, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following.

Vārtika :—पितृमातृभ्यां भातरि व्यङ् डुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and डुलचौ come respectively after the words *pitri* and *mātri* in the sense of his or her brother'. Thus पितृव्यः and मातृलः respectively.

Vārtika :—बाभ्यां पितरि ढामहच्, मातरि पिञ्च ॥ The affix *ḍamahach* comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ष् ॥ Thus पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vārt :—The affixes सोढ, दूत्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेदुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूत्सम् or अविमरीसम् ॥ The स is not changed to ष in these; for if it was so changed, the author would have read षोढच् &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process. The fact of his using सोढच् &c shows that the स is not to be changed to ष in these examples.

Vārt :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vārt :—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like डिञ्च in the Chhandas. As तिलपिञ्जः ॥

१२४३ । तस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकानां समूहः काकम् । वाकम् ।

1243. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

Thus काकानां समूहः = काकम् ॥ So also वाकम् ॥

Note :—The affix झण् (IV. I. 83 §. 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection. What is the example

of this ? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix टक् by IV. 2. 47 S. 1256, a word having anudātta on the first syllable will have the affix अम् IV. 3. 44 S. 1419, a Gotra word will take वुम् IV. 2. 39 S. 1246 and especial words like केशर &c take यम् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is :—काकानां समूहः=काकम् 'a collection of crows' बाकम् ॥ The phrase सस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up of sūtra IV. 2. 51 S. 1260 inclusive.

Vārt:—The affix मायश् comes after the words गुण्य &c. As गुणमानः 'a collection of qualities', करणमानः &c. The following are some of such words:—गुण्य, करण, सस्य, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigana.

१२४४ । भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ३८ ॥

भिक्षाणां समूहो भैक्षम् । गर्भिणीनां समूहो गार्भिणम् । एह भस्याह इति पुंवङ्गावे कृते ॥

1244. The affix अण्, comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गार्भिणम् ॥ It is thus formed गर्भिणी + अण् = गार्भिण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory इ, भस्याह तद्धिते See VI. 3. 35. S. 836 Vārtika) Now the sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679 requires the elision of the syllable इन् of गर्भिन्, but the following sūtra prevents that.

१२४५ । इनयनपत्ये । ६ । २ । १६४ ॥

अनपत्यार्थेऽणि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । तेन नस्तद्धित इति दिज्ञोषो न । पुंवतीनां समूहो यौवनम् । शब्दन्तादनुदात्तादेरपि यौवनम् ॥

1245. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI. 4. 144 S. 679. Thus we get गार्भिणम् ॥ Similarly यौवनम् from युवति ॥ This word is anudātta-accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

अम् (IV. 2. 44. S. 1253) but takes अण्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshādi class. When युवति becomes masculine, the ति ceases, and we have युवन् + अण् = यौवनम् "a collection of young women."

The word यौवतम् however is another form. Here the affix added is अम् (IV. 2. 44. S. 1253) and not अण्, and it is added to युवत् ending in शतृ affix: which has anudatta on the first syllable.

१२४६ । गोत्रोक्तोष्ट्रेरस्रराजसजन्मराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद्वुम् । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

शब्दः समूहे बुम् स्यात् । लौकिकमिह गोत्रं तच्चापत्यमात्रम् ॥

1246. The affix बुम् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. The वु of the affix बुम् is replaced by अक by the following sūtra.

१२४७ । युवोरनाको । ७ । १ । १ ॥

यु बु एतयोरनुनासिकयोः क्रमावन् अक एतावादेशौ स्तः । ग्लुचुकायनीनां समूहे ग्लौचुकायनकम् । औक्षकमित्यादि । आपत्यस्य चेति यलोपे प्रति ॥

प्रकृत्याऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः * ॥ राजन्यकम् । मानुष्यकम् ॥
वृद्धाच्चति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247. For यु and बु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

Note:—यु and बु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces बु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) = अन, as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दनः रमणः ॥ So also द्यु and द्युल (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391), as सायंतनः, चिरंतनः ॥ बु we find in ण्डुल (III. 1. 133 S. 2895), as कृ + ण्डुल = कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also बुम् (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478) as वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Thus ग्लुचुकायनीनां समूहः = ग्लौचुकायनकम् । So also औक्षकम् from उक्ष, औष्ट्रकम् from उष्ट्र; औरभ्रकम् from उभ्र and राजकम् from राज ॥ But राजन्य + बुम् requires the elision of य by VI. 4. 151 S. 1082. This, however, is prevented by the following vārtika.

Vārtika:—The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक is added (VI. 4. 150 S. 472). Thus राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥

The other words of sūtra IV. 2. 39. S. 1246 exhibit no irregularity. As राजपुत्रकम्, वानसकम् and स्राजकम् ॥

Vartika :—The affix वुञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men.

Why do we say nasalised वु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया वुञ् (V. 2. 123, S. 1929). Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णावुः ॥ So also in भुजिपृष्ठां युक्त्युक्तौ ॥ Here the यु of युक् and स्युक् (Un III. 21) a re not replaced by अन; as भुज्युः and स्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

१२४८ । केदाराद्यच्च ४ । २ । ४० ॥

चावुञ् । कैदार्यम् । कैशारकम् ॥

गणिकाया यञिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गणिक्यम् ॥

1248. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof.'

This debars डक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = कैदार्यम् or कैशारकम् ॥

Vart :—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । ठञ्कवचिनश्च ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

चाश्चेदारावपि । कवचिनां समूहः कावचिकम् ॥ कैदारिकम् ॥

1249. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'kedâra', and also after the word 'kavachin'.

We read the anuvṛtti of कैशार in this Sūtra, by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus कवचिनां समूहः = कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 164 S. 1245); and कैदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणववाङ्वाद्यत् ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाङ्मयम् ॥

पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पृष्ठयम् ॥

1250. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof,' after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâḍava'.

The indicatory न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाङ्मयम् ॥

Vart :—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठयम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहायार्थां चोनि वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अहुः खः क्रतौ * ॥ अहीनः । अहर्गणसाध्यसुत्याकः क्रतुरित्यर्थः । क्रती किम् । आहुः । इह खण्डिकादिस्वाप् । अद्वष्टखोरेवेति नियमाद्विज्ञोपो न ॥

पार्श्वी णस् वक्तव्यम् * ॥

1251. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grāma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages.' The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'.

Vārt:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज and सहाय also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants', सहायता 'a collection of allies.'

Vārt:—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice', e. g. अहीनः 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days., Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days. Otherwise the form is आहुः by अम् (see IV. 2. 45. S. 1254.) The final अन् here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

Vārt:—The affix यस् comes after पशु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final व् of पशु, is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पशु is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha-word by the next sūtra :—

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे पूर्व पदसङ्गे स्यात् । अमत्वाद्गो न । पशूनां समूहः पार्श्वम् ॥

1252. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

Therefore the व् of पशु does not take guṇa substitution. So we have पशूनांसमूहः = पार्श्वम् and not पार्श्वम्.

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । मायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कापोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम् ॥

१२५४ । खाण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । खाण्डिकानां समूहः खाण्डिकम् ॥

1254. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khaṇḍika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things e. g. खाण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

१२५५ । चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । छान्दोग्यम् ॥

1255. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

Note :—The Vedic Schools or Ocharaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtras IV. 3. 126. S. 1506 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, S. 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणदर्शनाययोः ॥

Thus कठानां धर्म=काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः=काठकम् ॥ Similarly छान्दोग्यम् ॥

१२५६ । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

सान्त्तिकम् । हास्तिकम् । धेनुकम् ॥

1256. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'

This debars अण् and अञ् ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः=अपूपिकम् । सान्त्तिकम् ॥ The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170) or क (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शास्त्रकुलिकम् ॥

१२५७ । केशाश्वभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरह्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

पक्षे ढगणौ । कैश्यम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः=कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256), अश्वानां समूहः=आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63 S. 518) or अश्वीयम् ॥

१२५८ । पाशदिभ्यो यः । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पाश्या । तृण्या । धूम्या । वन्या । वात्या ॥

1258. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, हृण्य, धूम्या, वन्या and वास्या. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 हृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 भङ्गार, 6 पाटल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मद (नड K.). 14 वन 15 बालक ॥

१२५६ । खलगोरथात् । ४ । २ । ५० ॥

खल्या । गव्या । रथ्या ॥

1259. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that the next rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

१२६० । इतिप्रकटयच्चञ्च । ४ । २ । ५१ ॥

खलादिभ्यः क्रमात्स्युः । खलिनी । गोत्रा । रथकट्या ॥

खलादिभ्य इतिर्वक्तव्यः * ॥ डाकिनी । कुटुम्बिनी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1260. The affixes 'ini' 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा रथकट्या ।

Vart :—The affix इति comes after the words खले &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥ This is an ākṛitigaṇa.

Vart :—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमलखण्डम्, धम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, धम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुबुद, सरोज्, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vart :—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart :—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम् तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

१२६१ । विषयो देशे । ४ । २ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तावणादयः स्युरत्यन्तपरिशीलितेऽर्थे स च्छेदः । सिबीनां विषयो देशः शैबः । देशे किम् । शैबदन्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

1261. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

Thus सिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैबः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibis'. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe शैबदन्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

Note :—The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) does not extend further : but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country.' The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometimes it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः

'a village has been acquired.' Some times it means an object of perception, as चक्षुर्विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sûtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । २ । ५३ ॥

राजन्यकः ॥

1262. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rājanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars वण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो वशः=राजन्यकः, ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रवश्च*, 4 बालकूषान्न, 5 देवयात (देवयातव; देवयान), 6 वज्रविड, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 धान्यक्रामेय, 12 धम्मरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बैल्वन, 15 बेल्लव, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 सीव्*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वरूप) 19 आर्जुनायन, 20 सप्रिय, 21 दाक्षि, 22 ऊर्जनाम्, 23 आशीत, 24 वीतिल, 25 वाक्क, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्याद्येषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधत्तमक्तौ । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

भौरिकीयां विषयो देशः भौरिकीविधम् । भौलिकिविधम् । ऐषुकारिभक्तम् । सारसायनभक्तम् ॥

1263. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukāri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars वण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधम् भौलिकिविधम् &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तम्, सारसायनभक्तम् &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चोपयन*, 4 चैटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणि-जक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; वालिज, बालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत (सौकयत), 9 वैकयत, 10 वैपेय ॥

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारसायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 व्यान्तायण, 5 व्यान्तायण (व्यायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमित्रि, 10 दासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्रायण), 12 वात्तायण, 13 वायण्डायन*, 14 ताक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 वायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 वायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्व-धेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 सापिण्ड ॥ 27 शौण्ड, 28 सायण्ड, 29 भलायत, 30 औलायत ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

अण् । पङ्क्तिरादिरस्येति पाङ्क्तः प्रगाथः ॥

स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम्* । त्रिष्टुबेव षण्डुभैम् ॥

1264. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning there-with.

Note:—The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्व 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning

of the affix. आदि 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakṛti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre' This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragātha' This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre.

Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तिः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly शालुदुभा, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha', the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka &c and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगाथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगाथनात् पक्षर्षणानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vart :—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it, and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trisṭubha', जागतम् &c.

१२६५ । संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

सौदस्येत्यनुवर्तते । सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्येति सौभद्रः । भरता योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य भारतः ॥

1265. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader

Note —The phrase सौदस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजन, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle' Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = सौभद्रः "A battle fought for Subhadrā". Similarly भारतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य दानस्य 'Subhadā is the object of this gift' Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रोक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६ । तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः । ४ । २ । ५७ ॥

दण्ड प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां दण्डा । मौष्टा ॥

1266 The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play, the affix ण is added' i.e. to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon, ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्ड प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दण्डा "a game played with sticks". So also मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Note:—Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play' Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe —खड्ग. प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army' These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV 1. 4 S and 15), the feminine being formed by ण ॥

१२६७ । घञः सास्यां क्रियेति अः । ४ । २ । ५८ ॥

घञन्ताधिक्यावाचिन प्रथमान्तादस्वानिति सप्तम्यर्थे क्रीडित्वा मप्रत्ययः स्यात् । घञ इति कृदप्रहणादितिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

1267. The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ् denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is,—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that' अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

The घञ् formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kārnka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix. As an example under this sūtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पात preceded by the upapada इयेन ॥ Thus इयेन + पात + ञ ॥ Now applies the following.

१२६८ । इयेनतिलस्य पाते अः । ६ । ३ । ७१ ॥

इयेन तिल एतयोर्द्विमागमः स्यात् अप्रत्यये परे पातशब्दे उत्तरपरे । इयेनपातोऽस्या वर्तते इयेनपाता घृगया । तिलपातोऽस्या वर्तते तैलपाता स्वधा । इयेनतिलस्य किम् । दण्डपातोऽस्या तिथौ वर्तते दण्डपाता तिथिः ॥

1268. मुञ् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix अ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्या वर्तते—इयेनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ Thus इयेनपाता घृगया 'chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown ". Why do we say *स्येन* and *तिल* only ? Observe *वण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते = वाण्डपाता तिथि , मौञ्जपाता तिथिः ॥*

*Note :—*Why do we say before *अ* ? Observe *स्येनपातः ॥*

१२६९ । तदधीते तद्धेद । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेद वा वैयाकरणः ॥

1269. The affix *अण्* (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In other words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As *व्याकरणमधीते = वैयाकरणः* (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098) 'who knows grammar'. The word *तद्* is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

१२७० । क्रतूकथादिसूत्रान्तादृक् । ४ । २ । ६० ॥

क्रतुविशेषवाचिनमेवेह ग्रहणम् । तेभ्यो मुख्यार्थेभ्यो वेदितरि तत्प्रतिपादकग्रन्थपरेभ्यस्त्वयेतरि । भ्रामिष्टोमिकः । वाजपेयिकः । उक्थ सामविशेषस्तल्लक्षणपरो ग्रन्थविशेषो जज्ञययोक्यम् । तदधीते वेद वा औक्थिकः ॥

मुख्यार्थात्तु कथशब्दाद्ग्रन्थो वेद्येते * ॥ न्यायम् नैयायिकः । वृत्तिम् वार्तिकः । लोकायतम् लोकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

सूत्रान्ताच्चकल्पादिवेद्येते * ॥ सामहस्यिकः । भकल्पादेः किम् । काल्पसूत्रः ॥

विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वायसविकः । गौलक्षणिकः । आश्वलक्षणीकः । शारशरकल्पिकः ॥

अङ्गक्षत्रधर्मविपूर्वादिद्यान्तान्तेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आङ्गविद्यः । क्षात्रविद्यः । धर्मविद्यः । त्रिविधा विद्या त्रिविद्या सामधिते वेद वा त्रैविद्यः ॥

शाख्यानाख्यायिकोतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च * ॥ यवकीतमधिकृत्य कृतमाख्यानमुपभ्वाराद्यवकीतं तदधीते वेत्ति वा यावकीतिकः । वासववत्तामधिकृत्य कृता आख्यायिका वासववत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छ । तस्य लुवाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप् । ततोऽनेन ङ्क् । वासववत्तिकः । ऐतिहासिकः । पौराणिकः ॥

सर्वादेः सादेश लुक्वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेदः । सर्वतन्त्रः । सवार्तिकः । द्विगोर्लुगिति लुक् । त्रितन्त्रः ॥

इकन्पदोत्तरपदान्तादृष्टेः विकल्पः * ॥ पूर्वपदिकः । उत्तरपदिकः । शतपथिकः । शतपथिकी । षष्टिपथिकः । षष्टिपथिकी ॥

1270. The affix *उक्* comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word sūtra.

This debais अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice'; when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who *studies* that book' Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands Agnishtoma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it'. वाजपेयिकः औदिकः ॥ Uktha is a kind of sāma. The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech. लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सामहसूत्रिकः, ॥

Iṣṭhi:—The affixes ठक् and अण् do not come after the word उक्थ when used in its primary sense. Therefore औदिकः always means 'one who studies the prātisākhya of the Śāma Veda" and never means 'he who understands उक्थ ॥

Similarly न्यायन or नैयायिक, वृत्तिन or वार्त्तिक; लौकायतम् or लौकायतिकः &c. All these are words of the उक्थादि class, for a list of which see below.

As regards सूत्रान्त words to which also this sūtra is applicable, we must remember the following.

Iṣṭhi :—The affix ठक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus सामहसूत्रिक from सामहसूत्र meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sūtra.' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not सूत्र'? Observe कल्पसूत्रः 'one who studies Kalpa sūtra'; formed by the affix अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vār:—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविक्रिकः, गौलक्षणिक, भाष्यलक्षणिक पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vār :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, सूत्र, धर्म संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अङ्गविद्यामधीते = अङ्गविद्य, शास्त्रविद्य, धर्मविद्य संसर्गविद्य, त्रैविद्यः । All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

The word त्रैविद्यः, has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्या meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधाविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as त्रिस्रोविद्याऽधीते then, the form would be त्रिविद्यः and not त्रैविद्य for it would be then तद्धितार्थविद्यु in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1. 88 S 1080.

Vār :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका) and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावकृतिकः, वासवदत्तिक, ऐतिहासिक, पौराणिकः ॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakṛta, is called by a figure of speech Yavakṛita. He who studies or knows the work यवक्रीतम् is यावक्रीतिकः । Similarly the story relating to Vāsavadattā is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix छ् is ordained by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sūtra IV. 3. 87 S. 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vārtika* लुवाख्ययिकाभ्यो बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives'. So ह्य being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added ठक् ॥ So we get वासवदत्तिक ॥

Vart —This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेद, 'one who studies all the Vedas'; So also सर्वतन्त्रः । सवार्तिक', ॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्र. Here the samāsānta affix is elided by IV 1, 88 S. 1080

Vart :—The affix इकच् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्, as, पूर्वपदिक' and उत्तरपदिक ॥

Vart —The affix विकन् comes in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ and शष्टिपथ ॥ As शतपथिकः । शतपथिकी (IV 1. 41 S. 498), शष्टिपथिकः (f शष्टिपथिकी) ॥

1 उक्त्य, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त
8 द्विपदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी. ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14
धर्म्या, 17 क्रमेतर, 16 अक्षय, 17 सहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद । क्रम) 19 सपद (संघात also
सपद) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद् *, 22 समष्ट, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणगुण st गण, गुण),
25 आयुर्वेद, 26 अनुगुण ॥

१२७१ । क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

क्रमकः । क्रम, पद, शिक्ता, मीमांसा, इति क्रमादि ॥

1271. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII 2 1 S 2297) पदक &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्ता, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

१२७२ । अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः । ४ । २ । ६२ ॥

तदधीते तद्वदेत्यर्थे । ब्राह्मणसदृशो मन्थोऽनुब्राह्मणं तदधीते अनुब्राह्मणी । मन्थर्थाच्चैव सिद्धे
अण्ब्राह्मणार्थमिदम् ॥

1272. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrāhmaṇa'.

This dabars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brāhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined —अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुप्, and by Sūtra V, 2 115 S. 1932 अत इनि उत्तौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and वन् in the sense of मनुप्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense. Though it would have taken इनि by the V, 2, 115 S. 1922; its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of अण् । In the Bhāṣya however this Sūtra is declared superfluous, which implies that अण् also is added

१२७३ । वसन्तादिऽयष्टक् । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्निकः । अथर्वणिमधीते आथर्वणिकः । दण्डिनायनेति सूत्रे निपातनाद्विलोपो न ॥

1273. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'vasanta' &c.

This dabars अण् । As, वासन्निकः 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring.' आथर्वणिकः &c । The final अण् of अथर्वन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sūtra VI. 4 174 S, 1145.

1 वसन्त, 2 ग्रीष्म, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 प्रथम, 8 शुज, 9 चरम, 10 अनुशुज, 11 अथर्वन्, 12 आथर्वन् ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्ताल्लुक् । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययात्परस्याच्चेत्तुवेदितृप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । पणने पण । पञ्चमै कविधानमिति कः । सोऽस्यास्तीति पणी, तस्य गोत्रापत्य पाणिनः ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk.'

Note.—This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—"There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer." The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV 3 101 S, 1481 &c Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पार्शनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by 1 Annul' पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also काविविशालः । The difference between the word पार्शनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by VI 1, 15 S 2409, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III 1. 8 S 3708). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by ङाप्, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the क् affix. (Phit Sn 11 19).

The word पाणिनी is thus derived. पण has the same meaning as पणन; this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क् having the force of the affix घम् (See the *Vārtika* under III. 3. 58 S, 3234). One who has पण 'wealth' is called पणिन् which is formed by adding the affix इति to पण by V 2 115 S 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of पणिन् will be पाणिनः formed by the affix ण् । Thus पणिन् + अण् = पाणिन ॥ The final इन् of पणिन् is not elided by the following sūtra.—

१२७५ । गाधिचिदधिकेशिगणपणिनश्च । ६ । ४ । १६५ ॥

एतेऽणि प्रकृत्या स्युः । इति द्विलोपो न । ततो युनि इम् । पाणिनिः ॥

1275 गाधिन्, चिदधिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाधिनोऽपत्यं = गाधिन् । So also, चिदधिन्, केशिन्, गणिन्, and पाणिन् । This sūtra applies to Patronymics. To the word पाणिन् thus formed, we add the युवन् Patronymic affix इम् । Thus we get पाणिनिः । Then applies the following sūtra :—

१२७६ । ण्यक्षत्रियार्षजितो युनि लुगण्योः । २ । ४ । ५८ ॥

ण्यप्रत्ययान्तात्क्षत्रियगोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादृष्यभिधायिनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद् भित्तश्च पर्योर्धुवाभिधायि-
नोरणिमूर्त्तुक् स्यात् । कौरव्यः पिता । कौरव्यः पुत्रः । श्वाकः पिता । श्वाकः पुत्रः । वासिष्ठः
पिता । वासिष्ठः पुत्रः । तैकायनिः पिता । तैकायनिः पुत्रः । एभ्यः किम् । शिवायणः । कौहडः पिता । तत
इम् । कौहडिः पुत्रः । युनि किम् । वामरय्यस्य छात्राः वामरयाः । इति अणो लुक् तु न भवति ।
आर्षभहजेन प्रतिपद्योक्तस्य ऋष्यण इव मह्यमात् । पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् । वृद्धाच्छुः । इमञ्चेत्यण्
तु न । गोत्रे य इम् सन्ताविति दृश्यमाणत्वात् । ततोऽप्येतदुपेक्षितं लुक् । स्वरं स्त्रिया च विशेषः ।
पाणिनीयः । पाणनीया ॥

1276. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative अ्, the affix अण् and इम् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 (the affix ण्य comes after कुह् &c, in denoting descendant) we get कुह् + ण्य = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). Now this इम् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendant of Kuru.' So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Note.—Now it may be objected the word कौरव्यः belongs to the त्रिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154 S. 1178, it will take the affix किम् । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2 S. 457). To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of त्रिक् &c, is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 151 S. 1175; that 'Trikādi' word is formed by ण्य under rule IV. 1. 172 S. 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix अण् may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and **अफल्क** is a person of that family. Then **अफल्क + अण् = अफल्कः** 'a descendant of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendant. In forming Yuvan descendant we have **अफल्क + इम्**. Now this **इम्** must be elided by the present sūtra. So that **अफल्क** means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishi family. The sūtra last mentioned (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) will also hold here. We take the word **वसिष्ठः**, and **वसिष्ठ + अण् = वसिष्ठः**; the Yuvan affix **इम्** will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word **वसिष्ठः** means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory अ. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104 S. 1106. declares 'the affix **अम्** comes after the words **वैद** &c., in denoting Gotra descendants' Thus **वैद + अम् = वैदः**. Then add **इम्** to denote Yuvan descent, and we have **वैद + इम्**. By the present rule this **इम्** is elided and thus we have **वैद** both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix **इम्**. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix **अण्**. The rule IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 says 'the affix **फिम्** comes after the words **नैक** &c. in denoting descendant.' Thus **नैक + फिम् = नैकायनिः** (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add **अण्** by IV. 1. 83. Thus **नैकायनि + अण्**. By the present sūtra this **अण्** is elided and we have **नैकायनि** both applicable to the father and the son.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 says:—'The affix **अण्** comes after **कौह** &c. in forming Gotra.' **कौह + अण् = कौहः**. Now this is neither a word formed by **अण्** nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having **इ** goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix **इम्** will not be elided after this. Thus **कौह + इम्** (IV. 1. 95 S. 1195) = **कौहः** 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided. Thus the pupils of **वामरथ** are called **वामरथः** which word is thus formed. **वामरथ + अण् = वामरथः** 'a descendant of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115 S. 1118). Then to denote pupils we add **अण्** by IV. 2. 111 S. 1332. Thus **वामरथ + अण् = वामरथः** 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Note:—Why do we say 'Yuvan affix **अण्** and **इम्** are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan descendant of **दाक्षि** 'grandson of दक्ष' will be **दाक्षायणः**. Here the affix **फक्** (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is not elided.

In forming the word पाणिनि, the अण् which went to form the word पाणिनः is not elided because the elision taught by the present sūtra refers to the अण् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sūtra and not the gotra अण्, for the अण् in पाणिनः is the general अण् and not the particular कवि denoting अण्। The work enunciated by Pāṇini is Pāṇiniyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix क् by IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. and not by the affix अण् of IV. 2. 112 S. 1333. For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इप् and so *prima facie* the sūtra IV. 2. 112. S. 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इप् referred to in that sūtra is the gotra affix इप्, as will be explained hereafter, while the इप् in पाणिनि is the युवन् affix इप् ॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीय formed by adding अण् to पाणिनीय। This अण् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form. The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine. Thus पाणिनीयः and पाणिनीया ॥

१२७७। सूत्राच्च कोपधात्। ४। २। ६५ ॥

सूत्रपाठिनः ककारोपधात्कथ्येत्वेदित्प्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्। अष्टोक्तार्थे आरम्भः। अष्टावध्यायाः परिमाणस्य अष्टकं पाणिनेः सूत्रम्। तदधीयते विदन्ति वा अष्टकाः ॥

1277. The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टके will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टका पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashtaka.' So also दशका वैशम्पयीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृष्णाः ॥

Note:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिक सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः। So also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चतुष्टयः ॥

१२७८। छन्दोग्राह्यानि च तद्विषयाणि। ४। २। ६६ ॥

छन्दांसि ग्राह्यानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाणि स्युः। अभ्येतृवेदित्प्रत्ययं विना न प्रयो-
ज्यानीत्यर्थः। कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कडा। वैशम्पायनान्तेषां तिसृष्वपि। तस्य कठधरकादिति छुक्।
ततोऽण् तस्य प्राक्कल्लुक् ॥

1278. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmanas, express this relation only

The word *श्रोक्त* is to be read into this *sūtra*. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV 3. 101 S. 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows.' *सद्विषयाणि* means 'this relation,' i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of *अध्येतृ* or *वेदितृ*. In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a *श्रोक्त* affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an *अध्येतृ* or *वेदितृ* affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a *श्रोक्त* affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by' In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word *कठ*, the name of a Veda-Text, we get *कठः* meaning 'those who study or know Kaṭha Veda' The word is thus formed. To the word *कठ* we add the affix *णिनि* denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 S. 1484: then we elide it by IV 3. 107 S. 1487, leaving the bare word *कठः*; then we add *अण्*, which again we elide by IV 2. 64. S. 1443. *कठ + णिनि = कठ + ०* (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487); *= कठ + अण् = कठ* (IV. 2. 64 S. 1443) Plural *कठाः* 'those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha.'

Note :—Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also *Ohhandas*, used separately in this *sūtra*? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñavalkya. Thus *याज्ञवल्क्येन श्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि*. Similarly *सौतमानि*. These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them. See IV 3. 105.

The word *च* meaning 'and' is employed in the *sūtra*. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the *sūtra*. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and *Sūtra* Texts also. Thus *काश्यपेन, कौशिकेन* 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kūśika' So also with regard to *Sūtra* texts: as, *पाराशरियो भिक्षवः* 'the Bhikshus who study the *Sūtras* promulgated by Parāśara.' *शैलानिनो नटाः, कर्मन्दिनः, कृपाश्विनः* &c.

Why do we say 'Ohhandas and Brāhmaṇas'? Because the *श्रोक्त* affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple, as, *पाणिनीयं शास्त्रम्*. *वैदिकम्* ॥

CHAPTER XXVII—(*Continued*).*The Quadruply significant Affixes.*

१२७९ । त्वस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

उदुम्बराः सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे भौदुम्बरः ॥

1279. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of 'that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom.

Note:—The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination तद् 'that,' & the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case अस्मिन् 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base, इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेतन्नास्ति 'a country having that name', this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is,—“the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists”

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चातुर्थिक 'quadruple significant'

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = भौदुम्बरः । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix शब् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थि affixes.

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्ताम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुशाब्देन निर्वृत्ता कौशाब्दी नगरी ॥

1280. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नास्ति of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाब्देन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाब्दी नगरी 'the city of Kauśāmbi, completed by Kuśāmba.' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established.

१२८१ । तस्य निवासः । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

शिबीना निवासो देश शीबः ॥

1281. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place;' the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means 'his dwelling place.' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैब, 'the country of the Sibis.'

१२८२ । अदूरभवश्च । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरभव नगर वैदिशम् । अकारेण प्रागुक्तास्त्रयोऽर्थाः समिधाप्यन्ते । तेन वक्ष्यमाण-
प्रत्ययानां चातुर्थिकत्वं सिध्यति ॥

1282. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word सस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूरभव = वैदिशम् । Vaidīśam is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows.

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this, so that the four sūtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sūtra and hence the affixes to be taught hereafter are called chāturarthika or quadruply significant.

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

अयोपवादः । कचतु—काचित्तवम् । तयां तु परस्मान्ततुप् । इक्षुमती ॥

1283. The affix ओञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix ञञ् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073)

Thus कौचित्तवम् from कचतु । But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugarcane near it.' Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85 S. 1304, which debars ञञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2 S. 175) The affix ञञ् governs the six sūtras up to IV. 2. 77. S. 1289 The difference between ञञ् and ओञ् consists in the accent. The ओञ् is first-acute (IV. 1. 197 S. 3686).

१२८४ । मताञ् बहुजङ्गात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बहुञ्च अङ्ग अयम् मनुपस्तवन्तवश्च नाऽण् । सैधकावतश्च । बहुजिति किञ् । आदिमतश्च ।
अङ्गमहणं बहुजिति तद्विशेषण यथा स्वान्मत्वन्तविशेषण मा भूत् ॥

1284. The affix ओञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुञ् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning 'stem.' A word which,

exclusive of the affix मनुष्य, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अण् । This debars अण् । Thus सैधकावतम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe अहिमर्तम्, अश्वमर्तम् । Here though the word अहिमर्तु ends in the affix मनुष्य, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries. In fact, the word बहुश्च qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मनुष्य, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावती निवास = मालवर्तम् by अण् ॥

१२८५ । बहुचः कूपेषु । ४ । २ । ७३ ॥

अणोऽपवाद । दीर्घवरत्नेन निर्वृत्तो दीर्घवरत्न कूप ॥

1285. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण् । Thus दीर्घवरत्नेन निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घवरत्नः 'a well completed by Dīrghavaratra.'

१२८६ । उदक्च विपाशः । ४ । २ । ७४ ॥

विपाश उत्तरे कुले ये कूपास्तैश्चम् । अवहृजर्थ आरम्भः । एतेन निर्वृत्तो वाच कूपः । उदक् किम् । इक्षिणत कूपेष्वनेश ॥

1286. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipāśā.

This debars अण्, and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus ईक्षः 'a well completed by Datta.'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipāśā, then the affix अण् will apply ; as ईक्षः, the difference being in the accent.

१२८७ । सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ७५ ॥

कूपेष्विति निर्वृत्तम् । सङ्कलेन निर्वृत्त साङ्कलम् । पौष्कलम् ॥

1287. The affix अण् comes after the word 'saṅkala' &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् । The word सकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः । Thus सैकल, पैष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम, * 4 उदुप, 5 उद्वेप (उद्वप), 6 उदुपुद, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवत्त, 10 सुवत्त, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत, * 13 सुनेज, 14 सुमङ्गल, * 15 सुविङ्गल, 16 सल, * 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका, पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 21 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष, 24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आम्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमम्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (वरण), 31 बहुल, 32 सद्योज, 33 आभिविक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 भल, * 37 मल. 38 माल । Also 39 दार्भम्, 40 गृह, 41 भूत ॥

१२८८ । स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु एषु देशेषु वाच्येष्वम् । सौवीरे । दत्तामित्रेण निर्जिता दत्तामित्रा नगरी । साल्वे वैधुमात्री । प्राप्ति, माकन्दी ॥

1288. So also the affix अञ् comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sâuvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशे तन्नाम्न (IV 2. 67) so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दत्तामित्रा 'the city founded by Dattâmitra' (in Sâuvîra) So also वैधुमात्री (in Sâlva). माकन्दी, (in the Eastern countries).

१२८९ । सुवास्तवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

अत्रोऽपवादः । सुवास्तोरदूरभव सौवास्तवम् । वर्णः । वार्णवम् । अण्महण नद्यां नतुषो बाधना र्थम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

1289. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debats the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2, 71 and 73 S 1283 and 1285. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभव नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvritti came from IV. 1. 83 is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debats 'matup' of IV. 2. 85 S. 1304, in the case of river names even Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णः 3 अण्ड 4 खण्ड (कण्ड), 5 सेवालिन (सेचालिन), 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन, 8 गर्तः, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककथुमती (कर्कथु), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 अहिमक्य 16 वृन् ॥

१२९० । रोणि । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीशब्दात्तन्ताश्च अण् । कूपाम्रोऽपवादः । रोण ॥ आजक्रोण ॥

1290. The affix अण् comes after रोण in the fourfold sense.

This debats अञ् of IV 2. 74 S. 1286 This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sūtras The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. Thus रोणा, आजक्रोण ॥

१२९१ । कोपधाञ् । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । अत्रोऽपवादः । कार्यणिङ्कार कूपः । कार्कवाकवम् । त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

1291. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क for its penultimate

This debars अम् which would have come by IV 2. 71 and 73 S. 1283 and 1285 Thus कार्यच्छिद्रकः कृषः ॥ कार्यवेष्टकः ॥ कार्यवाकवम् । औशङ्कवम् ॥

१२९२ । छुञ्छणकठजिलसेनिरहङ्गययफफिफजिङ्गयकवठकोऽरीहणकशा-
भ्रश्र्यकुमुदकौशतृणप्रेक्षादमसखिसंकाशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ।
४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्यः सप्तदशभ्यः सप्तदश क्रमात्सुश्चतुर्थ्याम् । अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् । अरीहणेन निर्धत्तमारीहण-
कम् । कुशाभ्यादिभ्यश्छण् । कार्शोर्ध्वीयम् । कश्यपादिभ्यः कः । कृश्यकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यश्छप् । कुमुदिकम् ।
काशादिभ्यः झल् । काशिल । तृणादिभ्यः शः । तृणसम् । प्रेक्षादिभ्यः हनिः । प्रेक्षी । अशमादिभ्यो रः ।
अशमरः । सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् । साख्येयम् । सङ्काशादिभ्यो ण्यः । साङ्काश्यम् । बलादिभ्यो यः । बल्यम् ।
पक्षादिभ्यः फक् । पाक्षायणः । पयः पन्थ च । पान्थायन । कर्णादिभ्यः फिश् । कर्णायनिः ।
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इम् । सौतङ्गमि । प्रगद्यादिभ्यो ज्यः । प्रगद्यः । वराहादिभ्यः कक् । वाराहकः । कुमुदादि-
भ्यश्छक् । कौमुदिकः ॥

1292. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1 वुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c. 2 छण् (=ह्य) after कुशाभ्य &c. 3 क after कश्य &c. 4 छप् (=इक्) after कुमुद &c. 5 झल् after काश &c. 6 श (or ष) after तृण &c. 7 हनि (=हन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8 र after अशमन् &c. 9 ढञ् (=एय) after सखि &c. 10 ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11 य after बल &c. 12 फक् (=भायन्) after पक्ष &c. 13 फिश् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14 इम् (=इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15 ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16 कक् (=कै) after वराह &c. 17 छक् (=इक्) after कुमुद &c.

Note :—The above affixes वुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. अदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto छक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-classes. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) औरीहणकम्, (2) कार्शोर्ध्वीयम् (3) कश्यकम्, (4) कुमुदिकम्, (5) काशिलम् (6) तृणसम्, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, (8) अशमरः, (9) साख्येयम्, (10) साङ्काश्यम्, (11) बल्यम्, (12) पाक्षायणः, पान्ययणः, (13) कर्णायनि, (14) सौतङ्गमि, (15) प्रगद्य (16) वाराहकः, and lastly (17) कौमुदिकम् ॥

Note —The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes, viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14) and वराहादि (8). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV 2 82 S. 1301) therefore this universal अण् (IV, 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

(1). 1 अरीहण, 2 दुषण,* 3 हुहण,* 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्ट्रा-
धण, 9 भौष्ट्रायण,* 10 भैगर्तायन, 11 भैजायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 भौमतायन (भौ), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन. 17 भौमतायन,* 18 सौमायन,* 19 ऐन्द्रायण,*

20 कौन्दाशयः,* 21 खाण्डायन, 22 बाण्डित्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विषय, 25 विपाश, 26 खण्ड, 27 उदञ्चन, 28 खाण्डवीर्या (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृन्ध (काश), 31 आम्बवत (वन्त) 32 शिशपा, 33 रैवत (रैवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K) 35 सुगन्ध 36 शिरीष 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K), 41 वल्लभ,* 42 भलोन्नन,* 43 खण्डु,* 44 कनल,* (कनम), 45 वज्रवन्,* 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तयण (also) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2) 1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेशमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश,* 7 रोमश * 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक,* 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्चल,* 13 सुर्वचल,* 14 सुकर, 15 सकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सदश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग,* 20 सुख, 21 घूम, 22 भाजिन, 23 विमल (विमला, वनिता), 24 भगनत्त, 25 विकुन्धास (v 1 कुविन्धास, विकुधास), 26 पराशर,* 27 अरुस्, 28 अथस् * 29 मौहल्य, 30 यूकर,* (मौहल्याकर), 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अवयावस् ॥

(3) 1 कृश्य, 2 त्वमोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध निबन्धन, निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 पणिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ 12 अशनि, 13 सित, 14 मत,* 15 वेशमन्,* 16 उत्तरादमन्, 17 अदमन् * 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23 शरडु * 24 परवश, 25 वेशु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 खण्ड,* 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु ॥

(4) 1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 त्वमोध, 4 इक्षुत (इक्षुट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास,* 11 शकट * 12 कश्च * 13 मधु,* 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व * 16 आश्रय, 17 बल्लज, 18 यथाप, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशमाम, 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 विक, 25 कत ॥

(5) 1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वस्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पयूष), 6 अरुख, 7 वाख, 8 नड, 9 वन 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छुत्,* 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस) 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर,* 18 मधुर,* 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपिस्थ,* 21 जल, 22 शीवाल 23 नर, 24 कटक ॥

(6) 1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 युल,* 4 वन, 5 वर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण,* 8 बिल, 9 युल,* 10 फल,* 11 अर्जुन,* 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण * 14 वल, 15 चरण, 16 बुल, 17 जन, 18 कव ॥

(7) 1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 अन्धुका, 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका, 6 त्वमोध, 7 इक्षुट (इक्षुट), 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 सक्कट, 10 कट,* 11 कूप,* 12 युक्त,* 13 युक्त,* 14 युट,* 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप * 17 यथाप * यथास), 18 ध्रुवका,* 19 गर्त,* 20 कूपक (कूपका), 21 हिरण्य,* 22 बुधका, 23 सुकरा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 युक्त ॥

(8) 1 अशमन्, 2 यूय, (also यूय), 3 कष (रुष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 मह, 6 र्भ, 7 यूय, 8 युय,* 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम), 14 कन्द,* 15 कान्द,* 17 गह्व,* 18 गुड,* 19 कुण्डल,* 20 पीन,* 21 रुह * ॥

(9). 1 सखि, 2 ग्रमिस्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहित), 6 भल, 7 पाल (भलपाल भल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चक्र), 9 चक्रवाक * 10 हगल, 11 लशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव,* 14 वीर,* 15 पूर,* 16 वज्र,* 17 कुशरिक,* 18 सखि (सखि, सीकर), 19 सक्क (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर,* 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 लमाल, 26 कनल, 27 सहल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

(10). 1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कश्मीर (कदगर), 4 समीर, 5 सरसेन (शर), 6 सरिक, 7 सर,* 8 सुपन्थिन (rightly सुपथिन), पन्थ (सकथ!) च, 9 यूय (यूय), 10 अश, 11 अङ्ग,* 12 सासा * 13 पलिन,* 14 अनुनाश,* 15 अशमन्, 16 कूट, 17 पलिन, 18 रुष,* 19 कुम्भ,

20 शीर्ष,* 21 विरत्त (चिरम्भ, विरत्त!), 22 समल,* 23 सीर,* 24 पञ्जार,* 25 मन्थ,*
26 मल,* 27 रोमन्,* 28 लोमन्,* 29 पुलिन,* 30 सुपरि,* 31 कटिप,* 32 सक्कण्,*
33 वृष्टि,* 34 शीर्ष, 35 भगस्ति, 36 विकर,* 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40
विरह ॥

(11) 1 बल, 2 बुल (बुल), 3 नल,* 4 वल,* 5 वट,* 6 लकुल,* 7 सरल,*
8 पुल,* 9 मूल,* 10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल 15 कवल ॥

(12). 1 पल, 2 तुल,* 3 तुष,* 4 कुण्ड,* 5 अण्ड,* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक),
7 बलिक,* 8 चिष, 9 अस्ति,* 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक
(सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल 17 अतिवन् (स्थन्) 18
रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्,* 21 मकर,* 22 लोमक 23 शीर्ष,* 24 निवात,* 25 पाक,*
26 सिंहक 27 अकुश,* 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हेतक (हरका) 30 हिसक,* 31 कुस्त,* 32
बिल,* 33 खिल,* 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 फला,* 37 सक्कण्क (सकण्डक), 38 अरमन्,
39 अस्तिबल ॥

(13) 1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 हुपर (हुपर), 6 आनडुह्य (अन),
7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 स्फिज, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जिवन् (जिव), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13
कुलिश 14 आण्डीवन्त (आण्डीवन्), 15 जव,* 16 जैव,* 17 आनक,* 18 अलुश, 19
बल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

(14). 1 सुतगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित,* 5 महापुष,
6 स्वन,* 7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक), 9 शुक, 10 विष 11 दीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 दवन्,
14 अजिर, 15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विग्रह*,

(15) 1 प्रगविन्, 2 मगविन्, 3 मगविन् (गविन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित
(खडिव), 6 गवित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 गडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार,* 10 कोविशर ॥

(16). 1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निवद्ध, 6 बलाह,* 7 स्थूल (स्थूल),
8 विदग्ध, 9 विजग्ध 10 विभग्ध, 11 निमग्ध,* 12 बाहु, 13 खादिर, 14 शर्करा, 15
विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

(17). 1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 वृषभान, 5 अश्वत्थ 6 शास्मालि (जी), 7 शिरीष,
8 मुनिस्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्ध, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14
मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्ध ॥

१२९३ । जनपदे लुप् । ४ । २ । ८१ ॥

जनपदे वाच्ये चातुर्गणिकस्य लुप्स्यात् ॥

1293. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup*-elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

Note.—The words within bracket, in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I 2. 51 S. 1299. Dr Otto Bohtlingk the learned translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means: (The)

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पञ्चाजानां निवासो जनपद. = पञ्चालः ॥ So also कुरुषु, मत्स्याः, शङ्खा, मगधाः, सुह्रा, पुण्ड्रा ॥

Why is there no *lup*-elision of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरो जनपद 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees,' वैदिशो जनपद &c? Because here the words औदुम्बर and वैदिश are not *names* of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नामि is understood here also.

१२९४ । लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने । १ । २ । ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतियद्विज्ञवचने स्त । पञ्चाजानां निवासो जनपद पञ्चालः । कुरुषुः । शङ्खा । मगधाः । सुह्रा । पुण्ड्रा ॥

1294. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

Note :—This sūtra consists of four words: लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति 'gender,' 4. वचन 'number.' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is elided by *lup* then the derivative word retains the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup*--rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पञ्चालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as is mentioned by Pāṇini in 1. 2. 53 following, and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पञ्चालाः are a class of Kshatriyas; as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās, similarly कुरुषु, शङ्खा, मगधा, सुह्रा, पुण्ड्रा ॥

१२९५ । तद्विशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५३ ॥

युक्तवत् वचन न कर्तव्यं संज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

1295. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of *sañjñā* (or conventional term or idiom).

Note :—The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes, of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word *पति* 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly *पति* 'water' is always feminine plural in form; so also *गृहाः*, *वर्षाः*, *विक्रताः* ॥ This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like *Pañchālā*, *Kaurava* &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup*-elision of a *Taddhita* affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries, consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar.

१२९६ । लुप्योगाप्रत्ययानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुपि न कर्तव्योऽवयवार्थस्येहाप्रतीतिः ॥

1296. The sūtras declaring *lup*-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by *lup*-elision.

Note :—In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a needless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus *वराणा* *Varaṇā* is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from *वरणा* 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no *वरणा* trees at all near the town *Varaṇā*. Let us therefore call words like *वराणाः*, *पञ्चालाः*, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the *Taddhita* affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 S. 1281 and '82 (*सर्वत्र निवासः*, *वायूरभयञ्च*), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to '*lup*' elision contained in IV. 2. 81 and 82 S. 1293 and 1301 (*अनपरे लुप्* *वरणादिभ्य*) ॥

१२६७ । योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

यदि हि योगस्यावयवार्थस्यैवं बोधकं स्यात्तदा तदभावे न दृश्येत ॥

1297. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

Note —This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *hap-elision* of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चाक्षः &c. are not derivative words, but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchâlās be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchâlās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called कृदि words.

१२६८ । प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवं रूपं वचनमर्थसिद्धम् । कुतः अर्थस्य लोकेत एव सिद्धे ॥

1298. The proposition (vachanam) that the meaning of the affix (pratyârtha) is the chief factor (pradhânam) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made, because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

Note .—The translation according to Kashikā is as follows.

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

Note :—This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words, 1. Pradhâna, 'Principal in a compound.' As in

the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhāna 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3 अर्थ 'meaning.' 4, वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word ; and if a derivative word, then by the affix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it, or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Rāja-puruṣa. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव्धं he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

१२६६ कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

अतीताया रात्रेः पश्चार्धेनागमित्या । पूर्वार्धेन च सहितो दिवसोऽद्यतनः । विशेषणद्वयसर्जन-
मित्यादि पूर्वार्धार्थे परिभाषितं तत्राध्याशेष्यत्वं समानम् । लोकप्रसिद्धेः ॥

1299. And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kāla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight). Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients. These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c. is also determined by usage.

Note :—Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of these grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Āchāryas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define

such words as *upasarjana*, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses. They say - "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday"

Similarly common people also know the use of the word *upasarjana*, for they say :—"दयमञ्च गृहे मामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known - "A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership" "In *Dvanda* compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In *Avyayībhāva* compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

१३०० । विशेषणानां चाजातेः । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

लुबधस्य विशेषणानामपि तद्वल्लिङ्गवचने स्तो जातिं वर्जयित्वा । पञ्चाला रमणीयाः । गोदौ रमणीयौ । अजातेः किम् । पञ्चाला अनपदः । गोदौ मामः ॥

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः * ॥ हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः ॥

खल्लित्कादिषु वचनम् * ॥ खल्लितकस्य पर्वतस्यादूरभवानि खल्लितक वनानि ॥

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधः * ॥ मनुष्यलक्षणे लुबधे विशेषणानां न । लुबधस्तस्य तु भवतीत्यर्थः । पञ्चा अभिरूपः ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (i. e. when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup*; the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चालाः रमणीयाः, बहुलाः, बहुशीघृताः, बहुमात्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c. agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. So also गोदौ रमणीयौ ॥ Why do we say, when not expressing *jāti*?" For when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word; then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चालाः अनपदः, गोदौ मामः ॥

Note :—Here अनपद though qualifying Pañchālāḥ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुलः 'the country of Panchālās is pleasant and fertile' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुलः qualify directly the word जनपदः, and indirectly the word Panchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्या. फलानि=हरीतक्यः 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine. Here the affix denoting fruit is *lup*-elided by IV. 3. 167 S. 1546. The resultant noun haritaki meaning the fruit of haritaki agrees in gender only.

Vart:—The words खलतिक &c retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकं वनानि 'mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains'. Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis.* neuter. Here the affix is *lup*-elided by IV. 2. 82. S. 1301.

Vart—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the *lup* elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कृ (V. 3. 97 S. 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus श्वक. means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा+कृलुप् (लुप्प्रत्यये V. 3. 98 S. 2053)=चञ्चा। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चञ्चा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of a man.'

१३०१ । वरणादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८२ ।

शजनपदार्थे आरम्भः । वरणात्तानदूरभवे नगरं वरणाः ॥

1301. Also after the word वरणा &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरणा and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणात्तानदूरभवे नगरं=वरणा. "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā".

Note—The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree"

1 वर्णा, (वरण 2 भृङ्गी, 3 शास्त्रि, 4 शुण्डी *, 5 श्याण्डी *, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो पूर्वण गोदो, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आग्निहोत्रायन, 10 आमपदी (जालपदी ; जालपद), 11 जम्बू *, 12 पुष्कर *, 13 चम्पा *, 14 पम्पा *, 15 वल्गु *, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 7 गथा, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा), 21 गोमती *, 22 वलभी *, 23 कटुकवदरी (with कटुक), 24 शिरीषा, 25 काश्ची, 26 तद्याण्डी, 27 वणिक्, 28 वणिक् ॥ Is an भाकृतिगण ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया या । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

शस्मात्पातुर्थिकस्य वा लुप्त्याम् ॥

1302. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruple significant affix is lup-elided.

१३०३ । ठक्छौ च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्तः । कुमुदावौ वराहादौ च पाठसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे ङक्कौ । वामहणसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे शीर्षार्थकोऽयं तस्य लुप्तिकल्पः । षड् रूपाणि । शर्करा । शार्करम् । शार्करिकम् । शर्करीयम् । शार्करकम् । शोर्करकम् ॥

1303. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Why do we say "optionally" in S. 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदावि (2) and वराहावि (14) (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes ङक् and कक् taught therein for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, there would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix ञ्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality. And when the word takes this universal affix (IV. 1. 83 S. 1013), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + ञ् = शर्करैम्, शर्करा + ञ् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शार्करैम्, शार्करिकैम् (formed by ङक्), शार्करिकैम् (formed by कक्), शार्करिकम् (formed by ङक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

१३०४ । नद्या मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

पातुर्थिकः । इक्षुमती ॥

1304. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and मत्). Thus उदुम्बरवती, मन्नाकावती, चिरण्यवती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, इक्षुमती ॥ See IV. 3. 119. S. 1499 by which

the *अ* is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 S 3705 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 S. 1898 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

Note.—The affix मत्तुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैरव्यी which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2 68.

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

मत्तुप् स्यादातुरर्थिकः । अनन्तर्य आरम्भः । मधुमान् ॥

1305. The affix मत्तुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, बिसवान् &c

1 मधु, 2 बिस 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 चामी, 7 करीर (किरीर), 8 द्विम, 9 किशारा, 10 शर्पाण (शर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 चार्वाली*, 13 चार, 14 इष्टका, 15 शास्त्रुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 शालिधि (शालिधी), 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (मुष्टि वृष्टि), 24 रुष्य, 25 सत्ताक्षला, 26 खड (खडा), 27 वट*, 28 वेट (वेटा), 29 रन्ध्र 30 ऋत् 31 मरुव, चार्वायाट ॥

१३०६ । कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ङमत्तुप् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुद्वान् । नङ्गान् । वेतस्वान् । आकाशार्द्रय इति ङमत्तुप् साधुपधया इति वक्ष्यमाणेन नः । महिषाङ्ग्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ ॥ महिषाङ्गाम देशा ॥

1306. The affix ङमत्तुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नङ्ग and वेतस in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नङ्गान्, वेतस्वान् ॥ In the case of the first two words (kumudvat, and naḍvat) the न of the affix is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10 S. 1898; and in the case of the last word (vetasvat) by VIII. 2, 9 S. 1897.

Var.—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्वान् ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाङ्गुलञ्च । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नङ्गुलः । शाश्वो गम्वालपाशयोः । शाङ्गुल ॥

1307. The ङुलञ्च comes after नङ्ग and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नङ्गुलः and शाङ्गुलः ॥ The word शाद means "mud" and "young grass." (See Amarakosha III. 3 89).

१३०८ । शिखाया ञलञ्च । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

शिखाञलम् ॥

1308. The affix ञलञ्च comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावतम् 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'.

Note :—The word शिखा takes वत् by V. 2. 111 S. 1918, the affix having the same force as मनुष् V. 2. 94 S. 1894, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

१३०६ । उत्करादिभ्यश्छ । ४ । २ । ९० ॥

उत्करीय ॥

1308. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्करीयः ॥

1 उत्कर 2 सफल 3 बाफल 4 विप्लव, 5 विप्लवीमूल, 6 अक्षम, 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण), 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक 10 कितब 11 अणक,* 12 वैष्ण,* 13 पित्रुक 14 अश्वस्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (काकाक्षुद्र 66 काश क्षुद्र), 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्म, 20 अजिर (अजिन), 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (शान्त), 24 खदिर, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यामनाथ, 27 नवाकष (नैव, वक्त), 28 सृण,* 29 वृक्ष, 30 द्वाक,* 31 पलाश, 32 विजिन्निवा,* 33 अनेक, 34 शातप, 35 फल, 36 सपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक,* 41 इडा, 42 वारण्य, 43 निशान्त,* 44 पर्ये, 45 नीचायक,* 46 बाकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार,* 49 विशाल, 50 वैज, 51 अरीहण * 52 खण्ड, 53 बातागर, 54 मन्त्रगार्ह,* 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तवृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष), 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष, 58 मृणम, 59 अन्य, 60 मञ्ज, 61 अर्धवृक्ष ॥

१३१० । नडादीनां कुक् च । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

नडकीयम् ॥ कुञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च * ॥ कुञ्चकीय ॥ सक्षलोपच * ॥ सक्षकीय ॥

1310. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c. when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्; फलकीयम्, &c

Two Vārtikas :—The words कुञ्चा and सक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of सक्षन् the न् is elided e. g. कुञ्चकीय. and सक्षकीय ॥

1 नड, 2 सक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वैष्ण, 5 वैज, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 मृण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 सक्षन् नलोपच ॥

१३११ । बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नडाद्यन्तर्गता बिल्वकाद्यस्तेभ्यश्छस्य लुक् सञ्ज्ञित परे । बिल्वया यस्यां सान्ति सा बिल्वकीया । सस्यां भवा बिल्वका । वैजकीया । वैजकाः । छस्य किम् । छमाचस्य लुग्यथा स्यात्कुक्षो निवृत्तिर्मा भूत् । अन्यथा सन्निभोगादिष्टानामिति कुगपि निवर्तेत । लुग्यद्वयं सर्वलोपार्थं । लोपो हि यमाचस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The वित्त्वं &c are a subdivision of the Naḍādi class (IV, 2. 91 S. 1310), and the augment क् is added to them by IV 2. 91 S. 1310. After these words, with the augment क् the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix. Thus वित्त्वा यस्यां सन्ति = वित्त्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैत्त्वकाः ॥ Similarly वैत्त्वकीयाः, वैत्त्वकाः, ॥

Why do we say the affix छ ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क् ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगविष्टानामन्यतरापये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपादः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥ Had the word lopa been used, then य only of ईय would have been elided, because its anuvṛtti is understood from VI 4.149. S. 499.

Here ends the chapter on Quadruply Significant affixes.

अथ तद्धितेषु शैषिकाः ॥

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SAISIKAS.

१३१२ । शेषे । ४ । २ । ६२ ॥

अपत्यादिचतुरर्थ्यन्तादन्योऽर्थः शेषस्तत्राऽप्याद्यः स्युः । चक्षुषा गृह्यते चाक्षुष रूपम् । श्रावणः शब्दः । औपनिषद् पुरुषः । दृषदि विद्या दार्ढ्यं सक्तवः । उलूखले क्षुण्ण औलूखलं यावत् । अश्वैरुह्यते आश्वो रथः । चतुर्भिर्ह्यते चातुरं चाकदम् । चतुर्वश्या दृश्यते चातुर्वश रक्षः । शेष इति ज्ञेयं चाधिकारश्च । तस्य विकार इत्यतः प्राक् शेषाधिकारः ॥

1312. 'The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification, the last, be called शेष or the remainder '—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix ऋण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्, श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रावण, औपनिषद् 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, दार्ढ्यं from दृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुर 'ridden in by four persons' viz. a cart; चातुर्वशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औलूखल 'pounded in a wooden mortar' viz. awn-less barley; आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot.

The word शेषे is both a vidhi (lakṣhaṇa) and an adhikara sūtra. It is a vidhi sūtra in the senses of 'apprehension' as in chakshushā gṛhyate (apprehended by the eye), "pounding" (as in ulūkhale kṣhunna). &c. For no sūtras are taught in these senses.

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134 S. 1514. The affixes छ् &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जन्तु 'being born' (IV. 3. 25 S. 1393), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), आगतः (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), &c कृत &c (IV. 3. 38 S. 1413).

Notes :—Thus जन्तु means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25 S. 1393), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38 S. 1418), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39 S. 1414), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41 S. 1416), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), or what

has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83 S. 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86 S. 1466) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89 S. 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90 S. 1470)."

१३१३ । राष्ट्रवारपाराद्धसौ । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

आभ्यां कमाद्धसौ स्तः शेषे । राष्ट्रियः । अवारपारीणः ॥

अवारपाराद्धिगृहीतादपि विपरीता इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अवारियाः पारीणः पारावारीणः । इह प्रकृतिविशेषे पारादयद्भ्युदयुलन्ताः प्रत्यया उच्यन्ते तेषां जानादयोऽर्थविशेषा समर्थविभक्तयश्च वक्ष्यन्ते ॥

1313. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus राष्ट्रिय 'born &c. in a country,' अवारपारीण 'who or what goes or extends to both banks.'

Vart.—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately, as well as when compounded inversely; e. g. अवारीण 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीण 'belonging to the other bank,' पारावारीण 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this.' Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of 'being born' &c. will be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 1393 and sūtras that follow it.

Note—There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is घ, and the last where of are इय (IV. 3. 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced there-from' IV. 2. 25 S. 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned, and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यखञौ । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

ग्राम्यः । ग्रामीणः ॥

1314. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'

As ग्राम्यः and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic.'

१३१५ । कत्त्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

कुक्षितान्नयः कन्नयः । तत्र जातादिः काषेयकः । नागरेयकः । ग्रामादित्यनुवृत्तेः ग्रामेयकः ॥

1315. The affix ढकञ् (एक) comes after the words कञ्चि &c.

As कञ्चियकः, नागरेयक and if we take the anuvṛtta of grāma from the last sūtra, we have ग्रामेयकः ॥

1 कञ्चि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्यती, 10 वर्गती, (चर्मवर्गती) 11 उख्या, 12 धाम, 13 कुड्याया (कुलाया) यज्ञोपध, 14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कौलेयकः श्वा । कौलोऽन्यः । कौत्सेयकौऽस्ति । कौत्तोऽन्य । मैवेयकौऽलङ्कारः । मैवोऽन्यः ॥

1316. The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament.'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3 25 S. 1227 &c.): but the whole word has a specific significance. As कौलेयक = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौत्सेयक = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath). मैवेयक = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौशः and मैवः ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

नद्वेयम् । मह्येयम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317 The affix ढक् (एक) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3 25 S 1227 &c).

Thus नद्वेय, 'pertaining to a river,' मह्येयम् 'enithan,' &c वाराणसेयम् ॥

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 आवस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 बाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वी*, 15 सेतकी (वालेनकी) 16 वडवाया वृषे, 17 बाल्वा ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्वनगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पुर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पुरेयम्, वनेयम् and गिरेयम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ९८ ॥

दक्षिणेत्याजन्तमव्ययम् । दक्षिणात्य । पश्चात्यः । पौरस्त्यः ॥

1318. After the words 'dakshinā', 'paschāt,' and 'puras', the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्य 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पाश्चात्य 'occidental', पौरव्य 'oriental'

१३१६ । कापिश्याः स्फक् । ४ । २ । १६ ॥

कापिश्या जातादि कापिशायन मधु । कापिशायनी द्राक्षा ॥

1319. After the word 'Kāpīśī', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by ऊीष् IV. 1. 41 S, 498)

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

१३२० । राक्षोऽमनुष्येऽण् च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

चात् स्फक् । राक्षो नौः । राक्षवायणः । अमनुष्य इति किम् । राक्षवको मनुष्यः ॥

1320 After the words रक्षु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राक्षो नौः or राक्षवायणो नौः ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe राक्षवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Note.—Q The word रक्षु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take स्फक् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = ननुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man' For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add स्फक्, but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राक्षव "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and स्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix स्फक् ॥

The word रक्षु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by रुम् of IV. 2. 125 S. 1349, and रुम् is debarred by डम् of IV. 2. 119 S. 1343, and डम् is debarred by अम् of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debars that and ordains अण् and स्फक् ॥

१३२१ । सुप्रानपाशुवक्प्रतीचो यत् । ४ । २ । १०१ ॥

दिव्यम् । प्राच्यम् । अप्राच्यम् । उदीच्यम् । प्रतीच्यम् ॥

1321. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udāch' and 'pratyaach', the affix चत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम् (IV. 4 130 S. 3476) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ When these words are used as indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyul' and 'tyu' e. g. मास्तनम् (IV. 3, 25). the word एषाम् means south.

१३२२ ॥ कन्थायास्तुक् । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

कान्थिकः ॥

1322. After the word 'Kanthā', comes the affix तुक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

१३२३ । वर्णौ बुक् । ४ । २ । १०३ ॥

वर्णुर्नवस्तस्य समीपदेशो वर्णुः तद्विषयार्थवाचिकस्याशब्दास्तुक् स्यात् । यथा हि भाते इमवस्तु कान्थिकम् ॥

1323. To the same stem is added the affix बुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varṇu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293 Thus कान्थिकम् ॥ As in the sentence यथा हि भाते इमवस्तु कान्थिकम् (?)

१३२४ । अव्ययस्यप् । ४ । २ । १०४ ॥

अमेहकतसिधेभ्य एव * ॥ अमाऽन्तिकसहार्थयोः । अमात्यः । इहत्यः । कृत्यः । तत्तस्यः । तत्तस्यः । परिगणनं किम् । उपरिष्टात् न औपरिष्टः ॥

अव्ययतां ममात्रे विलोपः * ॥ अनित्योऽयं बहुविधिलोपविधानात् । तेनेह न । अरातीयः ॥ त्यजेष्टुव इति वक्तव्यम् । नित्य ॥

नितो मते * ॥

1324. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide and the following *vārtikas* restrict it.

Vārt The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following indeclinables:—

अमर near or 'together' इह 'here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7 S. 1953) and च (V. 3. 10 S. 1957). As अमात्यः 'a minister' इहत्यः कृत्यः, तत्तस्यः, तत्तस्यः &c

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि ॥

Vart.—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha. As सौवर्गमिक (स्वर्गमिनमाह) This is an anitya rule because lopa is ordained of the णि syllable of bahis by vārtika under IV.1. 55 S. 1877. Had the णि elision of the present vārtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vārtika teaching the णि elision of bahis

Thus there is no णि elision of अरात् and शाश्वत् when they take the affix छ in the same-sense. As अरातीय and शाश्वतीय ॥

Vart.—The स्यप् is added to the upasarga नि in the sense of “fixed” as, नित्य = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vart.—The स्यप् is added to the upasarga निस् in the sense of ‘gone’, As निष्ठः “Chandalas &c who have *gone out* of the caste”. It is thus formed निस् + स्य ॥ Now applies the following sūtra

१३२५ । हस्यात्तादौ तद्धिते । ण । ३ । १०१ ॥

ह्रस्वादिणः परस्य सस्य षः स्यात्तादौ तद्धिते । निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्ठषष्ठाण्डालादि ।

अरण्याय * ॥ आरण्या सुमनसः ॥

दूरादेश्यः * ॥ दूरस्य ॥

उत्तरावाहम् * ॥ औत्तराहः ॥

1325. ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

Therefore the निस् is replaced by ष before स्यप् ॥ Thus we get निष् + स्य = निष्ठषः meaning one who has gone out of caste such as Chandālas &c.

Note —The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तर, तम, तय, स्व, तस्, स्यप्, ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । तर्पिष्टम । यजुष्टम । तय । अतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । स्व । सर्पिष्टम् । तल्ल । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्टः । स्यप् । भाविष्टयो ब्रह्मेते ॥

Vart.—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e g आरण्या सुमनस ‘forest flower’s,

Vart.—The affix एस्य comes after दूर, e g, दूरस्य पथिकः ‘a traveller’.

Vart.—The affix आहम् comes after उत्तर e g औत्तराहः ॥

१३२६ । ऐषमोह्यः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एभ्यस्त्यङ्गा । पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणौ द्युदयुजौ । ऐषमस्यम् । ऐषमस्तनम् । ह्यस्त्यम् । ह्यस्तनम् । श्वस्त्यम् । श्वस्तनम् । पक्षे शौचस्तिक वक्ष्यते ॥

1326. The affix स्यप् is added optionally after the words ‘aishamas,’ ‘hyas,’ and ‘śvas’; in the remaining senses.

These take optionally स्था; in the other alternative they will take युद् and ह्युल् as taught hereafter.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391), अस्त्यम् or अस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391) or दौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15. S. 1385). The word 'śvas' takes the augment तुद् also, hence the above three forms.

१३२७ । तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्जौ । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

यथासंख्येन । काकतीरम् । पाल्लतीरम् । शैवरूप्यम् । तीररूप्यान्तादिति नोक्तम् । बहुरूप्य-
न्माभूत् । बाहुरूप्यम् ॥

1327. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ज् comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण । Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्लतीरम्, शैवरूप्यम् । The words formed by अञ्, take the affix डीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); those in अ take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्; for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023). Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण् ॥

१३२८ । दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । वैविशालः । असंज्ञायां किम् । संज्ञाभूतायाः प्रकृतेर्मा भूत् । पूर्वेषुकामशम्यो
भवः पूर्वेषुकामशमः । प्राचां आमनगराणामिष्युत्तपेक्षुजिः ॥

1328. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अ is added, forming the feminine in आ । The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base.' This debars अण् । Thus पूर्वशाला + अ = पूर्वशाला (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? Observe, from the word पूर्वेषुकामशमी (II. 1. 50 S. 727) we have पूर्वेषुकामशमैः (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpuruṣa kind is formed by the words पूर्व + इषुकामशमी; "Ishukāmashamī in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city. Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vriddhied, as is the general rule (VII. 2. 117, S. 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vriddhied, viz. the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. S. 1400

१३२६ । मद्देश्योऽञ् । ४ । २ । १०८ ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । विशोऽमहाराणामिति महर्पयुदासादाविवृद्धिः । पौर्वमद्देशः । आपरमद्देशः ॥

1329. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्, preceded by a word denoting direction ; in the remaining senses.

Thus पौर्वमद्देशः / ०द्दी । आपरमद्देशः / ०द्दी ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 S. 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद् ॥

१३३० । उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०९ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । शैवपुरम् ॥

1330. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debars अण् । Thus शैवपुरम् ॥

१३३१ । प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपथादण् । ४ । २ । ११० ॥

माहिकिप्रस्थः । पालवः । नैलीनकः ॥

1331. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c., and after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus माहिकिप्रस्थः, पालवः, नैलीनकः ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट), 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौडी, 12 नैकती (नैतकी), 13 परिसा, 14 शूरसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पटकर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि), 18 वक्रलोम, 19 सकलोम ॥

१३३२ । कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तेभ्योऽण् स्यात् । कण्वो गमादिः । काण्वस्य छात्राः काण्वाः ।

1332. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kanva &c., in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus कण्वा 'the pupils of Kāva'

Thus Kanva-class is a sub-class of Gaṅgādī. The Family-name from कण्वा is कण्व by rule IV 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कण्व + अण् = कण्वः (VI 4 148 and VI. 4 152).

१३३३ । इअश्च । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इअ तवन्तादण्स्यात् । दाक्षाः । गोत्रे किम् । सौतङ्गमेति सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रमिह शास्त्रीयं न तु लौकिकम् । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333. After a Family-name formed by इअ, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus from इक्ष् we have the Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षा 'the pupils of Dākshi' The final इ is elided before अण् by VI 4. 148. S. 311.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गम्, a word formed by इअ् of IV. 2. 80, S 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70S. 1280-82. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). The word Gotra in this sūtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans as mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books and not worldly gotras, or family descent. Therefore the rule does not apply in पाणिनीयम् ॥

१३३४ । न ह्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इममेत्ययोऽपवादः । प्राचीयाः । काशीयाः । भरतानां प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपादानमन्यत्र प्राच्यग्रहणे भरतानामपहणस्य लिङ्गम् ॥

1334. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इअ, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result is that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, from the लौकिक derivatives by affix छ (IV 2. 114 S. 1337).

Thus प्राचीयाः and काशीयाः from, प्राचि or काशी । The word प्राचि and काशी are Vriddha words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take छ ॥

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See II. 4. 66.

१३३५ । वृद्धिर्यस्याच्चांमादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । १ । १ । ७३ ॥

यस्य सप्तम्यस्याच्चां मध्ये आदिर्वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धसज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1335 That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम् । The sūtra consists of five words :—वृद्धि 'the vṛiddhi vowel'; यस्य 'whose,' अच्चां 'among the vowels,' आदि 'is first', तद् 'that', वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

Note :—If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel अ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2 114 S 1337) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus माला + छ = मालीयः ॥

१३३६ । त्यदादीनि च । १ । १ । ७४ ॥

वृद्धसज्ञानि स्युः ॥

1336 The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

Note :—The त्यद् &c have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम् । So also मदीयम्, इदीयम्, अवसायम्, एवायानि, मावायानि &c.

१३३७ । वृद्धाच्छ । ४ । २ । ११४ ।

शालीयः । मालीयः । तदीयः ॥

1337. After a word cellad Vṛiddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. This debars णम् । Thus from गार्ग्य we have गार्गीय (VI. 4 148 S. 311 and VI. 4. 152 S. 2119). So also शालीयः, मालीयः, तदीयः ॥

१३३८ । एङ् प्राचां देशे । १ । १ । ७५ ॥

एङ् यस्याच्चांमादिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं वा स्याद्वेशाभिधाने । ऐणीपचनीयः । गौनर्दीयः । भोजकदीयः । पक्षे अणि । ऐणीपचनः । गौनर्दः । भोजकदः । एङ् किम् । आहिच्छन्नः । कान्यकुब्जः ॥ वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञकत्वात् * ॥ द्वैवदन्तः । द्वैवदन्तीयः ॥

1338. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of a country.

As गौनर्द is a country of the east; it is a vṛiddham word and we have गौनर्द + छ = गौनर्दीयः ; similarly ऐणीपचनीयम्, भोजकदीयः । Alternatively, with the affix अण the forms will be गौनर्दः, ऐणीपचनः, भोजकदः ॥

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham : and as such will not take the affix छ् ; as आदिच्छ्वः, कान्यकुब्जः ॥

Vart :—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vṛiddham. Thus देवदत्त + छ् = देवदत्तीया, or we may have देवदत्ता ॥

१३३६ । भवतष्टक्छसौ । ४ । २ । ११५ ॥

वृद्धाद्भवत एतौ स्तः । भावत्कः । जपस्वप् । भवशीयः । वृद्धादिभ्यस्तुवृत्तेः । शत्रन्तादयोश्च । भावतः ।

1339. The affixes टक् and छस् come after the Vṛiddha word भवत् in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vṛiddha word, because it belongs to tyadādi class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336). This rule debars छ् of IV 2. 114. S. 1337. In the affix छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 17 S. 230). Thus भवत् + टक् = भावत्कः । भवत् + छस् = भवशीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vṛiddha, then it takes the general affix अण् ; as भावतः । This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

१३४० । काश्यादिभ्यस्तुज्जिठौ । ४ । २ । ११६ ॥

इकार उच्चारणार्थः । काशिकी । काशिका । वैदिकी । वैदिका ॥

आपदादिपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् * ॥ आपदादिशक्तिगणः । आपत्कालिकी । आपत्कालिका ॥

1340. The affixes टज् and जिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes टज् and जिठ्, the ह् is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by टज् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), the others will take टप् (IV. 1. 4. S. 454). Thus काशिका. or काशिकी, वैदिका or वैदिकी ॥

Note :—The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

Note :—The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. S. 1338. Thus देवदत्तिकाः । But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vṛiddha word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Vart :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद् ; as आपत्कालिकी or का, ऊर्ध्वकालिकी or का, तद्कालिकी or का ॥

1 काशि, 2 वैवि (वैवी), 3 सांयाति,* 4 सवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान)
7 शकुलाह, 8 इस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुदामन्), 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन
(गोधासन), 13 भारङ्गी,* 14 अरिदम, 15 अरिज,* 16 देशवत्, 17 दशग्राम (दासग्राम), 18
सौवावता (सौधावतान), 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन,* 23 सिधुमित्र,
24 शसमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र,* 26 सोममित्र,* 27 छागमित्र,* 28 सधमित्र,* 29 आपवादपूर्वपशात्
(आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 सज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34
साधुमित्र ॥

१३४१। वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चमिडौ स्तः । छस्यापवादः । कास्तीर नाम वाहीकग्रामः ।
कास्तीरिकी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341. The affixes ठञ् and मिड् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of Vāhika.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S 1337) Thus कास्तीरिकी or कास्तीरिका ॥

१३४२। विभाषोशीनरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

एषु ये ग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चमिडौ वा स्तः । सौदर्शनिकी । सौदर्शनिका । सौदर्शनीया ॥

1342. The affixes ठञ् and मिड् come optionally in the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting Vāhika villages situated in Uśīnara.

Thus सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका, and सौदर्शनीया ॥

१३४३। ओर्देशे ठञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उपर्यान्तादेशवाचिनश्च । निषादकर्षू, नैषादकर्षुका । केऽण इति ह्रस्व । देशे किम् ।
पटोरक्षावाः पादवाः । मिडे व्यावर्तयितुं षञ्महयम् । वृद्धाच्छ परत्वाद्य बाधते । दाक्षिकर्षुकः ॥

1343. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षुकाः from निषादकर्षूः; the long ऊ is shortened by VII. 4. 13. S.834 before the affix क । Why do we say 'denoting a country'? Observe पादवा. 'the pupils of पद्' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of षञ् and मिड् both were current; hence the repetition of षञ् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of षञ् from the last sūtra, without drawing in the anuvṛitti of मिड् ॥

This sūtra being subsequent in order to IV. 2. 114 S. 1337, debars that sūtra, and hence in the case of vṛiddha words ending in उ and denoting a locality, छ is not added, but the ठञ् of the present sūtra. Thus वाक्षिकवृक् ॥

१३४४ । वृद्धात्प्राञ्चाम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्राञ्चेशवाचिनो वृद्धादेषेति नियमार्थं सूचम् । आढकजम्बुकः । शाकजम्बुकः । नेह मल्लवास्तु, मल्लवास्तवः ॥

1344. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks.

The phrase ओर्वेक्षे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नयम् or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मल्लवास्तवः ॥

१३४५ । धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्वविशेषवाचिनो यक्रोपधाश्च देशवाचिनो वृद्धावुञ् स्यात् । ऐरावत धन्व ऐरावतकः । साङ्काश्यकाः कम्पित्यश्चैव वुञ्छयाविसूत्रेण गयान्तौ । साङ्काश्यकः । कम्पित्यकः ॥

1345. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and ऐक्षे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly साङ्काश्यकः and कम्पित्यकः are examples of य penultimate. (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292).

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताश्च । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

एतदन्तावृद्धादेशवाचिनो वुञ् स्यात् । छस्यापवादः । मालाप्रस्थकः । नान्दीपुरकः । पैलवहकः । पुनन्तमह्यमप्रागर्थम् । प्रावेशं तूत्तरेण सिद्धम् ।

1346 The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, पैलवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope.

१३४७ । रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । पाटलिपुत्रकः । ईतः, काकन्दकः ॥

1347. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ This पाटलिपुत्रकः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, (VI. 4 148)

Note.—Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दाक्षामित्रीयः formed by छ ॥ The हूँ in ईत् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

१३४८ । जनपदतदवधोश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिविवाचिनश्च वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । आदर्शकः । जैमर्त्तकः ॥

1348. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आदर्शकः is an example of जनपद-

Note :—And औपुष्टकः and श्यामगानकः from औपुष्ट and श्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 S 1361 to words like जैमर्त्त which is an arid desert: as जैमर्त्तकः ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

१३४९ । अवृद्धावपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

अवृद्धाद्वृद्धाच्च जनपदतदवधिविवाचिनो बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वुञ् स्यात् । अवृद्धादणो वृद्धाच्छस्यापवादः । अवृद्धाजनपदात्, आङ्गकः । अवृद्धाजनपदावधेः, आजमीढकः । वृद्धाजनपदात्, दार्शकः । वृद्धाजनपदावधेः, कालञ्जरकः । विषयग्रहणं किम् । एकशेषेण बहुष्वे मा भूत् । वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी, तासु भवो वर्तनः ॥

1349. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vṛiddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vṛiddha words.

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from गङ्गा, वङ्गा and कलिङ्गा, which are non-Vṛiddha

Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिंगकः ॥ Similarly अजमीडाः and अजकणाः are always non-Vṛiddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms; we have from them अजमीदकः and अजकन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vṛiddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus दार्वकः and आम्बकः from दानाः and आम्बाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंजरा — कालंजरकः, वैकुण्ठिणा — वैकुण्ठिकः ॥

Why have we used the word विषय in the sūtra? The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥ For वर्तन्यः is an ekaśeṣha plural of वर्त्तनी + वर्त्तनी + वर्त्तनी ॥

१३५० । कच्छाग्निवक्त्रवर्तोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धावृद्धाश्च वुम् स्यात् । शरकच्छकः । काण्डाग्निकः । सैन्धुवक्त्रकः । बाहुवर्तकः ॥

1350. The affix वुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As शरकच्छकः, काण्डाग्निकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, and बाहुवर्तकः ॥ Kāśika reads the sūtra as गतो &c.

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

१३५१ । धूमादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १२७ ॥

देशवाचिभ्यो वुम् । धौमकः । तैर्यकः ॥

1351. The affix वुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. धौमकः, तैर्यकः &c.

Note:—The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken वुम् by IV 2 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and भानर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुम् by IV 2 124, here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहाना क्षत्रियानां स्व = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyas". So also भानर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रिको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not; as सामुद्रिकम् "Oceanic water".

1 घूम, 2 खडगड (खडगड and खगड), 3 शशादन, 4 अर्जुनाव (अर्जुनाद), 5 माहुकस्थली 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 मर्हिषस्थली* 8 मानस्थली (मायस्थली), 9 भाटस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 वाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सान्नाताह, 17 शब्द (शिष्य, 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्धः, मित्र, वल), 19 भक्षाली*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 बाजीकूल (आज्जीकूल), 22 ब्राह्मण, 23 त्रयाह्वय, 24 सस्फाद्य (सहीय), 25 बर्बर, 26 बर्बर्य, 27 गर्भ (वर्चगर्भ), 28 आनर्त, 29 माकर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घाष, 32 पक्षी (वली) 33 आगजी, 34 धार्तागजी 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयान तीर्थ), 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रात्सौवीरेषु च, 39 कुत्ति, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप), 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 वृत्तिपापय, 46 साकत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षस्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मनशली, 51 घुराजी ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगराद्वावुञ् स्यात्कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्ये । नागरकश्चैव शिल्पी वा । कुत्सनेति किम् । नागरा ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1352. The affix वुञ् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दन or 'blame or censure', and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरक 'a thief or a skilful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरा ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nāgara Brāhmanas'

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

वुञ् । अरण्याण्डस्यपवाव ॥

पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यहृतिष्विति वाच्यम् ० ॥ अरण्यक पन्था, अध्यायो न्यायो विहारो मनुष्यो इति वा ॥

वा गोमयसु * ॥ आरण्यका आरण्या वा गोमया ॥

1353. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ण of 1325 Vārtika Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that the affix वुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्था, अध्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or इति ॥

Vart —Optionally when the sense is that of cow-dung, as आरण्य or आरण्यका गोमया. ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when having these senses' ? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ॥ As आरण्यः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

१३५४ । विभाषाकुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

बुञ् । कौरवकः । कौरवः । यौगन्धरकः । यौगन्धरः ॥

1354. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवैः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरैः ॥

१३५५ । मद्रवृज्योः कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

जनपदबुभ्राऽपवादः । मद्रेषु जातो मद्रकः । वृजिकः ॥

1355. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

१३५६ । कोपधावण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

महिषिकः ॥

1356. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus अर्बिकः "born in अर्बिका," So also महिषिकः ॥

Note —The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in वृ, which would have otherwise taken वृञ् by IV 2. 110 S. 1343. Thus ऐक्षकः "born in ऐक्षका" ॥ The word ऐक्षे is understood in this sūtra.

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देशवाचिभ्योऽण् । बुञ्देशपवादः । काच्छः । सैन्धवः ॥

1357. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word ऐक्षे is understood here. This debars बुञ् &c. Thus काच्छः सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c.

Note :—The words कच्छ &c are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and then habits &c. The

word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 करमीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुह, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 क्षीर, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलूतर (कुलुत) 16 रङ्कु ॥

१३५८ । मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १३४ ॥

कच्छाद्यणोऽपवादः । कच्छे जातारिः काच्छको मनुष्यः । काच्छकं हसितम् । मनुष्येति किम् । काच्छो गौ ॥

1358. The affix वुञ् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch' काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'.

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'.

१३५९ । अपदातो साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वशब्दस्य कच्छादित्वाद्वुञ् सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । अपदातद्वेति साल्वको ब्राह्मणः । अपदातो किम् । साल्व पदातिर्ब्रजति ॥

1359. The affix वुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्वः पदातिर्ब्रजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

१३६० । गोयवाम्वोश्च । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वावुञ् । कच्छाद्यणोऽपवादः । साल्वको गौः साल्विका यवागूः । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. Thus साल्वको गौः 'the cows born in Salva'. साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Sālva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गतोत्तरपदाच्छः । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

हेतो । अथोऽपवादः । वृकगर्तीयम् । उत्तरपदग्रहण बहुचूर्वनिरासार्थम् ॥

1361. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word हेतो is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes ङश्च and ङिच् of sūtra IV 2 117 S. 1341 Thus वृकगर्तीयम्, 'born in the wolf's hole.' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023) and not a pada.

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छ । स्यात् । गहीयः ॥

मुखपार्श्वतलोपोपश्च * ॥ मुखतीयम् । पार्श्वतीयम् । अव्ययानां भगवत्ते दितोपस्थानित्यतां क्षापयितुमिवम् ॥

कुम्जनस्य परस्य च * ॥ जनकीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च * ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

वैश्यस्य च * ॥ वैश्यकीयम् ॥ वैश्यादिभ्यश्च छणाच्यः * ॥ वैशुकीयम् । वैभकीयम् । औत्तरपद-
कीयम् ॥

1362. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीय 'belonging to a cave', भग्नः स्त्रीयः &c.

Vārtika —The words मुखत् and पार्श्वत् get the affix त्स, but before the affix छ the स् of त्स is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥ This *Vārtika* also indicates that the elision of टि of the Indeclinable as ordained by the *Vārtika* under S. 1324 is a rule of limited scope.

Vārt. —The augment कुक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ
As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vārt. —The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

Vārt. —The same augment is added to the word स्व as स्वकायम् ॥

Vārt. —The affix छन् comes after the words वैशु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वैशुकीयम्, वैभकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, मांस्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

Note 1.—In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यमं चाण चरणे" It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयम् ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Ocharaps, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमा ॥" The word मध्यम here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिविमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix छ्ण् is applied in the case of चरण्, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 8. 89 S. 1469 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रयः पश्चिमाः, त्रयो मध्यमाः "three Charanas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle".

1 गङ्ग, 2 अन्तस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्यमध्यम चाण् चरणो, 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधम शाख, 13 उत्तम शाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इक्ष्व, 21 इक्ष्वकी (इक्ष्वनी), 22 अक्षयन्दन (अवश्यन्दी and अवस्कन्व), 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खाडायन (खाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी), 25 काठेरणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि), 26 कावेरणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 शौकरि, 29 आसुत*, 30 वैवर्णि (वैवर्णम्), 31 श्रौति, 32 आह्विति, 33 आमित्रि, 34 ध्याड, 35 बौजि (वैजि), 36 आध्यधि, 37 आनृशशि, 38 शौङ्गि, 39 आमिशर्णि, (अमिशर्णम्), 40 भोजि, 41 वाराटकि (भाराटकि), 42 वरुणीकि, 43 लैमवृजि (लैमवृजिन्), 44 आध्यधि, 45 औदमाहमनि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 इन्ताम*, 49 इत*, 50 तन्मम*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अगन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुख्यपार्श्वतसोलोप (also मुख्य-तीय and पार्श्वतीय) 54 जनपरयो कृक च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्थ च, 56 वेशुकविभ्यच्छण्, 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३६३ । प्राचा कटादेः । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

प्रादेशवाचिनः कटादेशः स्यात् । अयोऽपवादः । कटनगरीयम् । कटयोधीयम् । कटपत्त-
नीयम् ॥

1363. The affix छ्ण् comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशो is understood here also. The word प्राक of the sūtra qualifies देशो ॥ This debars भण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटयोधीयम्, कटपत्तनीयम् ॥

१३६४ । राज्ञः क च । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

वृद्धत्वाच्छे सिद्धे तत्सन्नियोगेन कदेशमात्रं विधीयते । राजकीयम् ॥

1364, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ्ण् is added.

This sūtra only teaches the substitution of क ; for राजन् would have taken छ्ण् by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word वक्षो does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

१३६५ । वृद्धादकेकान्तस्त्रोपधात् । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

अक इक एतन्तास्त्रोपधाच्च वृद्धादेशवाचिनश्छ्ण् स्यात् । ब्राह्मणको नाम अनपरो यत्र ब्राह्मणो
आधुर्जविनस्तत्र जातो ब्राह्मणकीयः । शास्मलीकीयः । अयोमुखीयः ॥

1365. The affix छ्ण् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vridhdha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate.

The word **देशे** must be read into the sūtra. This debars the **अण** of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV. 2. 117 and 123 S. 1341 and 1347.

Thus **अक।—ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥** "One born in Brāhmaṇaka—a country where the Brāhmaṇa caste live by the profession of arms" **इक।—शात्मलिकीयम् ॥**

Note.—The words **सौसुक्** &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in **उक्** ॥ Thus **सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥**

१३६६ । कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कन्थापेवञ्चक्रोत्तरपदादेषवाचिनो वृद्धाच्छ. स्यात् । इञ्मिहोत्तरपदात् । दक्षिणस्थीयम् । दक्षिणलवीयम् । दक्षिणगरीयम् । दक्षिणामीयम् । दक्षिणद्वीयम् ॥

1366 The affix **छ** comes in the remaining senses after the *Vṛddha* words, having the words *kanthā*, *palada*, *nagara*, *grāma* and *hrada*, as last terms.

This debars the other affixes such as **उञ्** and **मिह** of IV. 2. 117 S. 1341.

Thus **दक्षिणस्थीयम्, दक्षिणलवीयम्, दक्षिणगरीयम्, दक्षिणामीयम्, दक्षिणद्वीयम् ॥**

१३६७ । पर्वताच्च । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीयः ॥

1367. The affix **छ** comes after the word **पर्वत** in the remaining senses.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **पर्वतीयो राजा** "the hill-king". **पर्वतीया पुरुषः** 'the hill man'.

१३६८ । विभाषाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्यमित्येऽयं पर्वताच्छो वा स्यात्पक्षेऽण् । पर्वतीयानि पार्वतानि वा फलानि । अमनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः ॥

1368. The affix **छ** optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word **पर्वत** when it does not denote a man.

Thus **पर्वतीयानि** or **पार्वतानि फलानि** 'hill fruits'.

Why do we say **अमनुष्ये** 'not-human'? Observe **पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः** where there is no option allowed.

१३६९ । कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

भारद्वाजदेववाचिग्रामाभ्यां छ । कृकणीयम् । पर्णीयम् । भारद्वाजे किम् । कर्कणम् । पार्णम् ॥

1369 The affix **छ** comes in the remaining senses after **कृकण** and **पर्ण** when denoting the country of *Bhāradvāja*.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीमम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bhāradvājas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् ॥ ४ । ३ । १ ॥

अच्छः । पक्षेऽण् । युष्मद्युष्माक वा अथ युष्मदीयः । अस्मदायः ॥

1370. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad'

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix ञ्ण may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and ञ्ण and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vpiddha, as they belong to Tyadādi class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336), and would have taken छ by IV. 2 114 S 1337; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV 3. 2 S 1371) यौष्माकः । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII 1. 2).

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माक + ईन (IV. 3 2. S 1371) = यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII 4. 2 S 475 and 197) So also आस्माकः । अस्मदीयः, and आस्माकीनः ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ । ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरैवादिषी स्तः खञ्छणि च । यौष्माकीणः । आस्माकीनः । यौष्माकः । आस्माकः ॥

1371. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3. 10 S 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) तस्मिन् खञ्णि युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (2) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively. (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माक with अण् ॥

Note :—This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

१३७२ । तवकममकाद्येकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्थवचिनोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवकममकौ स्त ख्यञ्जि च । तावकीनः । तावकः । मामकीनः । मामकः । छे तु ॥

1372. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee,' मामकीनः "belonging to me " तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be त्वदीय, and मदीय, by the following rule.

Note 1—The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix छ ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1 63, S. 268 there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ६८ ॥

मपर्यन्तयोरेकार्थयोस्त्वमी स्त प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । त्वदीयः । मदीयः ॥

1373. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, S. 1337, I. 1 74 S. 1336)

Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुत्रः = त्वत्पुत्रः, मत्पुत्रः ॥ त्व नायोऽस्य = त्वन्नायः ॥

Note —When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकमिद), अस्मदीय, युष्मत्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्धः ॥

1374. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्धः 'belonging to half.'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाश्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

पराधर्मः । अवराधर्मः । अधमार्धर्मः । उत्तमार्धर्मः ॥

1375. The affix धत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम् अवरार्द्धम्. अधमार्द्धम्. उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदादुच्य । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

चाद्यत् । पौर्वाधिकम् । पूर्वार्थम् ॥

1376. And the affix टञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्थम् or पौर्वाधिकम् ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदार्थान्तादञ्ठञौ स्तः । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधा । पौर्वाधिका । ग्रामस्य पूर्वसिन्नार्थे भवा इति सद्धितार्थे समासः । ठञ्मह्यं स्पष्टार्थम् । अञ्च्येऽनुक्ते यतोऽप्यनुकर्षं सभाष्येन ॥

1377. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदान् is to be read into the sūtra This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खलुस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधा. or पौर्वाधिका "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". The word पौर्वाधा = ग्रामस्य पूर्वसिन्नार्थे भवा and is a Taddhitārtha compound

Though the anuvṛtti of ठञ् was current in this Sūtra from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision,; for had the sūtra been ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्च, then the च would have drawn in not only the affix ठञ् but the affix यत् which is not desired.

१३७८ । मध्यान्मः । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यमः ॥

1378. After the word मध्य there is the affix न् in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

१३७९ । अ सांप्रतिके । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यमव्याकरणस्यः स्यात्सांप्रतिकेऽर्थे । वृत्तवर्षापर्यङ्गिणो मध्यो वैयाकरणा । मध्यं वाक् । नातिह्रस्वं नातिदीर्घमित्यर्थः ॥

1379. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घं नातिह्रस्वं मध्यं वाक् "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short". मध्यो वैयाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull."

१३८० । द्वीपावनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ ४ । ३ । १० ॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे यो द्वीपस्तादृशयाद्वीपसद्व्याच्यञ् स्यात् । द्वैप्यञ् । द्वैप्या ॥

1380. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea

Note :—The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kaśchhādī (IV. 2 133 S. 1357), and would have taken ञ् ; and by sūtra IV 2 134 S 1358, it would have taken चञ् also. The present sūtra debars both these affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यञ् or द्वैप्या, 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

१३८१ । कालाट्टञ् ॥ ४ । ३ । ११ ॥

कालवाचिभ्यष्टञ् स्यात् । मासिकम् । सांस्वत्सरिकम् । सायंप्रातिकः । पौनः पुनिकः । कथं तर्हि चार्धस्य तमसो निषिद्धये इति कालिदास अनुवर्तोपसर्गोति भारविः, समानकालीनं प्राक्कालीनमित्याह च । अपभ्रंशा एवैत इति प्रामाणिका ॥ तत्र जात इति यावत्कालाधिकारः ॥

1381. The affix टञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars ञ् ॥ The affix छ् which comes after Vpiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकम् 'monthly' सांस्वत्सरिकम् 'annual', सायंप्रातिकः "morning and evening," पौनः पुनिकः 'again and again'.

How do you explain the forms चार्धस्य and तमसो निषिद्धये in the following lines of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi चार्धस्य तमसो निषिद्धये (Kālidāsa) and अनुवर्तोपसर्गोति (Bhāravi)? Or the forms समानकालीनम् and प्राक्कालीनम्? These forms are ungrammatical according to the best authorities.

Note :—The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कादम्बपुष्पिकः, वैद्विपलाक्षिकम् ॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto IV. 3 25 S. 1393. (तत्र जातः) ॥

१३८२ । आद्धे शरद्धः ॥ ४ । ३ । १२ ॥

टञ् स्यात् । ऋत्वण्योऽपवादः । शारदिक आद्धम् ॥

1382. The affix टञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्धः, when expressing आद्ध ॥

This debars ञ् (IV. 3. 16 S 1387) The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation', and not अज्ञानात्पुरुष 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिक आद्ध 'the autumnal 'Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

१३८३ । विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ ४ । ३ । १३ ॥

शारदिकः शारदो वा रोग आसद्यो वा । दस्योः क्रिय । शारवं इधि ।

1383. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको or शारदो रोग 'the autumnal disease', शारदिकः or शारद आसद्य 'the autumnal heat or sunshine.'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारवं इधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the क्तु भण् (IV. 3. 16).

१३८४ । निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च । ४ । ३ । १४ ॥

वा ठञ् स्यात् । नैशिकम् । नैशम् । प्राशेषिकम् । प्राशेषम् ॥

1384 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', 'and pradoshā'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 S 1381, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्राशेषम् or प्राशेषिकम् ॥

१३८५ । श्वसस्तुद् च । ४ । ३ । १५ ॥

श्वसश्चाद्याश्च वा स्यात्तस्य तुङागमश्च ॥

1385. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. S. 1326. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes {yu and tyu} affixes also by IV 3 23 S. 1391 Thus श्वस्+तुद्+ठञ् now applies the following sūtra —

१३८६ । द्वारादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ४ ॥

द्वार, स्वर, व्यङ्कश, स्वस्ति, स्वर, स्फपकृत, स्वाद्, श्रुद्, श्वस्, श्वन्, स्व एषां न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । शौचस्तिकम् ॥

1386. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ, ए or क् the Vpiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व् but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semivowels in द्वार &c.

The following is a list of Dvārādi words —

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यङ्कश, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर (स्वर), 7 स्फपकृत, 8 स्वादुष्टु 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

Thus श्वस्+तुद्+ठञ् = शौचस + त्+इक (VII. 3. 3 S 1098) = शौचस्तिकम् (ephemeral).

Note:—As द्वारे निधुक् = दौवारिकः, दौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here, सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्यकृतोऽप्ययः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्यः

सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयल्लक्षः from व्यल्लक्ष, (व्यल्लक्षो भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्त, (स्वस्तीति आह) सौरः from स्वर (स्वर्ग) ॥

Some read the word स्वध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (सौमनो-ध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्तैयकृत from स्तयकृत, सौवादुचुदु from स्वादुचुदु, सौवदम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI 4 167 S 1155), while सौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛiti-bhāva (by अच् IV 3 154) : सौवादंष्ट्र (श्वादंष्ट्रो भवः) Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्वेव), सौवमानिक from स्वमान with the affix डच् (अध्यायमाहित्वाट डच्) This sūtra is made because the व् and च् here are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra.

१३८७ । संधिवेलाद्युतु नक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

संधिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् स्यात् । संधिवेलायां भवं सान्धिवेलम् । मैत्रम् । तैषम् ॥ संधिवेला, संध्या, अमावास्या, ज्येष्ठश्री चतुर्दशी, पौर्णमासी, प्रतिपद् ॥

सांवत्सरं फलपर्वणोः * ॥ सांवत्सरं फल पर्वे वा । सांवत्सरिकमन्यन् ॥

1387. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after the words ' sandhi-velā ' &c, and the words expressing ' season ' and ' asterism ' .

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars डच् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vriddha in this list (IV. 2 114S 1337). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सार्वधम्, (2) मैत्रम्, सौविरम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelā, season and asterisms respectively

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 ज्येष्ठश्री, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पौर्णमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

Part. —The affix अण् is added to सांवत्सर when denoting ' fruit ' and ' festival,' as सांवत्सर फल or पर्वे ॥ Otherwise सांवत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८ । प्रावृष ण्यः । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्य ॥

1388 The affix ण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष् ॥

Note —This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though ' prāvṛish ' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो जलाहकः " the cloud belonging to the rainy season ".

१३८९ । वर्षाभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षाद्यु साधु वार्षिक वातः । कालात्साधुपुण्यत्पच्यमानेति साधये ॥

1389. The affix टक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16 S 1387. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The इक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 S. 1418 here.

१३९० । सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्तावण् स्यात्तलोपश्च वेदलोकायोः । चकारात्पक्षे ऋत्वण् । हेमनम् । हेमन्तम् ।

1390 The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमनम् or हेमन्तम् ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Obhādas as well as in the classical literature

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV 3 16 S 1387 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387), हेमन्तिक (IV 3. 21 S. 3452) and हेमनम् ॥

१३९१ । सायं चिरं प्राह्णे प्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यश्च्युलौ तुद् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिभ्यश्च्युलौऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यश्च्युलौ स्तस्तयोस्तुद् च । तुद् प्रागनादेशात् षनश्चतन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तनम् । चिरन्तनम् । प्राह्णतनम् । प्रगेतनम् । दोषातनम् । दिशातनम् ॥

चिरपरुत्परिभ्यस्तौ वक्तव्यः * ॥ चिरत्नम् । परुत्नम् । परारिन्तम् ॥

अमादिश्चाङ्गिन्च् * ॥ अमिमम् । अदिमम् । पश्चिमम् ॥

अन्ताच्च * ॥ अन्तिमम् ॥

1391. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes च्यु and च्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालान् is understood here also. Thus सायं + च्यु = सायं + अच् = सायं + तुद् + षन = सायन्तनम् 'belonging to the evening' चिरन्तनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णन्तनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् " what is of the early morn ".

The replacement of च्यु by अच् under VII. 1. 1 S 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment तुद् to the affix, because we find it so in the forms like अचन्तनम् &c used by Panini himself in III. 2 111 S. 2205 &c Had it been added first, then the affix would have become च्यु, and the form would have been अचन्तच्यु like च्युच्युः for there is no rule which would have changed च्यु into तन ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are दोषातनम् 'belonging to the night,' दिशातनम् 'belonging to the day.'

Varṇa :—The affix ञ् comes after the words चिर, परुत् (meaning in the past year) and परारि (meaning in the year before the last). As चिरञ्चम्, परुत्ञ्चम्, and परारिञ्चम् ॥

Vart:—The affix डिमच् comes after अम आदि and पश्चाद्, as, अमिमच् आदिमच् and पश्चिमच् ॥

Vart.—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमच् ॥

Note:—The difference between *tyu* and *tyul* is in accent. Thus सायन्तन and सार्यन्तन, चिरन्तन and चिर्यन्तन, प्राहन्तन and प्राह्यन्तन, प्रगेतन, प्रगेत्यन, विवर्तन and विवर्त्यन, वीषातन and वीषात्यन ॥ See VI 1 193 S. 8676.

१३०२ । विभाषा पूर्वाह्णापरह्णाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

आभ्यां व्युत्थुलो वा स्तस्योस्तुद् च । पक्षे ढम् । पूर्वाह्णेतनम् । अपराह्णेतनम् । पक्षात्तने-
वित्यलुक् । पूर्वाह्णः सोढोऽस्येति विभहे तु पूर्वाह्णेतनम् । अपराह्णेतनम् । पौर्वाह्निकम् । आपराह्निकम् ॥

1392. Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes ह्यु and ह्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

In the alternative ढम् of IV 3. 11 S. 1381 also occurs As पुर्वाह्णेतनम्, अपराह्णेतनम् with *tyu*, or पौर्वाह्निकम्, आपराह्निकम् with *thañ*. With *tyul* we have पूर्वाह्णेतन and अपराह्णेतन ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17 S. 975. When the compound is such as not retaining the case-affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying पूर्वाह्णः सोढोऽस्य (IV. 3. 52 S. 1427) then we have, पूर्वाह्णेतनम् । अपराह्णेतनम् । पौर्वाह्निकम् । आपराह्निकम् ॥

१३६३ । तत्र जातः । ४ । ३ । २५ ॥

सप्तमीसमर्पाज्जात इत्यर्थेऽणारयो चादयश्च स्युः । कुत्रे जातः सौत्रः । औत्सः । राष्ट्रियः ।
अवारपारीण इत्यादि ॥

1393. 'The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV 2. 92. S. 1312. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus कुत्रेजातः = कुत्र + अण् = सौत्रः 'born in Srughna'. औत्सः 'born in Utsa', राष्ट्रिय (IV. 2. 93 S. 1313) अवारपारीण &c.

१३६४ । प्रावृषष्टप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

एवमस्यापवादः । प्रावृषि जातः प्रावृषिकः ॥

1394. After the word प्रावृद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix षप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एव्य of sūtra IV. 3 17 S 1388 The ष् of षप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषिजातः = प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

१३९५ । संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

कृत्वणोऽपवादः । शारदका दर्भविशेषा सुहविशेषाश्च ॥

1395. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein.' the whole word being a name.

This debars ञ् of IV 3. 16 S 1387. Thus शारदका दर्भः 'the grass called Śāradaka.' शारदका सुहः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Note :—According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV 3. 38, S. 1413.

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । हनस्त इत्यस्मात्प्राक् ॥

1396. Upto VII. 3. 31 S 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 S. 2574, exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII 3. 11, S 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्षिकं, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमन्म्, अपरहैमन्म् ॥

Note :—In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 S. 1397 (अवयवान्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛddhi.' This peculiar vṛddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

१३९७ । अवयवाद्गतोः । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अवयववाचिनः पूर्वपदादुत्तरवाचिनोऽध्यामादेशो वृद्धिः स्यात् जिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । पूर्ववार्षिक । अपरहैमन् । अवयवात्किम् । पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवः पौर्षवार्षिकः । अतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाय-
वयवनामिति नवन्तविधि पूर्वम् । इह तु न । अवयवत्वाभावात् ॥

1397. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण् or क्, Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववर्षिक from पूर्व + वर्षा + ठक् meaning वर्षायां पूर्व. ॥ अपरहेमन्तः meaning हेमन्तस्यापरः ॥

Note —The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c. takes place by II. 2 1 S. 712 and then by IV 3 18 S. 1389 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV 3 22 S. 1390. The Tadanta-vidhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-vidhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vriddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vriddhi-causing affix (IV. 3, 22 S. 1390), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part, (कृतोर्वृद्धि मन्विधावयवान् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वाह्ण वर्षाह्ण भवः पौर्वर्षिक with ठक् (IV. 3 11 S. 1389) and no vriddhi of the अ of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vriddhi is ordained after a word denoting season, provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part, and not otherwise." Therefore the vriddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varshā, but is in apposition with it. The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

१३९८ । सुसर्वाधाजनपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १२ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः । सुपाञ्चालकः । अर्धपाञ्चालकः । जनपदस्येति त्वन्तविधिः । सुसर्वादिदश द्वेभ्यो जनपदस्येति त्वन्तविधिः ॥

1398. After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vriddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः, and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with वुम् (IV 2. 124. S. 1348) read with IV. 2. 125 S. 1349 though the word is not a Vriddha. This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वादिक् वाद्देभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction denoting word."

Note —As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sūtra (I. 1 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

१३९९ । दिशोऽमद्राणाम् । ७ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिशाचक्राज्जनपदवाचिनो वृद्धिः । पूर्वपाञ्चालकः । दिशः किम् । पूर्वपाञ्चालानाम् पौर्वपाञ्चालः । अमद्राणां किम् । पौर्वमद्रः । योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः ॥

1399. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र,

gets Vridhhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपञ्चालकः, (IV. 2. 125, 107) The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction,?' Observe पूर्व. पञ्चालानां=पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः,=पूर्वपञ्चालकः ॥ Why do we say with the exception of मद्र? Observe पूर्वमद्रः with अम् (IV. 2. 108 S. 1329). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of "direction" only runs.

१४०० । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

विशः परेषां नगराणां ग्रामाणां नामान्वयस्य च वृद्धिः । पूर्वेषुकामशमः भवः पूर्वेषुकामशमः । नगरे, पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः ॥

1400. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vridhhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशमः "born in Purveshu kāmasham". So also अपरेषुकामशमः, पूर्वकार्णवृत्तिकः, अपरकार्णवृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) These are town names, पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः, पूर्वकान्यकुब्जः, अपरकान्यकुब्जः ॥ These are city names.

Note :—The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, S. 1431 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians' but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च अतो ह्युकामशमी=पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50 S. 727. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2. 107 S. 1328. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक the affix वृष् is added by IV. 2. 123 S. 1347. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

१४०१ । पूर्वाह्णपराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद्वुन् । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः । आर्द्रकः । मूलकः । प्रदोषकः । अवस्करकः ॥

1401. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः ॥ This debars IV. 3. 24 S. 1392. So also आर्द्रकः । मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16, S. 1387. प्रदोषकः ॥ This debars उम् of IV. 3. 14, S. 1384. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

१४०२ । पथः पन्थ च । ४ । ३ । २९ ॥

पथि जातः पन्थकः ॥

1402. The affix **बुन्** comes after the word **पथ**, in the sense of 'produced therein', and there by in the room of **पथ**, the substitute is **पन्थ** ॥

Thus **पथी जातः** = **पन्थकः** 'produced in the way.'

This debars the **अण्** ॥

१४०३ । अमावास्याया वा । ४ । ३ । ३० ॥

अमावास्याकः । अमावास्यः ॥

1403. The affix **बुन्** comes optionally after the word **amāvāsyā**, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars **अण्** of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus **अमावास्याकः** or **अमावास्यः** ॥

*Note:—*This affix **बुन्** is applied to the word **अमावस्य** also, on the maxim **एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्** "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus **अमावस्यकः** or **अमावस्यः** ॥

१४०४ । अत्र च । ४ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अमावस्य ॥

1404. And the affix **अ** also is added to the word **amāvāsyā**, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the **बुन्** and **अण्** already given. Thus **अमावास्यः**, **अमावास्याकः**, **अमावास्यः** ॥ So also after the word **अमावस्य**, as **अमावस्यः**, **अमावस्यकः** and **अमावस्य** ॥

१४०५ । सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् । ४ । ३ । ३२ ॥

सिन्धुकः । कच्छाद्याणि मनुष्यबुद्धि च प्राप्ते । अपकरण । औत्सर्गिकेऽणि प्राप्ते ॥

1405. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix **कन्** in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word **सिन्धु** occurs in the **Kachchhādī** class and takes **अण्** and **बुञ्** (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357), and **अपकर** would have also taken **अण्** under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus **सिन्धुकः**, **अपकरकः**, ॥

१४०६ । अणञौ च । ४ । ३ । ३३ ॥

क्रमात् स्तः । सिन्धवः । अपकरः ॥

1406. And the affixes **अण्** and **अञ्** come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धव and औपरः ॥

१४०७ । अविष्टाफलगुन्यनुराधास्वातिसिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुला-
ल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एभ्यो नक्षत्रवाचिभ्य परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् ॥

1407. The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî,' 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastâ', 'viśâkhâ', 'ashâdhâ', and 'bahulâ,' all denoting asterisms.

Note:—The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I, 2 49, S, 1408. Thus अविष्टासु जात = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ.' So also फल्गुन', अनुराध', स्वाति', तिष्य', पुनर्वसुः', हस्त', विशाखः', अषाढः', बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahulâ' is another name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥ It is exhibited in the sūtra as bahula with a short अ, as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva shortening.

१४०८ । लुक् तद्धितलुकि । २ । २ । ५९ ॥

तद्धितलुकि सस्युपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् अविष्टासु जातः अविष्टः । फल्गुन' इत्यादि ॥
चित्रारेवतिरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चित्रायां जाता चित्रा । रेवती । रोहिणी ।
आभ्यां लुक् तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते पिप्पल्यादेराकृतिगणस्थासुनर्हन्ति ॥
फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां दानौ वक्तव्यौ * ॥ स्त्रियामित्येव । । फल्गुनी । अषाढा ॥
अविष्टाषाढाभ्यां कृष्यक्तव्यः * ॥ भस्त्रियामपि । अविष्टाय' । व्याषादीयः ॥

1408. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added.

The word लुक् defined in I. 1. 61. S. 260, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. The word upasajana used in explaining this sūtra by the author should be taken in its popular sense of non-principal, secondary; and not the technical upasarjana of grammar.

Thus अविष्टा + (अणलुक्) = अविष्टः ॥ The Taddhita suffix being loked; the original feminine termination आ also becomes luk. Therefore the derivative of अविष्टा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्टः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुन &c.

Vart.—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitrâ' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine

affix which had been elided after the two words Revatī and Rohinī, by the present sūtra I. 2. 49 S. 1408 is reordained by IV. 1. 41, S. 498 because these words belong to the Pippalyādi subdivision of the गौराणि class. The Pippalyādi being an ākṛitigana contains these words also.

Vart:—The affixes इ and अल् come respectively after कस्मिन्नी and अवाङ् in forming the Feminine derivatives. As कस्मिन्नी (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) and अवाङ् ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning

Vart:—The affix कृन् also comes after 'Śravishthā' and 'Ashādhā,' even when females are not denoted. As आशिषीम् and आशधीम् ॥

१४०६ । जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् । ७ । ३ । १८ ॥

प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरपदस्थानामादेशो वृद्धिः स्याज्जातार्थे मिति यिति किति च । प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः । जे इति किम् । प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः प्रोष्ठपदः । बहुवचननिर्देशात्पर्यायोऽपि दृश्यते । भाट्टपादः ॥

1409. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicative न्, श् or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद is the name of an asterism, the day when the moon is there is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अल् of IV. 2. 3. S. 1204 is elided by IV. 2. 4 S. 1205). प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः (with अल् IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe ब्रह्म प्रोष्ठपदो मेघः (= प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भाट्टपद are also to be included. As भाट्टपादः ॥

१४१० । स्थानान्तगोशालखरशास्ताम् । ४ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । गोस्थानः । गोशालः । खरशातः । विभाषा सेनेति नपुंसकत्वे इत्यस्यम् ॥

1410. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting "born therein" after a word ending in 'sthāna', and after the words 'gośāla' and 'kharasāla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशातः ॥ The word gośāla and kharasāla in the sūtra end in a short अ because they are Neuter under II 4. 25 S. 828.

१४११ । वत्सशालाभिजिवश्वयुक्शतभिषजो वा । ४ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थस्य लुप्ता स्यात् । वत्सशाले जातो वत्सशालः । वात्सशालः इत्यादि ॥ जातार्थे प्रतिप्रसृतोऽप्यत्र लिङ्गकव्यः * ॥ शातभिषः । शातभिषजः । शतभिषक् ॥

1411. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasāla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'śatabhik'.

As वत्सशाले जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिषक् or शतभिषज् ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वात्सशाल are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

Vari.—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङित्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2. S. 1550 by force of IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 but it is debarred by ङङ् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषः or शतभिषज्, or शतभिषक् ॥

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिणः । रोहिणः ॥

1412. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिण (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran')

१४१३ । कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तथेत्येव । सुप्ते कृतो लब्धः क्रीतः कुशलो वा सौम्यः ॥

1413. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'.

Thus सौम्यः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna".

१४१४ । प्रायभवः । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तथेत्येव । सुप्ते प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति सौम्यः ॥

1414. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus सौम्यः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = सुप्ते प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति ॥

Note :—This sūtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sūtra तत्रभवः (IV 3. 53 S. 1428). If त्रयभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

१४१५ । उपजानूपकरणोपनीवेष्टक् । ४ । ३ । ४० ॥

औपजानुकः । औपकथिकः, औपनीविकः ॥

1415. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'generally found there in', after the words 'upajānu', 'upakārṇa', and upanīvi', being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकथिकः, औपनीविकः ॥

Note :—All these three words of the sūtra are Indecollnables, because they are Avyayibhāva compounds. In the sūtra, they have formed a samāhāra Dvandva and masculine.

१४१६ । संभूते । ४ । ३ । ४१ ॥

सुप्ते संभवति सौप्तः ॥

1416. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'.

Note :—Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूतः, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूतः does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence' for the words जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy', i. e. अवयवत्वम्, and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुप्ते संभवति = सौप्तः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna'. The word तत्र is understood here also.

१४१७ । कोशादङ् । ४ । ३ । ४२ ॥

कौशेयं वस्त्रम् ॥

1417. The affix दङ् comes after the word कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशो संभूतः = कौशेय वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes'.

Note —The word कोश means 'cocoon'. कौशेय may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon', and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however रुद्धि and means 'silken'. Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV 3 184. § 1614 under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूत ॥

, In fact, after the sūtra एण्या-ङ् (IV 3. 159 S. 1587). the addition of कौशाच would have been more appropriate

१४१८ । कालारसाधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुहेमन्तः प्राकारः । वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति वासन्त्यः कुन्दलता । बारहि पच्यन्ते शालयः ॥

1418. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्त 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः । So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलता. 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring' So also बारहि पच्यन्ति = बारहा. शालयः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'

Note 1.—This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix णञ् &c. The word pushpyat in the sūtra is the Present Participle or क्त of the Divādi पुष्प ॥

१४१९ । उत्ते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते उच्यन्ते हेमन्ता यवा ॥

1419. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein.'

Thus हेमन्ते उच्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवा 'the barley sown in autumn.' मैष्मा ब्रीहय ।

Note 1.—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उत्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उज्जोऽपवादः । आश्वयुज्यासुता आश्वयुजका माषाः ॥

1420. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ङञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या सुताः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī' Āśvayujī is the name of the full moon in the Asterism of Āśvayuj. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्विनी instead of आश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यस्ते कृत्वण् । ग्रीष्मकम् । वैष्णम् । वासन्तकम् । वासन्तम् ॥

1421. The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grishma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'.

This debars ञ् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus ज्ञेयम् or ज्ञेयकम् वास्वम् 'the crop sown in summer', वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

१४२२। देयमृणो । ४ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कालोदित्येव । मासे देयमृणं मासिकम् ॥

1422. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month"

Note.—Why do we say कृणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

१४२३। कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन् । ४ । ३ । ४८ ॥

यस्मिन् काले मयूराः कलापिनो भवन्ति स उपचारात्कलापी तत्र देयमृणं कलापकम् । अश्वत्थस्य फलमश्वत्थस्तुक्तं कालोऽश्वत्थस्य । यस्मिन् कालेऽश्वत्थाः फलन्ति तत्र देयमश्वत्थकम् । यस्मिन् यवबुसमुत्पद्यते तत्र देय यवबुसकम् ॥

1423. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff.' Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season)' So also अश्वत्थकम् "a debt due when the fig-tree, flowers." And यवबुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed'.

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४९ ॥

ग्रीष्मे देयमृणं ज्ञेयकम् । भावरसमकम् ॥

1424. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama.'

This debars the ञ् and ङ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = ज्ञेयकम् ॥ So also भावरसमकम् 'a debt which will be due next year', or 'which fell due last year.'

Note.—This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुन् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word भावरसमकम् means either आगामिनां सवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वृत्तम्, 'a debt which will be due next year,' or 'which fell due last year.'

१४२५। संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङङ् । ४ । ३ । ५० ॥

आदृञ् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सांवत्सरकम् । आग्रहायणिकम् । आग्रहायणकम् ॥

1425. The affix डञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'âgrahâyanî' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे वेद्यवृत्तं = सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

Note :—The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivelâdi Class (IV 3 16. S. 1387) and takes वृञ् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins डञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

१४२६ । व्याहरति मृगः । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालवाचिनः सप्तम्यन्ताच्छब्दायत इत्यर्थे अणायः स्युः यो व्याहरति स मृगवेत् । निशायां व्याहरति नैशो मृग । नैशिकः ॥

1426. An affix (like अण् or डञ् &c.) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः or नैशिकः "an animal that makes noise at night." So also प्रादोषः or प्रादोषिकः (IV. 3. 14. S. 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning'. The affix added is डञ्, in the alternative with वृञ्, by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

Note t—Why do we say मृगः 'a beast'? Observe निशायां व्याहरति वल्कः for 'owl' is a bird. Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander.' The Sūtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 88 S. 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time."

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कालादित्येव । निशासहचरितमध्ययन निशा तत्सोढमस्य नैशः । नैशिकः ॥

1427. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also, तद् = that. सोढम् = जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमध्ययनं = निशा "reading by night". तद् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य = नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. The affix is त्वाञ् by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

१४२८ । तत्र भवः । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

बुद्धे भवः कौप्यः । रात्रिभ्यः ॥

1428. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालान् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth' because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sūtra सन्न जातः (IV. 3 25. S. 1393). Thus, हुत्ते भवः = सौप्त. "who stays in Srughna". राष्ट्रियः ॥

Note :—The repetition of सन्न in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तस्य ॥

१४२८ । दिगादिभ्यो यत् । ४ । ३ । ५४ ॥

विद्यम् । वर्गम् ॥

1429. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भव = दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्गम् ॥

Note :—The words मुख and अघ्न which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख 'who stays in the van of the army' सेनाअघ्नम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उक्कया = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औक्को मन्त्रः ॥

1 दिक्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाट्य (धाट्या), 7 निज, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देशः, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 अघ्न, 20 मेघ, 21 द्यूथ, 22 उक्कात्सजायम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वश, 25 देश (विश), 26 काल, 27 वाक्काश, 28 अतुवंश ॥

१४३० । शरीरावयवात् । ४ । ३ । ५५ ॥

दन्त्यम् । कर्णम् ॥

1430. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भव = दन्त्यम् 'dental, i. e. what stays there, कर्णम् ॥

१४३१ । प्राचां नगरान्ते । ७ । ३ । २४ ॥

प्राचां देशो नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामावेरचो वृद्धिर्गति शिति किति च । सुप्रनगरे भवः सौप्रनगर । पौर्वनागर । प्राचां किम् । मद्रनगरमुक्ते तच्च भवो मद्रनगरः ॥

1431. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem नगर ॥

As सौर्यनगरः (= सुहृन्नगरे भवः), पौर्यनगरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe नाह्ननगरः, from नह्ननगरः the city of the Northern people.

Note 1—The word अङ्गस्य of VI. 4. 1. S. 200. governs this sūtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination.

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

अङ्गलाद्यस्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्यान्वामदेरन्वो वृद्धिरुत्तरपदस्य वा अिति शिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले नवः कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुआङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । सौवर्णवल्जम् । सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

1432. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the Vridhhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुआङ्गलम्, "existing in Kurujangala". वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्, सौवर्णबलजम् or सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

१४३३ । दतिकुक्षिकलशिबस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

वस्तेयम् । कौक्षेयम् । कलशिर्घटः तत्र भवं कालशेयम् । वास्तेयम् । आस्तेयम् । आहेयम् ।

1433. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti', 'kukshi', 'kalasi', 'vasti', 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus वस्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, 'what exists in a pot'. वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

१४३४ । ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

आत् दञ् । धैवेयम् । जैवम् ॥

1434. The affix अण् also (as well as दञ्) comes after the word 'grīvā' in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars यत् (IV 3 55 S. 1430) ग्रीवासु भवं = धैवेयम् or जैवम् ॥

Note .—The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

१४३५ । गम्भीराङ्ग्यः । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

गम्भीरे भवं गम्भीर्यम् ॥

1435. The affix **इय** comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vart :—So also after पंचजन ॥ As पांचजन्यम् ॥

१४३६ । अव्ययीभावाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५९ ॥

परिमुखं भवं पारिमुख्यम् ॥ परिमुखादिभ्य एवेत्यस्ते * ॥ नेह । औपकुलः ॥

1436. After an *Avyayibhāva* compound, the affix **इय** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

Ishti :—The affix comes only after the *Avyayibhāva* compounds *parimukha* and the rest. The affix **इय** does not come after every *Avyayibhāva* compound, but only after the words included in the list of *परिमुखादि* as given in the *Ganapātha*.

Thus *परिमुखं भवं* = *पारिमुख्यम्*, So also *पारिजन्यम्* ॥ Not so *औपकुलम्*, the word *उपकुल* not belonging to the class *परिमुख* ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहृद्, 3 पयोष्ठ, 4 पर्युल्लुखल, 5 औपैर्मूल, 6 उपस्थूल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुनिल, 15 अनुशील, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुचक्र, 18 अनुधुप, 19 अनुवशा, 20 अनुगङ्गा, 21 प्रतिशास्त्र, 22 अनुसाय ॥

१४३७ । अन्तःपूर्वपदादृञ् । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

अव्ययीभावादित्येव । धेरमनि इति अन्तर्वेदनम् तत्र भवमास्तर्वेदिकम् । आन्तर्गणिकम् । आध्यात्मवेष्टित्वेति * ॥ आध्यात्मं भवमाध्यात्मिकम् ॥

1437. After an *Avyayibhāva* compound, having the word **अन्तर** as prior term, the affix **दृञ्** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus *आन्तर्वेदिकम्* from *antar-veḍmām* which means "in the house". That which exists in the house is "Antar veḍmikam," So also *आन्तर्गणिकम्* ॥

Vart :—So also after the words *अध्यात्म*, &c as, *आध्यात्मिकम्*, *आधदैविकम्*, *आधिभौतिकम्* ॥ The class *आध्यात्मादि* is *Ākṛitigana*.

१४३८ । अनुशतिकादीनां च । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

एषाहुभयपदवृद्धिः स्यात् मिति यिति किति च । आधिदैविकम् । आधिभौतिकम् । ऐहलौकिकम् । पारलौकिकम् । आध्यात्मादिराकृतिगणः ॥

1438. Before a *Taddhita* affix having an indicative **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्**, the *Vridhhi* is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds *अनुशतिका* &c.

Thus आधिदैविकम्; आधिभौतिकम्; ऐहलौकिकम्; पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words belong to the Ākritigana of अच्च्मास्म &c.

Note:—(1) आनुशासिकम् (= अनुशासिकस्येवम्) V. 1. 21. and IV. 3. 120.; (2) आनुशौक्षिकम् (= अनुशौकेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसावरणम् (अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसावस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 60 formed by डच्च् from अनुसम्बन्धस्यैव शब्देन) (5) आनारम्भणम् (son of अनारम्भणम्). (6) आसिद्धयम् (= आसिद्धये भवं). Some read this word as असिद्धयम्; this will also take अच्च् as belonging to विभुक्तादि class. As आसिद्धयम् (= असिद्धयशब्दोऽस्मिन्प्रथमायाऽस्ति) Others read this as असिद्धयेति, as आसिद्धयेति (= असिद्धयेति प्रथमा जनमस्य). The word असिद्धय in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) बाध्यौगम् (= बाध्यौगस्य अपत्यम्). It belongs to Bidadi class (8) पुष्करसदोऽपत्यम् = पौष्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādī class. (9) अतुह्यत from अनुह्यत ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargadī class. Its partonymic is कुरुकात् (11) कौरुपाञ्चालम् (= कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix वृच्च् is not added here, because अनपवससुदायो अनपवसहयेन गृह्यते ॥

१४३६ । देविकाशिशपादित्यवाङ्दीर्घसन्धेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषां पञ्चानां वृद्धिमाप्तावदित्येव आत् स्यात् मिति शिति किति च । दैविकम् । देविकाकूले भवा दैविकाकूलाः शालयः । शिशपाया विकारः शिशपश्चमसः । पलाशादिभ्यो दित्यच्च् । दित्यौह इव दित्यौहम् । दीर्घसन्धेयः शार्धसन्धेयः । श्रेयसि भवं श्रेयसम् ॥

1439. When a 'Taddhita-affix having an indicatory च्च्, ण्, or क्, follows. आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following five words :— devikā, śimsapā, dityavāt, dīrghasatra, and śreyas.

Thus दैविकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in दैविकमुदकम्; दैविकाकूला शालयः (= देविकाकूल भवाः), Similarly शिशपश्चमस (= शिशपायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāśādī class (IV. 3. 141 S 1521), and takes अच्च् or अज्च्, the difference being in accent. Similarly दित्यौहम् from दित्यवाङ्, (दित्यौह इव) and शार्धसन्धेयम् (दीर्घसन्धेयः भवः) and श्रेयसम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

१४४० । आमात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

डच्च् स्यात् । अव्ययीभावावित्येव । पारिषामिकः । आनुषामिकः ॥

1440. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix डच्च् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The word "after an Avyayībhāva", is understood here also. Thus पारिषामिकः and आनुषामिकः ॥

१४४१ । जिहामूलाङ्गुलेश्चः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

जिहामूलोदयः । अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

1441. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'aṅguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

१४४१ । अङ्गुलीयम् । छ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कषणीयम् ॥

1442. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

As कषणीयम्, अक्षणीयम् ॥

१४४२ । अक्षणीयम् यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् । छ । ३ । ६४ ॥

पक्षे पूर्वेषु छ । मद्गर्ग्यः । मद्गर्गिणः । मद्गर्गिणः । अक्षणे किम् । कषणीयो वर्गः ॥

1443. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As मद्गर्ग्यः (by यत्) मद्गर्गिणः, (by ख), and मद्गर्गीयः (by छ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'क्षब्ध' ? For then it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कषणीयोवर्ग 'a letter belonging to क class.'

१४४३ । कर्णललाटात्कर्णलंकारे । छ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कर्णिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444. The affix कर्ण comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalāta', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Note.—Why do we say 'denoting an ornament' ? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear'

१४४४ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः । छ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुपां व्याख्यान. सौपो मन्यः । तैः । कर्तः । सुप् भवे सौपम् ॥

1445. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note.—That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्त्वम्, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus *सुपां व्याख्यानः* = *सौपो ग्रन्थः* 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes'. So also *तैङ्गः* 'Tainga—a Commentary on Verbal affixes'. *कार्तः* 'Karta—a Commentary on kṛit affixes', *सौप* &c. may also mean *सुप्सु भव* &c.

Note :—The anuvṛitti of *भव* and *व्याख्यान* runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of *भव* into this sūtra also.

१४४६ । बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तादृञ् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

ब्रह्मण्योर्विधायकं वाक्च ब्रह्मण्यस्त्वम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा पाठ्यनित्यकः ॥

1446. 'The affix *ठञ्* comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udatta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars *अण्* ॥ Thus *पाठ्यनित्यकम्* 'a commentary on the rules of changes of *स* and *न* into *व* and *ण* ॥' The word *ब्रह्मण्यस्त्वम्* is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Note :—Why do we say बहुच 'polysyllabic'? Observe *सौपम् तैङ्गम्* &c. A word of two syllables will take *ठञ्* (IV. 3. 72 S 1451). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe *संहिताम्* from *संहिता* ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49).

१४४७ । क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

सोमसाधयेषु यागेष्वेतौ प्रसिद्धौ तत्राभ्यतरोपादानेन सिद्धे उभयोरुपादानसामर्थ्यादेः सोमका अपीह गृह्यन्ते । अग्निष्टोमस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा अग्निष्टोमिकः । वाजपेयिकः । पाकयज्ञिकः । नावयज्ञिकः । बहुवचस स्वरूपविधिनिरासार्थम् । अनन्तोदात्तार्थ आरम्भः ॥

1446. The affix *ठञ्* comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma-juice is the chief ingredient. But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non soma sacrifices also.

This debars *भण्* ॥ *Kratu* :—*अग्निष्टोमिकः*, 'a commentary on a work on Agnishtoma sacrifices' *वाजपेयिकः*, ॥ *yajña* '—पाकयज्ञिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ The word *पाक* means 'small', a minor or small sacrifice is called *पाकयज्ञः* । It is a Karma-dhāraya samāsa and has the final acute accent of samāsa in general. The

sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञः । The word यज्ञ is derived from यज् with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90. S 3268). It retains its accent in the compound being a Kṛit-word. नावयज्ञिक ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodatta. The word 'vājapeya' is acute in the middle, because वै being a Kridanta-word, formed by यङ्, retains its accent in the compound (VI 2. 139. S 3873).

Note 1—The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only. Thus पाञ्चौवनिक, द्वाशीवनिक ॥

Note 2—The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stuti (स्तुति) "praise". The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnishtoma. It has acute on the final by परादिश्च पशन्तश्च ॥

The word vājapeya is a compound of vāja "a kind of barley-gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is drunk". It is formed by यङ् affix of the 'kritya-lyu-ṭo bahulam' subdivision. The acute is on वै by VI. 1. 213 S 3701.

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४४८ । अध्यायेष्वेवर्षे । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

ऋषिवाक्येभ्यो लक्षणाया व्याख्येयमध्यवृत्तिभ्यो भवे व्याख्याने वाध्याये ङङ् स्यात् । वसिष्ठेन ह्येव मन्त्रो वसिष्ठस्तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवे वा वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः । अध्यायेषु किम् । वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

1448. The affix ङङ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

Note 1—The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Prayara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यमात्रा is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi."

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasishṭha is called by lakshana or indirectly वसिष्ठ also. वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवे वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsisṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishtha",

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

१४४९ । पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात्पुनः । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशसहचरितो मन्त्रः पुरोडाशः स एव पौरोडाशः तत्र पुनः । पौरोडाशिक ॥

1449. The affix पुनः comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pau-rodāśa' and 'purodāśa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिक, its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

१४५० । छन्दसो यदणौ । ४ । ३ । ७१ ॥

छन्दस्य । छान्वसः ॥

1450. The affixes यत् and ञ् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhandas.

This debars डक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्वसः ॥

१४५१ । अजृब्राह्मणकर्मथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताडुक् । ४ । ३ । ७२ ॥

अजृ । ऐटिक । पाशुकः । कत् । चातुर्द्वेकः । ब्राह्मणिक । आर्थिक । इत्यादि ॥

1451. The affix डक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short अ, and the words 'brāhmaṇa', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharaṇa', 'nāma', 'ākhyāta' and 'nāmākhyāta', being the names of explainable works.

Note:—The word nāma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the first part of the sūtra, viz, dvyaach. Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with ākhyāta.

This debars अण् and डम् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—ऐटिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in अ:—चातुर्द्वेकः ॥ ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चर्यिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

१४५२ । अणुगयनादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७३ ॥

डम्नेरपवाह । आर्गयन । औपनिषद् । वैयाकरणः ॥

1452. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commetary thereon' after the words 'piga-yana' &c.

This debars डम्, डक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, औपनिषद्, वैयाकरणः ॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the anuvṛitti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वारुणविष्णुः ॥

1 कृगयन्, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिनि, 6 म्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उपात 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 ब्रह्म, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी, 25 म्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत् आगतः । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुग्रादागतः सौगः ॥

1453. An affix (IV. 1. 83. S. 1373 &c) comes after a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुग्रादागतः - सौगः 'what has come from Srughna'.

१४५४ । उगायस्थानेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

शुल्कशालाया आगतः शौल्कशालिकः ॥

1454. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

Note:—The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिक 'what is derived from custom house'.

Note.—The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्थानठक्छादीनां आपवादः । शुण्डिकादागतः शौण्डिकः । कार्कणः । तैर्यः ॥

1455. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः, तैर्यः ॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, S. 1452, वाधकवाधनार्थम् ॥ As औत्पानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकय, 3 स्पण्डिल, 4 उत्पान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 वृण, 9 पर्य ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

वैपाध्यकः । पैतान्वकः ॥

1456. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिःसम्ब

न्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुम् ॥ This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus उपाध्यायागतः = औपाध्यायकः, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' So also योनिसम्बन्धः as पैतामहकः 'wealth derived from a grand-father.'

१४५७। ऋतुष्टम् । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

बुम्। उपवावः । हौतुकम् । धातुकम् ॥

1457. The affix ठम् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short अ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood

This debars वुम् ॥ Thus हौतुरागतम् = हौतुकम् 'derived from Hotri.' So also of 'blood,' as :- धातुकम् ॥

Note —The त् in ऋतु is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long अ ॥

Note :—When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

१४५८। पितुर्यम् । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

चाडम् । रिङ् ऋतः । यस्येति लोपः । पित्र्यम् । पैतृकम् ॥

1458. The affix यत् as well as ठम् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागत = पितृ + यत् = पितृरी + य = पितृ + य = पित्र्यम् (the ri is replaced by ri by VII. 4. 27 and the long ई of रि is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'paternal—i. e. wealth inherited from father.' With ठम् = पैतृकम् ॥

१४५९। गोत्रावङ्कवत् । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

विश्वेभ्य आगतं वैदम् । गार्ग्यम् । दक्षम् । औपगवकम् ॥

1459. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

Note :—The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 and 127 S. 1507. The affix वुम् of IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus वैदम्, गार्ग्यम्, दक्षम् formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dakshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापदकः, नाडायनकः, चारायनकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवदेभ्य आगतम् = औपग-

वृद्धम्, कोपटवृद्धम्, पात्राद्यवृद्धम्, आराधनवृद्धम्) formed by वृद्धम् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506)

Note — The word वृद्धम् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कोपिभ्यो भववृद्धम् (IV. 2. 34 S. 1237), अरण्येभ्यो धर्मवृद्धम् (IV. 2. 46 S. 1255).

१४६० । नञः शुद्धीश्वरक्षेत्रक्षेत्रकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञ्. परेषां शुद्ध्याविपश्चानामभिरथो वृद्धिः पर्यवस्य तु वा अशौचम् । अशौचम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् । अनेश्वरम् ॥

1460. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory न्, ण् or क्, the Vṛddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुद्धि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रक्षेत्र, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अशौचम् or अशौचम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम्, अनेश्वरम् or अनेश्वरम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽयतरस्यां क्यः । ४ । ३ । ८१ ॥

समाधागतं समक्यम् । विषमक्यम् । वक्षे गङ्गादिस्थाः । समीक्षम् । विषमीक्षम् । विषमीक्षम् । विषमीक्षम् । विषमीक्षम् ॥

1461 The affix क्यः denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word अनुष्यः is used meaning 'men as causes' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समाधागतं = समक्यम् or समीक्षम् by क् of IV. 2. 138 S. 1362, meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause'. So also विषमक्यम् or विषमीक्षम् ॥ So of men also विषमीक्षम् or विषमीक्षम् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) 'what originates with विषमीक्षम्' ॥

Note :—The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidh (1. 1. 68 S. 25) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as caught in 11. 3. 23 S. 568 and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25 S. 602.

१४६२ । नञश्च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

समक्यम् । विषमक्यम् । विषमीक्षम् ॥

1462. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयम्, निषममयम्, देवदन्तमयम्, ॥

Note :—The इ of मयद् indicates that the feminines of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 § 470), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 8. 10 §. 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां कृत्वमयङी ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

‘ततः’ इत्येव । हिमवतः प्रभवति हेमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of ‘what appears for the first time’.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हेमवती “The Haimavati”, a name of the Ganges, meaning ‘which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown’.

Note :—So also दारदी “The Dārādī” i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्तिः, because that is included in तच्च जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown,

१४६४ । विदूराज्ज्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूरात्प्रभवति वैदूर्यं मणिः ॥

1464. The affix य comes, in the sense of ‘what manifests itself there’, after the words ‘vidūra’.

This debars ञच् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यं ‘a kind of gem found at Vidura’.

Note —The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidūra, but in a mountain called बालवाय ॥ Vidūra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to बालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate sthāni (vālavāya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidūra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidūra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vālavāya by the name of Vidūra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvāī.

१४६५ । तद्वृत्तिरिति पयिदुतयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

द्वयं गच्छति शौचं पन्या दूतो वा ॥

1465. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of ‘what

goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus *सुगन्धम् गच्छति* = *साधन* "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna". The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Note — Why do we say *पायवूनयोः* "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe *ये सुगन्धं गच्छन्ति साधः* 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'

१४६६ । अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

तदित्येव । सुगन्धम् अभिनिष्क्रामति सौम्यं कान्यकुब्जद्वारम् ॥

1466 An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus *सौम्यः* 'a gate which looks towards Srughna'—as a gate of Kānyakubja.

Note — Why do we say *द्वारम्* "when it is a gate"? Observe *सुगन्धमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुषः* 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

१४६७ । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तदित्येव । शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शारीरकीयः । शारीरकं भाष्यमिति स्वभेदोपपत्त्यात् ॥

1467. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book'.

The word *अधिकृत्य* means 'aiming at', 'alluding to, referring to'. Thus *शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः* = *शारीरकीयः*. i. e. a book relating to the *śārīraka sūtras*. The form *शारीरकं भाष्यम्* is however more generally employed. Here no distinction is made between the *sūtras* and the *bhāṣya*. Hence the commentary is called *śārīraka*.

१४६८ । शिशुकन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

शिशुनां कन्दनं शिशुकन्दः समाधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शिशुकन्दीयः । यमस्य सभा यमसभम् । लीवर्त्स्व निपातनात् । यमसभीयः । किरातार्जुनीयम् । इन्द्रजननादिराकृतिगणः । इन्द्रजननीयम् । विश्वभोजनीयम् ॥

1468. The affix *ञ* comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz. '*śīśukranda*', '*yamasabha*' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words "*indrajanana*' &c.

The word सद् (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars वच् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्धीवः 'a book treating of the crying of infants', यमसभम् 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. The compound is Neuter irregularly (nipātana)

Dvandva-Compound : as किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākritigana, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, विद्वज्जीवनावम् &c.

Note :—The words शिशुकन्ध and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

१४६६ । सोऽस्य निवासः । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

सुप्तो निवासोऽस्य शौनः ॥

1469. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place.'

Note :—The word सुप्त shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. सस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवासः means "a country ; i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti aamin)".

सुप्तो निवासोऽस्य = शौनः 'a present dweller of Srughna',

१४७० । अभिजनश्च । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

सुप्तोऽभिजनोऽस्य शौनः । यत्र स्वयं वसति स निवासः । यत्र पूर्वसर्वितं सोऽभिजनः । इति विवेकः ॥

1470. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus शौनः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'.

Note :—The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhijana' only runs.

१४७१ । आयुधजीविभ्यश्चः पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमाभ्यामभिजनवाक्यादर्थेत्यर्थे छः स्थात् । इतोऽलः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषामायुध-जीविनां ते इतोलीयाः । आयुधेति क्तिन् । अतोऽलः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषां ते अतोलीया इति ॥

1471. The affix **ञ** comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word **आयुधजीवी** means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase **सोऽस्माभिजनः** is to be read into the sūtra. Thus **हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन इषानायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीया** 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'.

Why do we say **आयुधजीविञ्**? Observe **भार्गोरा द्विजाः** "the Brāhmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains".

Note :—Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, **सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः** ॥

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यो ड्यः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शण्डिक्यः ॥

1472. The affix **ड्य** comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words **शण्डिक** &c.

This debars **अण्** &c. Thus **शण्डिक्यः**, **सार्वसेन्यः** &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सार्वसेन, 3 सर्वकेय, 4 शक, 5 शद (सद), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सिन्धुवादिभ्योऽण् तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽण् स्यादुक्तोऽर्थः । सिन्धवः । तक्षशिला नरारी अभिजनोऽस्य तक्षशिलः ॥

1473. The affixes **अण्** and **अञ्** come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus **सिन्धवः** । So also **तक्षशिलः** ॥

Note :—Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu-class, are found in the Kauchhādī class (IV 2 133 S. 1857) also. Those words would have taken **अण्** by sūtra IV, 2. 133 S. 1857. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of **ड्य** (IV, 2 134 S. 1858) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV, 2, 134, S. 1858 when the further significance of **अभिजनः** is added to them.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 काञ्ची, 5 सात्य, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 वरह (वरह), 11 गन्धिका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वस्तोद्धरण, 3 कैमेदुर (कैमेदुर), 4 घामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रौन्दुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किन्नर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डधारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 भावसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सारलक ॥

१४७४ । तूवीशखानुरवर्मेतीक्ष्णवाराहदक्षरवज्रक । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

तृती अभिजनोऽस्य तौदेयः । शालातुरीयः । वर्मतेयः । कौचवार्यः ॥

1474. After the words तूर्दी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes टक्, कण्, डक्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars ञ् ॥ Thus तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेय and कौचवार्यः ॥

१४७५ । भक्तिः । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

सोऽस्येयमुपर्तते । भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्तिः । सुप्रो भक्तिरस्य सौमः ॥

1475. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping', or 'loving'.

Thus सुप्रो भक्तिरस्य = सौम 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजन. ceases. The words स and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

१४७६ । अक्षिप्ताद्वेशकात्ताडुक् । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अपूषा भक्तिरस्य आपूपिकः । पायसिकः । अक्षिप्ताक्षिप् । देवदत्तः । अवेद्याक्षिप् । सौमः । अक्षालाक्षिप् । मेघः ॥

1476. After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix टक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars ञ् ; and छ also. Thus अपूषाभक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. पायसिकं ॥

Why do we say 'not possessing consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe सौमः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe मेघः 'who loves summer.'

१४७७ । महाराजाडुक् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

महाराजिकः ॥

1477. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars ञ् ॥ As महाराजिक 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this टक् and the टक् of the last aphorism, is in the accent only.

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

वासुदेवक । अर्जुनकः ॥

1478. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and झण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ६९ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । परस्माद्वृद्धाच्छं बाधते । ग्लौचुकाद्यनिर्भक्तिरस्य ग्लौचुकाद्यनकः । नाकुलकः । बहुलमवधारणे । पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीयः ॥

1479. The affix बुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars झण् and छ ॥ Thus : ग्लौचुकाद्यनक 'who loves or serves &c. Gluchukāyani' Kshatriyas —नाकुलकः ॥

Note —The word आख्या in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of well-known or famous Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः ॥

Note :—The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

१४८० । जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

जनपदस्वामिवादिनां बहुवचने जनपदवाचिना समानभूतीनां जनपदवत्सर्वे स्वात्पत्यस्य प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदवत्त्वमर्थोऽप्येति प्रकारो ये मत्स्या उक्तास्तेऽद्यानिविश्यन्ते । अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । अङ्गा क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । जनपदिनां किम् । पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य पाञ्चालाः । जनपदेनेति किम् । पौरवो राजा भक्तिरस्य पौरवीयः ॥

1480. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

Note —The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', अथर्ववत् सर्वत्र 'every thing is like jana-pada' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word'. Now the affixes denoting वक्ति as regards अवयव words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 S. 1348 &c. and those affixes will apply here.

Thus अङ्गा अवयवो वक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वृष् of sôtra IV. 2. 125, S. 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Angâs' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौङ्गकः, वीङ्गकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गा वक्तिरस्य वक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वृष्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas Angâs'. So वाङ्गकः, सौङ्गकः, &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriya Princes'; (janapadinâm) Observe, अङ्गाणां आङ्गया वक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः ॥ Here the general affix वृष् is employed.

Why do we say अवयवेन समानं दाहयामास 'the word having the same sound as the janpada word'? Thus वीरवो राजा स वक्तिरस्य = वीरवीर्यः ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १०१ ॥

वाजिमिता प्रोक्तं वाजिनीयम् ॥

1481. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्त means प्रकथयितुम् 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृत has been already taught in the sôtra कृते ण्ये (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus वाजिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pāṇini.'

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डकोष्ठाच्छया । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

अन्वोवाङ्गकानीति तद्विषयता । तित्तिरिया प्रोक्तवधीयते तैत्तिरीयाः ॥

1482. The affix क्ण comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 66. S. 1278). the Veda enounced by Tittiri'.

Note.—According to Kāṭika this is confined to the Chhandas only, Therefore it will not apply to classical slokas, as तित्तिरिया प्रोक्तं एतेकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sôtra IV, 3, 106, S. 1488 and तद्विषयता from IV, 2, 66 S. 1278.

१४८३ । काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामुचिभ्यां णिनिः । ४ । ३ । १०३ ॥

काश्यपेन प्रोक्तमधीयते काश्यपिनः ॥

1483. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kāśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2, 64 S. 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kāśyapa'

Note 1:—Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe द्वासीन्तमेव बोधकाद्यर्थेन प्रोक्तं—काश्यपियम् "a work enounced by a modern Kāśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kāśyapa; not a Rishi'.

१४८४ । कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यः, हरिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हारिद्रुविद्यः । वैशम्पादयान्तेवासिभ्यः, आलम्बिनः ॥

1484. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalāpi' and 'Vaiśampāyana', the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

Note 1:—This debars अण् and ह्र ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpa: as हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaiśampāyana: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कृष्ण, आश्वि; वाष्प, वज्रपाद, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रुविद्यः 'those who study (IV. 2, 64 S. 1274) the works enounced by Haridru.' So also आलम्बिनः ॥

Note 1:—The word अण्क. means वैशम्पायनः hence अण्कः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

१४८५ । पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । ४ । ३ । १०५ ॥

हृत्प्रीत्यान्तःप्रोक्तार्थे णिनिः स्यात् । यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताभिरुक्तब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति । पुराणेषु विरन्तमेव धुनिना प्रोक्ताः । आल्लु, आलम्बिनः । शाक्यायनः, शाक्यायनिम् । कल्पे, विंशत्यर्थः । वैश्वी कल्पा । पुराणेति किम् । आश्वयत्न्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्वयत्न्य कल्पः । आश्वि । आश्वयत्नेति यत्प्रोक्तं ॥

1485. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This debars *णिनि* of IV. 3. 104. S. 1484. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'.

Note.—The word कलापः is thus formed:—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679, which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 S. 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vārtika.

Vart.—The णि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows:—सब्रह्मचारिन्, पीडसर्विन्, कलापिन्, कुशुमिन्, सैतिलिन्, आञ्जलिन्, आङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसप्तन्, सुवर्षण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापः ॥

The final ण् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सब्रह्मचारिन्—सब्रह्मचाराः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.), 2. पीडसर्विन्—पैडसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59 S. 1488 and 1269), 4. कुशुमिन्—कौशुमाः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), 5. सैतिलिन्—सैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116 S. 1496), 6. आञ्जलिन्—आञ्जलाः (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः 10. सूकरसप्तन्—सौकरसप्ताः, 11. सुवर्षण्—सौवर्षाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अण् contradict VI. 4. 167.

१४८९ । छगालिनो दिनुक् । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छागलिनो ग्रीष्मधीयते छागलेयिनः ॥

4489. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken *णिनि* (IV. 3. 104 S. 1484). This debars that. Thus छागलेयिन् 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

१४९० । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । ४ । ३ । ११० ॥

पाराशर्येण पोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशरियो भिक्षवः । शैलालिनो नटः ॥

1490. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pārāsarya and Śilalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sūtra and Nata-Sūtra respectively.

Note.—The affix णिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + विनि = पाराशर + विनि (VI. 4. 152 S. 2119) = पाराशरि, the treatise of Pārāśarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly वैशीलिम् ॥

Note :—These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pārāśarya and Sailah'. See IV. 2. 66 S. 1278. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षुः, वैशीलिणो वराः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a दोष alone. These are treated metaphorically as Ohandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nāṭa Sūtras'? Observe पाराशर, वैशीलम् ॥

१४९१ । कर्मन्दिश्याब्धादिनिः । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिक्षुसूत्रमवोरिष्य । कर्मन्दिश्याब्धौ कर्मन्दिश्याब्धौ भिक्षुः । कृष्णादिभ्यो वराः ॥

1491. The affix इति comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sūtra and Nāṭa -Sūtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśāśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिश्याब्धौ भिक्षुः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sūtra of Karmandin'. कृष्णादिभ्यो वराः 'the actors who study the Nāṭa sūtra of Kriśāśvin'. Otherwise कर्मन्दिश्याब्धौ and कृष्णादिभ्यो ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

१४९२ । तेनैकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

सुषामा नदिष्वा एकदिक् सौशमनी ॥

1492. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'.

The word एक दिक् means सुषाम दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुषामा एकदिक् = सौशमनी दिक् "a lightening, literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudāman".

Note :—The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 8. 10], S. 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the कर्मन्दिश्याब्धौ which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 S. 1278 which was applied to those sūtras does not apply here.

१४९३ । तसिम् । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिवाहाराब्धत्वात् । पीतुर्मेन एकदिक् पीतुर्मेन ॥

1493. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught णम् &c च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarādi class. (I. 1. 37 S. 447) Thus तसिम्बतः 'in the same direction as Himavat' पीतुर्मेन, सुषामतः ॥

१४९४ । उरसो यच्च । ४ । ३ । ११४ ॥

यात्तसिः । भजोऽपवादः । उरसा एक विक् उरस्व । उरस्त ॥

1494. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरसा एकविक् = उरस्व or उरस्त ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

१४९५ । उपज्ञाते । ४ । ३ । ११५ ॥

तेनेत्येव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञातं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनीनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pānini'.

१४९६ । कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वरदक्षिणा कृतो वारद्वयो ग्रन्थः ॥

1496. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वरदक्षिणा कृताः = वारद्वयाः । श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'.

Note :—Why do we say 'a book' ? Observe तक्षकः वास्तवः 'the palace made by Takshas'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is [therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

१४९७ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । ३ । ११७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । भक्ष्यार्थमिदम् । भक्षिकाभिः कृतं माक्षिकं बहु ॥

1497. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus भक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', भक्षिका meaning 'a bee'. भक्षिका + भक्ष्य = माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148 S 311). The anuvṛtti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

१४९८ । कुलालादिभ्यो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । कुलालेन कृतं कौलालकम् । वादकम् ॥

1498. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulāla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वादकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वद, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध (सिरिध), 8 सैरिध (सैरिध), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्यद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु, 13 रुद्र, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह, 16 प्रह्व, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 अवाक, 19 बुञ् ॥

१४९९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभिः कृतं क्षौद्रम् । भ्रमरम् । वटरम् । पादपम् ॥

1499. The affix बुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrā', 'bhramara', 'vatara', and 'pādapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debarb अञ्, there being difference in accent between अञ् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रमरम्, वटरम् and पादपम् ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगौरिवसौपगवम् ॥ वहेस्तुरीणद् च * ॥ संवोदुः स्वं सांवहित्रम् ॥ अग्नीधः क्षरणे एण् थं च * ॥ अग्निनिधे अग्नीन् तस्य स्थानमाग्नीधम् । तात्पर्यास्तेऽप्याग्नीधः ॥ सविधामाधाने येण्यञ् * ॥ सामिधेनो मन्त्रः । सामिधेनी ऋक् ॥

1500. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अञ् &c. (IV. 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगौरिवम् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'.

Note.—The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vart.—The verb वद् takes हृ (हृञ् and हृच्) and अञ् preceded by an हृ. As, संवोदुः स्वं सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vart.—The affix एण् comes after अग्निन्, (= अग्निनिधे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Kvip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of ऋ ॥ Agnī is the name of a Rītvik priest As अग्नीधम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agnī. The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the हृ is not changed to हृ (VIII. 2. 39)

Vart :—The affix 'shenyan' comes after सनिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सानिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सानिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) कृक् ॥

१५०१ । रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथे चक्रम् ॥

1501. 'The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus रथस्वेष्ट रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle',

Note :—The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot.' This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमारथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

१५०२ । पञ्चपूर्वाद्यञ् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पञ्च वाहनम् । अश्वरथस्येवमाश्वरथम् ॥

1502. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथ चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

Note :—The word पञ्च means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृन् (III. 2. 182).

१५०३ । पञ्चाध्वर्युपरिषदञ् । ४ । ३ । १२३ ।

अञ् ॥ पञ्चाह्वये * ॥ अश्वस्येष्ट वहनीयमाश्वम् । आश्वव्यवम् । पारिवशम् ॥

1503. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added

This debars यत् ॥ The पञ्च means वाहन ॥

Vart :—When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added, to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्वेष्टम् वहनीयम् आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse.' So also आश्वव्यवम् and पारिवशम् ॥

१५०४ । हलसीराङ् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

हालिकम् । सैरिकम् ॥

1504. 'The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus वृक्षभेदम् = हातिकम्, सेरिकम् ॥

१५०५ । वृक्षाद्वृक्षैरमैथुनिकयोः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोल्लिका । कुत्सकुल्लिका ॥ वेरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः * ॥ देवासुरम् ॥

1505. The affix वृन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship.'

This debars अञ् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' काकोल्लिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, कुत्सकुल्लिका ॥

Note :—The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. 918. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वेरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्वृञ् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

औपगवकम् । चरणाज्जर्मन्नाद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506. The affix वृञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अञ् as well as छ ॥ Thus gotra :—औपगवकम् ॥

Vart :—The word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnāya). Thus कठानां धर्म आजायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'.

१५०७ । सङ्घाद्वृञ्जणोऽव्यभिजामण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

औपगवकमपि कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अम्, वेदः सङ्घोऽङ्गो घोषो वा । वेदं सङ्गणम् । अम्, गार्गी । भार्गव । वृञ्, वासः । वासम् । परंपरासंबन्धोऽङ्गः साक्षात्पु वक्तव्यम् ॥

1507 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or ऋञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

Note :—The word सङ्घ means 'congregation'. The word अङ्गम् and अङ्ग should be distinguished. अङ्गम् means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a distinguishing feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a अङ्गम् of the clan of Bīḍas, the Bīḍas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another; as a mark on a cow showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs. The *अ* though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the *लक्ष्य* is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars *बुम्* of the last aphorism.

Vṛt :—The word *घोष* 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with the *संघ* &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply.

Thus *अमन्तात्* (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106)—*वैश्वः* (Masculine), 'a congregation but *वैश्व* (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. *यमन्तात्*—(IV. 1. 105 S. 1107)—*गार्ग्य*+*अण्*=*गार्गः* (VI. 4. 148, 151 S. 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the Gārgyas" *इमन्तात्* (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095), —*दाक्षि*+*अण्*=*दाक्षः* (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'. *लक्ष्य* 'a mark of the Dākshis'.

Note :—The *ण्* of *अण्* could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes *अण्* or *इण्* in which they end. The *अ* would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but *अण्* is used to show that the feminine is formed by *ह्रीन्* (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). Thus *वैश्वी* ॥ It further prevents *पुंवशाव* in compounds (VI. 3. 89 S. 849), as *वैश्वी विद्याऽस्त्व*=*वैश्वीविद्य* i. e. *विश्वनामसाधारणी वा विद्या सा वस्यास्ति सः* ॥

१५०८ । शाकलान्ता । ४ । ३ । १२८ ॥

अण् योक्तव्ये । पक्षे चरणत्वाद्बुम् । शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीवसे शाकलान्तेषां सङ्घोऽङ्गो येन वा शाकलः । शाकलकः । लक्षणे ह्रीदत्ता ॥

1508. The affix *अण्* optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word *शाकल* ॥

This debars *बुम्* ॥ Thus *शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीवसे*=*शाकलाः* (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 and IV. 2. 64 S. 1274), *शाकलानां संघः*=*शाकल*. or *शाकलक* (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.' When denoting *लक्षण* it will be of the neuter gender.

१५०९ । छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ज इयः । ४ । ३ । १२९ ॥

छन्दोगानां धर्म आश्रयो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिकम् । याज्ञिकम् । बह्वृच्यम् । नाट्यम् ॥ चरणाङ्गानां यथोरित्युक्तं तस्माद्व्यर्थान्नदशब्दासि तवेरेव ॥

1509. The affix *इय* comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhandoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvṛicha' and 'nāṭa.'

*Note:—*The anuvṛitti of स्य &c ceases. The उय debars अण् and बुम् ॥ The phrase चरणान्नाययो from sūtra IV 3 126 S 1506 is understood here and applies even to the word नदः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा SS नायो छन्दोग्यश्च 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also धौविक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बौद्ध्यम्, and नाय्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have 'छान्दोगं कुलम्' the family of Chhandoga'

१५१० । न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डनाणवास्तेषु शिष्येषु च बुम् न स्यात् । दाक्षाः दण्डमाणवाः शिष्यावा ॥

1510. The affix बुम् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The ऋ is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 S. 1185, अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's houses. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus दाक्षाः the junior pupils of Dakshi.'

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

तस्यैवमित्यर्थे । बुम्नोऽपवादः । रैवतिकीयः । वैजवापीयः ॥

1511. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require बुम् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, वैजवापीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरभीवि (गौरभीव), 5 औदमेधि (औदमेधि) 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 वैजवापि ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

कौपिञ्जलस्यापत्यम् इहैव निपातनादण् सन्तात्पुनरेण । कौपिञ्जलः । गोत्रबुम्नोऽपवादः । हस्तिपदस्यापत्यं हास्तिपदस्तस्यार्थं हास्तिपदः ॥

1512. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hastipada'.

This debars बुम् (IV 3 126) Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vāitika. The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कौपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by अण् by the nipātana of this sūtra. To this is again added अण् in order to exclude the बुम् affix. Similarly the son of हास्तिपद is called हास्तिपदः ॥ It is formed by अण् and पद changed to पद by nipātana. To हास्तिपद is added the affix of this sūtra.

१५१३ । आथर्वणिकस्यैकलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । १३३ ॥

अण् स्यात् । आथर्वणिकस्यायमाथर्वणः धर्म आमायौ वा । चरणादुभयोऽपवादः ॥

1613. The affix *अण्* comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'Atharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars *दुञ्* (IV. 3 126 S. 1506). आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आमायौवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas": The phrase *चरणाद् धर्मायायो*. is understood here, This sūtra is also a vārtika.

अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRĀGDĪVYATĪYA

१५१४ । तस्य विकारः । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अश्मनो विकारे दितोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अश्मनो विकार आश्मः । आत्मनः । मार्तिकः ॥

1514. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof.'

Note :—The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its anuvṛtti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेष (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेष (IV. 2. 92 S. 1312 &c). such as घ, ख &c have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra. the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter.

Foot :—अश्मन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' : as, आश्मः, otherewise आश्मनः ॥ So also आत्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

१५१५ । अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

आविकारे । मयूरस्त्रावयवो विकारो वा मयूरः । मौर्वे काण्ड भस्म वा । पैपलस्य ॥

1515. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus मयूरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = मयूरः (IV. 3. 154) 'a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan' &c. So also of 'herbs'; as मौर्वे 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also of 'trees', as, पैपलस्य meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Pipala tree."

Note :—In the subsequent sūtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛtti, not co-extensive in every respect,

१५१६ । बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् । ४ । ३ । १३६ ॥

वैल्वम् ॥

1516. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अम् and मवद् ॥ Thus वैल्वम् 'the modification or part of Bilwa'.

Note :—The word नवेधुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an' by the next sūtra also ; its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मवद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 ब्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मृग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 नवेधुका, 10 कर्णसी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कन्धू, 13 कुटीर ॥

१५१७ । कोपध्वाद्य । ४ । ३ । १३७ ॥

अण् अत्रोऽपवादः । तर्कु, तार्कवम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1517. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवम्, from तैत्तिडीक, we get तैत्तिडीकम् ; ॥ The words तैत्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

१५१८ । अणुजतुनोः षुक् । ४ । ३ । १३८ ॥

अणुजतुनोः स्थाविकारे एतयोः पुण्यगवम् । अणुषम् । आतुषम् ॥

1518. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139 S. 1519). As, अणुयो विकार = अणुषम् ; so also आतुषम् "modification of tin and lac."

Note :—In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix,

१५१९ । ओरञ् । ४ । ३ । १३९ ॥

वैवहारवम् । भावहारवम् ॥

1519. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus वैवहारवम्, भावहारवम् ॥

Note —The words देवदारु and मद्रदारु are ādy-udātta owing to Phit. Su. II. 14 (पीतहृत्पर्यायानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेश्च । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

वाधित्यम् । कापित्यम् ॥

1520. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus वाधित्यम्, कापित्यम् ॥

Note —The word वाधित्यम् is an upapada-samāsa of वाधि + त्य + क, the स being changed to त् as it belongs to Prishodaradi class; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वरः ॥

१५२१ । पलाशादिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पालाशम् । कारीरम् ॥

1521. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खादिरम् or खादिरम्; कारीरम् or कारीरम् ॥

Note—This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, खादिर, शिशापा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 खादिर, 3 शिशापा 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूजाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 बवास, 9 विकङ्कत ॥

१५२२ । शम्याः (द्) लञ् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शामीलं भस्म । विश्वान्डीर् शामीली लुक् ॥

1522. The affix ण् (द्) लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म । शामीली लुक् (1V. 1. 60 S. 515) The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicative ण् ॥ According to Mādhava the anubandha is ण् and so the feminine is formed in ङीष् ॥

१५२३ । मयङ्गैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छदनयोः । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिभाषान्मयङ्गा स्याद्विकारावयवयोः अश्ममयम् आश्मनम् । अभक्ष्येत्यादि किम् । मोरः स्यः । कापसिमाच्छदनम् ॥

1523. The affix मयङ् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus आशमयम् or आशमयः (IV, 3. 134),

Note —Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in the classical language, ? Witness देवः
स्वादि वा यूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, ?
Observe कौः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् 'cotton
dress'.

Note —Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra,
when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra ?
Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV, 3. 135, 136 &c
are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV, 3. 135 S. 1515) लोहमयम्
or लौहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १४४ ॥

आश्रमयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकाचो नित्यम् * ॥ स्वङ्मयम् । वाङ्मयम् । कथं तर्हि आप्यमम्-
थमिति । तस्येवमित्यणन्तास्वार्थे व्यञ् ॥

1524. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its
"product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is
spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आश्रमयम् ॥ After शरादि words —शरमयम् ॥

Part —The affix मयद्, comes invariably after words of one syllable Thus
स्वङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आप्यम् "modification of water",
as given by Amarakosha (I, 10 5) ? It is formed by व्यञ् added to अपस् after the
latter had taken अण् of तस्येदम् ॥ अप + अण् = आप ; आप + य = आप्यम् ॥ व्यञ् does
not change the meaning.

1 शर, 2 ईर्ष, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी, 5 वृण, 6 सोम, 7 वलवञ् (वल्वञ्) ॥

१५२५ । गोश्च पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १४५ ॥

गोः पुरीषं गोमयम् ॥

1525. The affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the
sense of 'its dung'.

Thus गामयम् 'cow dung'.

Note —'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow Therefore this
separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung' ? Observe गम्य = milk
The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV, 3. 160 S. 1538), though
strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टाच्च । ४ । ३ । १४६ ॥

मयद् स्वाधिकारे । पिष्टमयं भस्म । कथं पैष्टी दुरेति । सामान्यविवक्षायां तस्येकमित्यण् ॥

1526. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars ञण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise ञण्, as पैष्टी दुरेति in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) in a general signification.

१५२७ । संज्ञायां कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

पिष्टादित्येव । पिष्टस्य विकारविशेषः । पिष्टकः । पूषोऽपूषः पिष्टकः स्यात् ॥

1527. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II. 9. 48).

१५२८ । व्रीहिः पुरोडाशे । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयद् स्यात् । विश्वाद्यणोऽपवादः । व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः । त्रैहमन्यत् ।

1528. The affix मयद् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Purodāśa.'

This debars ञण् (IV. 3. 136 S. 1516) Thus व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley' Otherwise त्रैहम् ॥

१५२९ । असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । यवमयम् । संज्ञायां तु तैलम् । भावकः ॥

1529. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम् । यवमयम् ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name"? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' भावक formed with कन् (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29).

१५३० । तालादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५० ॥

अम्भमदोरपवादः ॥ तालाच्छदुषि * ॥ तालं धनुः । अन्यतालमयम् । ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1530. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus ताल धनुः, वारिणिम्, ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1 तालाच्छदुषि. 2 वारिणि, 3 इन्द्राविष्ठा, 4 इन्द्रावृषा, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 अय (आप, चर्म), 7 श्यामक, 8 पीपुषा ॥

Vārt :—The affix अण् comes after ताल, when a "bow" is meant Thus ताल "a bow made of tāla tree". Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note :—The words* ताल and श्यामक being Vṛiddha words would have taken

मयद् (IV. 3. 144 S. 1524) बहिर्भाक् विकारः = बहिर्भ (by भञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532) then we ought to have added to बहिर्भ the affix अञ् by IV. 3. 155 S. 1533. in the sense of 'product or part.' The present sūtra prevents that. The words इन्द्राविश and इन्द्रादृश are formed by adding क् to the roots विश and दृश् preceded by the Upapada इन् under Mula vibhujādi class. The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्येषामपि (VI. 3. 157.). The word चण and वीथुषा are acute on the middle. इन्द्राधुष is final acute by samāsa accent.

१५३१ । जातकपेक्ष्यः परिमाणे । ४ । ३ । १५३ ॥

अण् । बहुवचनात्पर्यायमहणम् । हाटकः तापनीयः सौवर्णो वा निष्कः । परिमाणे किम् । हाटकमयी यष्टिः ॥

1531. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure".

The word जातकम् means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकः तापनीयस् सौवर्णो वा निष्कः ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe हाटकमयी यष्टिः ॥

१५३२ । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

शौकम् । वाकम् । रजतम् ॥

1532. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

Note:—This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus.—शौकम्, वाकम्, रजतम्, &c.

Note.—In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c. which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, S. 1520, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उडुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहिताक (रोहितक), 8 विभीतक, 9 पीतवारु (करीत, वारु), 10 तत्रिवारु, 11 बिकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार ॥

१५३३ । अितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

अियो विकारावयथप्रत्ययस्तदन्तावञ् स्यात्तयोरेषार्थयोः । मयदोऽपवादः । सामीलस्य सामीलम् । वाधित्यस्य वाधित्यम् । कापित्यम् । अितः किम् । बैलमयम् ॥

1533. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory **म्** denoting product or part, are **भम्** (IV. 3. 139), **दलम्** (IV. 3. 142), **अम्** (IV. 3. 154), **धुम्** (IV. 3. 157), **हम्** (IV. 3. 159), **अम्, यम्** (IV. 3. 168). When a 'tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix **अम्** is used. This debars **मयद्** ॥ Thus **गामील्यम्, दाधित्यम्, कापित्यम्** &c.

Why do we say **मितः**? Observe **वैष्णवम्** ॥ Here **मयद्** is used after **वैष्ण** and the derivative is formed by **अण्** of IV. 3. 136, S. 1516. So also **वैष्णवम्** ॥

१५३४ । क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

माग्वनेष्टमित्याभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहित्वास्ते सथैव विकारोऽपि भवन्ते । अणोदीनामपवादः । निष्कण क्रीतं नैष्किकम् । एव निष्केस्य विकारोऽपि नैष्किकः । शतस्य विकारः शत्यः । शतिकः ॥

1534. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c S. 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of **क्रीत** (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote **विकार**, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars **अण्** &c. Thus **निष्केन क्रीतम् = नैष्किकम्** (V. 1. 20). It will denote **vikāra** also, **निष्केस्य विकारः = नैष्किक** formed by **ठक्** (V. 1. 20) 'As **शतेन क्रीतम् = शत्य** or **शतिकम्** (V. 1. 21), so **शतस्य विकारः = शत्य** or **शतिक** by **ठक्** and **थक्** (V. 1. 21)

Note:—The word **वत्** in **क्रीतवत्** indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As **द्विसहस्र**, or **द्विसाहस्रः** (V. 1. 29), **द्विनिष्कः** or **द्विनैष्किकः** ॥ The word **परिमाण** in this sūtra includes **संख्या** 'the numerals' also; while the technical word **परिमाण** does not include **sankhyā**. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V. 1. 28) as, **द्विसहस्र**, **द्विसाहस्रः** &c.

१५३५ । उष्ट्रादुष्टम् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

प्राणयज्ञोऽपवादः । औष्ट्रकः

535. The affix **ुष्टम्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra'.

This debars **अम्** (IV. 2. 154). **उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः** ॥

१५३६ । उमोर्णयोर्वी । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

औमम् । औमकम् । और्णम् । और्णकम् । उमभावे यथाक्रममण्यौ ।

1536. The affix **ुष्टम्** comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words उमा and ऊर्णौ ॥

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

Note :—Umā has acute on the first syllable by वृणधन्वानां च. (Phat II. 4). Uṇā is finally acute, as a. Prātipadika.

१५३७ । एण्या ढञ् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

ऐण्यम् । एण्यस्य तु ऐणम् ॥

1537. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एणी ॥

This debars अञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532.

Thus ऐण्य नासम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एण्य नासम् = ऐण्यम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

१५३८ । गोपयस्येत् । ४ । ३ । १६० ॥

अय्यम् । पयस्यम् ॥

1538. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus अय्यम्, पयस्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

- १५३९ । द्रोक्ष् । ४ । ३ । १६१ ॥

द्रुवक्षस्तस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru.' (meaning "a tree".).

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५४० । माने वयः । ४ । ३ । १६२ ॥

व्राख्येव । द्रुवयम् । यौतव द्रुवयं पाद्यमिति मानार्थकं वयम् ॥

1540. The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम्, 'a measure.' The words द्रुवयम्, यौतव and पाद्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II. 9. 85).

१५४१ । फले लुक् । ४ । ३ । १६३ ॥

विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्वात् फले । आमलक्याः फलमामलकम् ।

1541. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by लुक्, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फल = आमलकी + मवद् लुक् = आमलक 'the fruit of Myrobalans

Note :—The fruit is a “ product ” as well as “ part ” of a fruit-bearing tree,

१५४२ । प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६४ ॥

विधानसामर्थ्यात् लुक् । प्लाक्षम् ॥

1542. The affix अण् comes in the sense of ‘its product or part, it being a fruit,’ after the word ‘plaksha &c.’

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम् ॥ So also नैयमोधम् by the following Sūtra.

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यमोध, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 इक्षुदी, 5 शिमु, 6 रुह, 7 कच्छु (कर्कशु कर्कन्तु कच्छु) 8 वृहती ॥

१५४३ । न्यमोधस्य च केवलस्य । ७ । ३ । ५ ॥

अस्य न वृद्धिर्जागमस्य । नैयमोधम् ॥

1543. ऐ is placed before the य् of न्यमोध, instead of Vridhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory अ, ण् or क् ॥

As नैयमोधम् (= न्यमोधस्य विकारः) ॥

Note :—Why do we say ‘when it is alone’ ? Observe न्यमोधमूले भवाः शालयः = न्यमोधमूलाः ॥ If न्यमोध is a derivative word (from न्यमोदयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोद्वेर्धते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 8, this separate sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies to this section. See VII 3. 8, also.

१५४४ । जम्बू वा । ४ । ३ । १६५ ॥

जम्बूशङ्खफलेऽण् वा स्यात् । जाम्बवम् । पक्षे ओञ् तस्य लुक् । जम्बु ॥

1544. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word ‘jambû’.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बव as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अञ् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. S. 1541. As जम्बु + अञ् = (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बुनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8).

१५४५ । लुप् च । ४ । ३ । १६६ ॥

जम्बूवाः फलमलयस्य लुप् वा स्यात् । लुपि पुक्तवत् । जम्बूवाः फलं जम्बूः ॥ फलपाकशुभा-
हुपसंख्यानम् * व्रीहयः । सुताः । पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् * ॥ मल्लिकायाः पुष्पं मल्लिका । आरुखाः पुष्पं आरुती ।
विशार्या मूलं विशारी । बहुलमहजात्रेह । पादलानि पुष्पाणि । सात्वानि मूलानि । बाहुलकात्काचित्तुक् ।
अथाकम् । करवीरम् ॥

1545. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambu'.

The word *दा* is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I 2. 51 S. 1294. Thus *अम्बु + अम्बुलुप् = अम्बुः*, as, *अम्बु फल* ॥ Optionally *अम्बुदाः फल = अम्बु फल*, or *अम्बुदं* ॥

Vart:—There is *lup* elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens. Thus *व्रीहिः—व्रीहयः, सुम्नाः* ॥

Vart—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots as, *मल्लिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका आति*; so also *विहार्या मूल = विहारी* ॥ *अशुभती, वृहती* ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As *पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, मल्लानि मूलानि* ॥ So *अशोकम्, करवीरम्, &c.*

१५४६ । हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

एभ्यः फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्स्यात् । हरीतक्यादीनां लिङ्गमेव प्रकृतिवत् । हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः ॥

1546. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by *लुप्*, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I 2, 51 S. 1294), As *हरीतक्याः फलं = हरीतकी* instead of *हरीतक* ॥ So also *कौशातकी, नखरजनी* ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as *हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि* ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखरजनी), 4 शष्पकण्डी (शष्पकण्डी), 5 वाडी, 6 शोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 वासा (वाङ्क्षा), 12 गभीका (गर्भरिका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 विष्पली*, 15 चिड्या (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 इडी ॥

१५४७ । कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यञञौ स्तदुच्यते लुक् । कंसाय हित कंसीयम्, तस्य विकारः कंस्यम् । परशवे हित परशव्यम् । तस्य विकारः पारशवः ॥

1547. The affixes *यञ्* and *अञ्* come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansīya' and 'paraśavya', and there is *luk*-elision (of the *छ* and *यत्* affixes of those words).

The word *कंसीयः* is formed by *छ* (V. I. 1), and *परशव्य* is formed by adding *यत्* (V. I. 2). These affixes *छ* and *यत्* are elided when the affixes

यञ् and भञ् are added. Thus कसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्य so also पारशव from परशव्य ; thus परशव्य + भञ् = परशु + भञ् = पारशव. ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdîvyatiya affixes.

अथ तद्धित ठगधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXX.

THE AFFIX ठक् ॥

१५४८ । प्राग्वहतेष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १ ॥

तद्धृतीत्यतः प्राक् ठगधिक्रियते ॥ तदाहोति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ माशब्दः कारि इति च आह स माशब्दिकः ॥

1548. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV 4. 76. S. 1627.

Note :—This is an adbhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्धृति &c

Vārt :—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यशब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Note —Thus in the next sūtra it is said ; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it Thus अक्षैर्व्यति = भाषिक "who plays with aksha—a die" अक्ष + ठक् = भाषिकः (VII. 3 50 S. 1170)

१५४९ । स्वागतादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ७ ॥

ऐष न स्यात् । स्वागतमित्याह स्वागतिकः । स्वाध्वरिकः । स्वङ्गस्यापत्यं स्वाङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्यापत्यं व्याङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्यापत्यं व्याङ्गिः ॥ व्यवहारेण चरति व्यावहारिकः । स्वपत्नौ साधु स्वापत्नेयम् ॥ आहौ प्रभुतादिभ्यः * ॥ प्रभुतामाह प्रभूतिकः । पार्याप्तिकः ॥ पृच्छतौ सुखातादिभ्यः * ॥ सुखातं पृच्छति सौख्यातिकः । सौख्यायानिकः । अनुशक्तिकादिः ॥ गच्छतौ परशरादिभ्यः * ॥ पारदारिकः । गौरस्तल्पिकः ।

1549. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3. S. 1098, do not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (= स्वागतमिति आह), स्वाध्वरिकः, (= स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याङ्गि (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyada). व्यावहारिकः (Vyavahāreṇa charati) and स्वापत्नेय (= स्वपत्नौ साधु) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 2. S. 1144. स्वपत्न being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3 4 S. 1386. as it is included in the Dvārādī list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्ववर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यङ्ग, 6 व्यङ्गहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

Vart :—So also after प्रसूत &c in the sense 'he said' : as प्रसूतमाह = प्रसूतः, भृतिकः, पार्थसिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb.

Vart :—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिक "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौखराजिकः, सौखभायनिकः ॥

Vart :—So also after परदार &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with' as परदारम् गच्छति = पारदारिकः, गौहस्त्यिकः ॥ The word तल्य here refers to "wife"

१५५० । तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जिनम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दीव्यति आक्षिकः । अक्षया खनति आभिक । अक्षैर्जयति आक्षिकः । अक्षैर्जितमाक्षिकम् ।

1550. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. अक्षय-
नति आभिक, कौशलिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितम् = आक्षिकम् ॥

१५५१ । संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना संस्कृतं वाधिकम् । नारीचिकम् ॥

1551. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'.
Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = वाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. नारीचिकम् ॥

Note :—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvritti of संस्कृतं only runs.

१५५२ । कुलत्थकोपभादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

ठकोपभादः । कुलत्थैः संस्कृतं कौलत्थम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1552. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उडुपेन तरति औडुपिकः ॥

1553. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औडुविकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४ । गोपुच्छाट्ठञ् । ४ । ४ । ६ ॥

गोपुच्छिकः ॥

1554. The affix ट्ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between टक् and ट्ठञ् is in the accent. Thus गोपुच्छिकः ॥

१५५५ । नौद्यचष्टन् । ४ । ४ । ७ ॥

नौविकः । घटिकः । बाहुभ्यां तरति बाहुका स्त्री ॥

1555. The affix टन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus नौवा तरति = नौविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words as, घटिकः, so also बाहुका (बाहुभ्यां तरति) in the feminine.

Note :—The ष् in ष्टन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ष् occurs in the Fourth book, in sūtras IV. 4. 9. 10, 18, 53 and 74.

१५५६ । चरति । ४ । ४ । ८ ॥

हृत्तीयान्ताश्चरति भक्षयतीत्यर्थयोश्चक् स्यात् । हस्तिना चरति हास्तिकः । वाकटिकः । इभा भक्षयति वाधिकः ॥

1556. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix टक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus वाकटिकः । हास्तिकः 'who travels by a car or an elephant'. इभा भक्षयति = वाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd.'

१५५७ । आकर्षात् ष्टञ् । ४ । ४ । ९ ॥

आकर्षो निक्वोपल. । आकर्षाविति पाठान्तरम् । तेन चरित आकर्षिकः । विश्वाण्डीयः । आकर्षिकी ॥

1557. The affix ष्टञ् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'ākarsha.'

Note :—This debars डक् ॥ The ञ् is for accent (VI 1. 193). The ष् of ष्टञ् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV. 4. 7. S. 1555.

Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक / आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested. Another reading is आकषास ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्पेण चरति पर्विकः । पर्विकी । येन पीठेन पङ्कजचरन्ति स पर्वः । अश्विकः । सधिकः ॥

1558. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ङक्, the न् of छन् is for accent (VI, 1, 197), and इ for ङीश् (IV, 1, 41). Thus पर्विकः / पर्विकी, अश्विकः / अश्विकी ॥ So also सधिकः ॥

1 पर्व, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वस्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 व्यास, 7 व्यास, 8 पाप पच ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणादङ् । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

आत् छन् ॥

1559. The affix ङङ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ङक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिङि । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

ऐचन । श्वभस्त्रस्याप्यत्र श्वभस्त्रिः । श्वादाङ्गिः । तद्विशिष्टौ चैवमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥ इकारादादिनि वाच्यम् * ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी । श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इङ् is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वभस्त्र is श्वभस्त्रिः, so also श्वादाङ्गिः ॥ The word ङङ् is included in the list of Dvārādī words VII 3, 4, S. 1386. The present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Part —This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. / श्वागणिकी ॥ ङङ् श्वगणिकः / श्वगणिकी ।

Note :—The form श्वगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 5. Thus श्वगण + ङङ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ङ् requires the Vriddhi of the अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII 3 4 says that instead of Vriddhi, the letter औ comes before ङ in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been श्वौगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3, 4 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इङ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ङङ् ॥ 1

fact, the rule VII. 3, 4 does not apply, whenever the word अन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter ह ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इम् (an affix beginning with ह). as from द्वाभास्त्र we have द्वाभास्त्रम् (द्वाभास्त्रेण) ॥

१५६१ । पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ३ । ६ ॥

आदेशस्य पदशब्दान्तस्थेऽत्र । आपदस्येदं आपदम् । शौचापदम् ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to अन् followed by पद् ॥

As आपदस्येदं = आपदम् or शौचापदम् ॥

१५६२ वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

वेतनेन जीवति वेतनिकः । धानुष्कः ॥

1562. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana. &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्वेण्ड the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्वेण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, वेण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 बाह्व (बाह्व), 3 अर्धबाह्व (अर्धबाह्व), 4 धनुर्वेण्ड, 5 जात, 6 वेश (वेत्), 7 उपवेश (उपवेश, उपवेत्), 8 मेषण, 9 उपवसति (उपवसति), 10 सुख, 11 शान्ता, 12 शान्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपवेश, 15 स्फिज्* (स्फिज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ, 18 उपस्थान,* 19 उपहस्त,* 20 सज् ॥

१५६३ वस्नकयविक्रयाङ्गन् । ४ । ४ । १३ ॥

वस्नेन मूल्येन जीवति वस्निकः । क्रयविक्रयग्रहणं संघातविगृहीतार्थम् । क्रयविक्रयिकः । क्रायकः । विक्रयिकः ॥

1563. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire, hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

१५६४ आयुधाच्छ च । ४ । ४ । १४ ॥

आयुधेन जीवति आयुधीयः । आयुधिकः ॥

1564. The affix छ as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby'. after the word 'Ayudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by ड्), or आयुधिकः (by डक्) 'a mercenary soldier'

१५६५ हरत्युत्सङ्गाविध्यः । ४ । ४ । १५ ॥

उत्सङ्गेन हात्यूत्सङ्गिकः ॥

1565. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हाति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप, 3 उत्पत्त (उत्पत्त), 4 उत्पत्त, 5 उत्पुट, 6 विटक्, 7 विटक्, 8 उडुप ॥

१५६६ भस्त्राविध्यः घृन् । ४ । ४ । १६ ॥

भस्त्रया हरति भस्त्रिकः । बित्वाग्नीष् । भस्त्रिकी ॥

1566. The affix घृन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction.

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः " who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier ". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41)

Note —The word भस्त्र means a pair of leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c, is carried

1 भस्त्रा, 2 भरट, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 वीधभार, 5 वीधैभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार ॥

१५६७ । विभाषा विवधात् । ४ । ४ । १७ ॥

विवधेन हरति विवधिकः । पक्षे डक् । वैवधिकः । एकदेशविकृतस्याऽनन्यत्वाद्द्विविधावपि घृन् । वीवधिकः । वीवधिकी । विवधवीवधशब्दौ उभयतो वक्ष्यमाणे स्तत्स्थवाहो काष्ठे वर्तते ॥

1567. The affix घृन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha'. (and 'vīvadha'), being in the third case in construction.

Vart:—A word altered in a portion there of remains the same. Therefore वीवध is also governed by this sūtra.

In the alternative, the general affix डक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः । विवधिकी, So also वीवधिकः । वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is डक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood with a loop at each end placed on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road,' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler,'

१५६८। अण्कुटिलिकायाः । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधनां गति विशेषः कर्मरोपकरणभूत लोह पर । कुटिलिकया हरति घृगानङ्गारान्वा
कौटिलिको व्याध कर्मरिश्च ॥

1568. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति घृगान् व्याधः or (घृगो व्याधे) = कौटिलिको व्याधः (or घृगः) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौटिलिक कर्मरि, 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge.'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forged of the blacksmiths.'

१५६९। निर्वृत्तेऽक्षयूताविश्यः । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षयूतिकं वैरम् ॥

1569. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = माक्षयूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling.'

१ अक्षयूत, २ आनुग्रहत ('प्रभूत), ३ अङ्गाग्रहत, ('प्रभूत), ४ अङ्गाग्रहत,* ५ पादस्वेदन, ६ कण्ठकमर्दन, ७ गतानुगत ८ गतागत, ९ यातापयात, १० अनुगत ॥

१५७०। त्रेर्मन्त्रित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

१ त्रेर्मन्त्रित्यम् प्रकृतिकात्तृतीयान्तानिर्वृत्तेऽर्थे मन्त्रित्यम् । कृत्या निर्वृत्तं कृत्रिमम् । पक्वित्यम् ॥
२ भावप्रत्ययान्तादिमप्युक्तव्यः । ३ अकेन निर्वृत्तं पाकिमम् । त्यागित्यम् ॥

1570. The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix त्रि, in the sense of 'completed thereby,'

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88) Thus the root कुपन् takes त्रि and forms पक्वि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word Thus पच् + क्वि + मप् = पक्विमम् 'what is completed-by being cooked'. From कुकम् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

Note —The word निश्चय in the sūtra indicates that the affix क्वि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vari —After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं = पाकिमम् (पच् + पक् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so also त्यागित्यम्, सेकित्यम् कृत्रिमम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति स्वयन्तम् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्त आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्तं याचितकम् ॥

1571. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yāchita,' when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'.

Note :—The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to स्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्ना संसृष्ट वाधिकम् ॥

1572, The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = वाधिकम् 'smeared with curd.'

Note :—The word 'sanskṛitam' (.IV. 4. 3) and 'samsṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced ; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णेः संसृष्टाश्चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णेः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder'.

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

लवणेन संसृष्टो लवणः सूपः । लवणं चाकम् ॥

1574 The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word 'larṇa'.

Thus लवणेन संसृष्ट = लवणः 'mixed with salt'. as लवणं सूपः 'soup mixed with salt' So लवणं चाकं, लवणां बवागू (I. I. 51)

Note :—The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

१५७५ । मुद्गादण । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मौक्त बोधनः ॥

1575 The affix अण comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars डक् ॥ Thus मौक्त बोधनः 'rice mixed with mudga pulse'.

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्तं । ४ । ४ । २६ ॥

डक् । दध्ना उपसिक्तं दाधिकम् ॥

1576. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd.'

Note.—Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकं नीपासकं बोधनः ॥

१५७७ । ओजः सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिकः शूरः । साहसिकश्चोरः । आम्भसिको मत्स्यः ॥

1577. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief' आम्भसिकः 'a fish'.

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

द्वितीयान्तावस्माद्वर्तते इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे डक् स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वाद्धितीया । मतीपं वर्तते प्राप्तीपिकः । आन्वीपिकः । प्रातिटिपिकः । आनुलोमिकः । प्रातिकूलिकः । आनुकूलिकः ॥

1578. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word सद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus मतीपं वर्तते = प्राप्तीपिकः (प्रतिगता अपाऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3 97), retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः ॥ 'favourable.' प्रातिटिपिकः, 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' प्रातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः ॥ The two words प्राप्तीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

१५७६ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २६ ॥

परिमुखं वर्तते परिमुखिकः । आप्पारिपार्थिकः ॥

1579. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुख वर्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present.'

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As पारिपार्थिक ॥

Note.—The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (11. 1. 12) If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा ये सेवको वर्तन्ते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्तन्ते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्विरुणार्थं द्विरुण तथयच्छति द्वैरुणिकः । द्वैरुणिकः ॥

वृद्धेर्वृद्धिभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वार्धुषिकः ।

1580. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विरुणं प्रयच्छति = द्वैरुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विरुण means द्विरुणार्थं 'for the sake of double'. Similarly द्वैरुणिक ॥

Vart.—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृद्धि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase'. Or the word वृद्धि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note.—Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive' ? Observe द्विरुणं प्रयच्छति ऋधमर्णः 'the debtor gives double'.

१५८१ । कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्दचौ । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गर्ह्यार्थं भ्यामाभ्यामेतौ स्तः प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थः । कुसीदं वृद्धिस्तदर्थं ब्रूय कुसीदं तथयच्छतीति कुसीदिकः । कुसीदिकी । एकादशार्थत्वादेकादश ते च ते वस्तुतो दश चेति विमर्शः । समासान्त इदं च निपात्यते । दशैकादशिकः । दशैकादशिकी । दशैकादशान्प्रयच्छतीत्युत्तमर्ण एवेहापि तद्वितार्थः ॥

1581. The affixes छन् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusīda' and 'daśaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called कुसीदः ॥ This sūtra debars डक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes डक् and डक् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + डक् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (IV. 1. 41). So दशोक्तारधिकः fem. दशै ॥

१५८२ । उज्जति । ड । ड । ३२ ॥

पदराण्युज्जति धारिकः ॥

1582. The affix डक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus पदराण्युज्जति = धारिकः 'who picks up jujubes'.

Note:—To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उज्ज ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ड । ड । ३३ ॥

समाजं रक्षति सामाजिकः ।

1583. The affix डक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'.

१५८४ । शब्दवर्तुलं करोति । ड । ड । ३४ ॥

शब्दं करोति शाब्दिकः । वार्तुलिकः ॥

1584. The affix डक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes words' i. e. a grammarian. So वार्तुलिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्धन्ति । ड । ड । ३५ ॥

स्वरूपस्य पर्यायाणां विबोधाणां च महजम् । मत्स्यपर्यायेषु मीनस्यैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पक्षिकः । शाकुनिकः । मायुरिकः । मात्स्यिकः । धैनिकः । शाकुनिकः । मार्गिकः । हारीजिकः । साराङ्गिकः ॥

1585. The affix डक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68).

Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मातृरिक्तः, ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मैनिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अस्माद्वितीयान्तात्तिष्ठति इति चेत्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । पन्थानं यज्जयित्वा व्याप्य वा तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकश्चौरः । परिपन्थं इति पारिपन्थिकः ॥

1586. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिपन्थ तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं यज्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man'.

Note. — The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of इति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं इति च पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the classical form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

१५८७ । माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकारो माथः पन्थाः दण्डमाथः । दण्डमाथ धावति दण्डमाथिकः । पार्श्विकः । आनुपदिकः ॥

1587. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words 'padavi' and 'anupada'.

Thus a road (mātha) straight like a stick (danda) is called दण्डमाथः । From it दण्डमाथं धावति = दण्डमाथिकः 'who runs on a high way'. Similarly पार्श्विकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'.

१५८८ । आक्रन्दद्गुञ्ज । ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

अस्माद्वत्त्वाच्चाह्वक् धावतीत्यर्थे । आक्रन्दं दुःखिनां रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रन्दिकः ॥

1588. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'ākrandā', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e. g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between ठक् and ठक् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्द धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रन्दिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

१५८८ पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति पौर्वपदिकः । औत्तरपदिकः ॥

1589. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥

Note :—The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिकण्ठार्थलक्ष्मं च । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

पृथो गृह्णात्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्ठिकः । आर्यिकः । लालामिकः ॥

1590. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikanṭha', 'artha', and 'lalāma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्यिकः, लालामिकः ॥

Note :—The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi-bhāva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिपत्तः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

१५९१ धर्मे चरति । ४ । ४ । ४१ ॥

धार्मिकः ॥ अधर्माच्चेति धक्क्यम् * ॥ आधर्मिकः ॥

1591. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practises that'.

Thus धर्मे चरति = धार्मिक. "religious".

Vārtika :—It must be stated that the affix ठक् comes after adharma also. As आधर्मिक "irreligious, undutiful",

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति ठक्च । ४ । ४ । ४२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रातिपथिकः ॥

1592. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रातिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकै "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठक् does not.

१५९३ । समवायान्समवैति । ४ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सामवायिकः । सामुहिकः ॥

1593. The affix **ठक्** comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus **समवायात् समवेति** = **सामवायिकः** 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also **सामजिकः**, **सामूहिकः**, **सामिवेशिकः** ॥

Note :—The word **समवाय** means combination, collection &c. The word **समवायात्** is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form **समवाय** but to its synonyms also. **समवेति** means coming together.

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषद् समवेति परिषद्यः ॥

1594. The affix **ण्य** comes after the word 'parishad', in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ Thus **परिषदं समवेति** = **परिषद्यः** 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्यः स्यात्पक्षे ठक् । सैन्याः । सैनिकः ॥

1195. The affix **ण्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senā**.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समवेति** = **सैन्य**, or **सैनिक**, 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

१५९६ । संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

ललाटं पश्यति ललाटिकः सेवकः । कुक्कुटीशब्देन ललाटाहः स्वल्पदेशो लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिको भिक्षुः ॥

1596. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalāta' and 'kukkuṭi', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **ललाटं पश्यति** = **ललाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the

ground, and hence he is called कौवकुटिकः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

१५९७ । तस्य धर्म्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४७ ॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम् ॥

1597. The affix डक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्य = शौल्कशालिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also जाकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम् ॥

१५९८ । अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । ४८ ॥

महिष्या धर्म्यं माहिषम् । राजमानम् ॥

1598. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishī' &c.

This debars थक्. Thus महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So राजमानम् ॥

1 महिषी, 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजावति, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुलेहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ 11 यजमान ॥

१५९९ । ऋतोऽञ् । ४ । ४ । ४९ ॥

आतुर्धर्म्यं यात्रम् ॥ नराद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नरस्य धर्म्या नारी ॥ विशसितुरिङ्लोपश्चाच्च वक्तव्यः * ॥ विशसितुर्धर्म्यं वैराज्यम् ॥ विभाजयितुश्चिलोपश्चाच्च वाच्यः * ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्यं वैभाज्यम् ॥

1599. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars डक् ॥ Thus आतुर्धर्म्यम् = यात्रम् 'the office of a Yātrī, i. e. a pilgrim'.

Vart:—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vart:—So also after the word विशसितुः, the इङ् affix being elided. Thus विशसितुः + अञ् = वैराज्यम् ॥

Vart:—So also after the word विभाजयितुः its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितुः + अञ् = वैभाज्यम् ॥

१६०० । अयक्रयः । ४ । ४ । ५० ॥

पट्टधन्ताडक् स्यादयक्रयेऽर्थे । आपणस्यायक्रयः आपणिकः । राजमात्रं द्रव्यमयक्रयः ॥

1600. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'its tax' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase., Thus आपणस्य अवक्रय. = आपणिकः ॥

Note.—Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same ? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

१६०१ । तदस्य पण्यम् । ४ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपृषा पण्यमस्य आपणिकः ॥

1601. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपृषाः पण्यं अस्य = आपणिकः 'a cake-vendor.'

१६०२ । लवणाट्ठञ् । ४ । ४ । ५२ ॥

लावणिकः ॥

1602. The affix टञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars टक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

१६०३ । किसरादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । ५३ ॥

किसरं पण्यमस्य किसरिकः । विश्वान्डीष् । किसरिकी । किसर, उशीर, नलद इत्यादि । किसरा-दयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषवाचिनः ॥

1603. The affix छन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars टक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किसराः पण्यमस्य = किंशरिक f किशरिकी (IV. 1. 41) नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥ The feminine is formed by डीष् as the affix has an indicator ष ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्यागल*, 5 तगर, 6 सुगुलु, 7 उशीर, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents.

१६०४ । शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५४ ॥

अन्यथात् पक्षे टक् । शालालुकः । शालालुकी । शालालुकः । शालालुकी । शालालुः सुगन्धिद्रव्य-विशेषः ॥

1604. The affix छन् comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'śalāluṇ'.

This debars टक् which comes in the alternative शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent. Thus शालालु पञ्चमस्य = शैलालुकः / शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक्, शालालुकी ; / शालालुकी ॥

१६०५ । शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

शृङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य मार्दङ्गिकः ॥

1605. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction.

Thus शृङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛdaṅga drum".

१६०६ । मड्डुकमर्भरादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य माड्डुकः । माड्डुकिकः । झार्जरः । झार्जरिकः ॥

1606. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'maḍḍuka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकव न शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुकः or माड्डुकिकः, so also झार्जरः and झार्जरिक ॥

१६०७ । प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

तस्मैत्येव । असिः प्रहरणमस्य आसिकः । धातुक् ॥

1607. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So धातुक् ॥

१६०८ । परश्वधात्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

पारश्वधिकः ॥

1608. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

१६०९ । शक्तियष्टयोरीक्क । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शक्तीकः । याष्टीकः ॥

1609. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yaṣṭi'.

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः पहरणमस्य = शक्तिकः, So also चाटीकः ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति विष्टं मतिः । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

तदर्थेत्येव । अस्ति परलोक इत्येवं मतिर्यस्य स आस्तिकः । नास्तीति मतिर्यस्य स नास्तिकः ।
विष्टमिति मतिर्यस्य स वैदिकः ॥

1610. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nāsti' and 'dishta',

Thus आस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that it is' i. e. the here-after exists.' नास्तिक 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an athiest. वैदिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, विष्ट = वैव 'fate'.

Note :—The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिक who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called वैदिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य आपूपिकः ॥

1611. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणे शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'.

Note:—The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

१६१२ । छात्रादिभ्यो ण । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गुरोर्वेषाणामावरणं छात्रं तच्छीलमस्य छात्रः ॥

1612. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus छात्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the weaknesses of the teacher'.

Note:—The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga ; thus आस्था संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुश्छात्रवत् गुरोरा शिष्यश्छात्रवत् छात्रः "a proceptor is like an Umbrella, the proceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुश्छात्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his proceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छात्र, 2 शिष्या 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुधुभा, 6 शुभा, 7 तितिक्षा, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (कवि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विन्ध्या, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अहन्,

15 विशिष्या*, 16 विशिको (शिविका), 17 मच्चा*, 18 वस्थान*, 19 डुरीडा (!)*, 20 विशा*, 21 चुषा*, 22 मद्ग ।

१६१३ । कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कर्म इति ताच्छील्ये णे टिलोपो निपात्यते । कर्मशील कर्म । नस्तत्रिते द्वयेव सिद्धे अयकार्ये ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि । तेन चोरी तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम् । ताच्छील्ये किन् । कर्मणः ॥

1613. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'.

This is formed by य affix (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144 S. 679 the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and ऋण affixes, in the sense of tādchhīlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final ण् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim :—ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix य is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though ङीप् is added to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण्-formed words, in the feminine, as चोरी, तापसी &c. The य taught in V. 2. 101 S. 1908 and III. 1. 140, S. 2902 is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मण इहम् = कर्मणम् ॥

१६१४ । कर्मोध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्पद्यर्थे ठक् स्यादध्ययने वृत्ता या क्रिया सा चेध्मयमान्तस्यार्थः । ऐकान्तिकः । यस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोच्चारणरूपं स्थितितमेक आसं सः ॥

1614. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vṛittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यवध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्तिक. 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

१६१५ । बहुचूर्वपदाठक् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्रतिषेधये । द्वादशान्यानि कर्माप्यध्ययने वृत्तान्यस्य द्वादशात्मिका । द्वादशापपार्गं गत्य जाता इत्यर्थः ॥

1615. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus.—द्वावशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वावशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So अयोवशान्यिकः चतुर्वशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अतुवास्त which ought to be udātta, or *vice versa*.

१६१५ । हितं भक्षः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूपभक्षय हितमस्मै आपूपिकः ॥

1616. The affix डक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

Thus अपूपभक्षयं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाकुलिकः, मौक्तिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

Note :—The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, S. 570 Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise:

65 हितं भक्षः तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्तं ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अमभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आमभोजनिकः ॥

1617. The affix डक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आमभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'

Note :—Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्य 'always' According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपं नित्यमस्मै दीयते to whom always cakes are given'.

१६१८ । आणामासीदनाद्विठन् । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आणा नियुक्तं दीयतेऽस्मै आणिकः । आणिकी । मांसौदनमणं संघातविगृहीतार्थम् । मांसौद-
निकः । मांसिकः । ओदनिकः ॥

1618. The affix टिडन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसौदन ॥

This टिडन् debars डक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the इ indicates that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसौदनिकः f. मांसौदनिकी ॥ The affix टिडन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. (But डक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिडन् does not). Thus ओदन + टिडन् = ओदनिकः f. ओदनिकी ॥ With डक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

Note:—The difference between डक् and टिडन् is in accent, the former having udatta on the final (VI. I. 165) the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of डक् and टिडन् will both be formed by डीप् (IV. I. 15) Now the affix डक् resembles टिडन् both in accent (VI. I. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not डक् used instead of टिडन्, for it would have produced exactly the same form? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसौदन the affix डक् might have been employed instead of टिडन् ॥

The words आणा is Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook,' The आ is not changed to भृ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The eighth स is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is भृत = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

१६१६ । भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

पक्षे डक् । भक्तमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते भक्तः । भक्तिकः ॥

1619. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः, 'a regularly fed' 'i. e. a retainer.'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्तः । ४ । ४ । ६९ ॥

आकरे नियुक्त आकरिक ॥

1620. The affix डक् comes, in the sense 'of appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus आकरे नियुक्तः = आकरिक 'a superintendent of the mines.'

Note:—The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpuruṣa compound formed by II. 1. 46.

S. 723 The word *niyukta* here has a different meaning from that in IV. 4, 66, S. 1617 hence its repetition here

१६२१ । अगारान्ताव्ठन् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

वेवागरे निशुक्तो वेवागारिकः ॥

1621. The affix *ठन्* comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agāra.'

This debars *ठक्* । The difference is in accent and want of *Vridhhi*. Thus वेवागरे निशुक्तः = वेवागारिकः ॥

१६२२ । अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

निषिद्धदेशकालवाचकाद्वक् स्यादध्येतरि । समक्षानेऽधीते 'समाक्षानिक' । चतुर्दश्यामधीते चा-
तुर्दशिक ॥

1622. The affix *ठक्* comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word *अदेशकाल* means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. *अध्यायिन्* means one who studies. Thus समक्षाने-
ऽधीते = समाक्षानिक, 'who reads in a funeral ground.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातु-
र्दशिक, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.'

Note :—Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe बुद्धेऽधीते, पूजार्हेऽधीते ॥

१६२३ । कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । वंशकठिने व्यवहरति वंशकठिनिक । वंशा वेणुवः कठिना यस्मिन्देशे स वंशकठिनस्त-
स्मिन्देशे या क्रिया ययानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्तारिक । संस्थानिकः ॥

1623. The affix *ठक्* comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina, and after 'prastāra' and 'sansthāna,' being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वंशकठिनिक 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया ययानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also प्रास्तारिक, संस्थानिक ॥

१६२४ । निकटे वसति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

नैकादिको निष्ठा ॥

1624. The affix *ठक्* comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikaṭa.'

Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic, because a sannyāsi lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein."

Note .—This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus वारण्यका are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations.

१६२५ । आवसथात् ठल् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिकः । वित्वाऽङ्गीष् आवसथिकी ।

आकर्षात्परिर्भञ्जादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।

आवसथान्तिकसरादे वितः षडेते ङगधिकारे ॥

षडिति सूत्रपदकेन विहिता इत्यर्थः । मत्वयास्तु सप्त ॥

1625. The affix ठल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'āvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The छ् of ठल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193 S. 3676), the ण् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a house-holder as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4 1 S. 1548. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

The ष of ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra IV. 4 7 S. 1555. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : " आकर्षात् परिर्भञ्जादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात् किसरादे वितः षडेते ङगधिकारे ॥ In the six sūtras IV. 4 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S. 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicatory 'sh' i. e. they are part of the affix.' Though the sūtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven. Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1 41).

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikāra.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्वितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRAG-GHITĪYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्विताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

सस्मैहितमित्यतः प्राक् यवधिक्रियते ॥

1626. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V. 1. 5. S. 1665), the affix यत् bears rule.

Note —Thus in the next sūtra सवृहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथ्यः, युग्यः, प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

१६२७ । तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथ वहति रथ्यः । युग्यः । वरसाना दमनकाले स्कन्धे यत् काष्ठप्रासङ्ग्यते स प्रासङ्गः । ते वहति प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

1627. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsaṅga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथ वहति = रथ्यः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्गः is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking.

Note —This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as परमरथ्यः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 S. 1501, 1503. also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढु therefore रथस्य वोढु will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120 S. 1500 read with IV. 3. 121, S. 1501. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 88 1. S. 1080.

Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्यः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121, S. 1501. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III 1. 121, S. 2873), that युग्य differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI 2. 156 S. 3890, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युग must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युग वहति राज्ञः काले द्वापरं वा ॥

१६२८ । धुरो यद्धकौ । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

हन्ति चनि दीर्घे प्राप्ते ॥

1628. The affixes यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', alter the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction.

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII 2 77 S. 354. is prevented by the next sūtra, because धुर is a Bha-stem, or धैरेय (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'a beast of burden'.

Note — This sūtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV 4, 75 S. 1626.

१६२६ । न भ कुर्धुराम् । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

नस्य कुर्धुरोभोपधाया वीर्यो ऽ स्यात् । धुर्यः । धैरेयः ॥

1629. The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77. S. 354, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or च् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and छुर ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुरं वहति IV. 4, 77. S. 1628 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Or धैरेयः with ढhak.

Note — Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or च् ? Observe प्रतिदीप्ता, प्रतिदीप्ते ॥ For here the stem which ends in र् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in र् but in न् ॥

१६३० । कः सर्वधुरात् । ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुर वहतीति सर्वधुरीणः ॥

1630. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurā', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475).

Note — The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर o. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49 S. 726), the samāsanta ख being added by V 4 74 S. 940. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26 S. 812 The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal stem or prātipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

१६३१ । एकधुरात्कुच । ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुर वहति एकधुरीणः । एकधुरः ॥

1631. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhura' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरम् वहति = एकधुरीण or एकधुरः ॥

Note :—The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकां धुरां वहति) to which is added the samāsānta ख and then the affix ख ॥

१६३२ । शकटादण् । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकटं वहति शकटो गौः ॥

1632. The affix ऋण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car.

Note :—This could be evolved by तस्येदम् ऋण् as शकटस्य षोडु = शकट ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as ह्ये शकटे वहति = ह्यशकट, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88 S. 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीराड्ठक् । ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हलं वहति हलिकः । सैरिकः ॥

1633. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sira', in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हलिकः 'a ploughman,' सैरिकः 'a plough ox'.

Note :—The ठक् would have come by IV. 8 124, S. 1504 the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as ह्येहलिकः, सैसीरिकः ॥

१६३४ । सहायां जन्या । ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

जनी वधूः सां वहति प्रापयति जन्या ॥

1634. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'jani,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name

Thus जनीं वहति = जन्या 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्या 'a bride's-maid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्या lit means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

Kalidāsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes As यातेति जन्यानवधत् कुमारी ॥

१६३५ । विध्यत्यधनुषा । ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

द्वितीयान्ताद्विध्यतीत्यर्थे यत्तथात्र चेतत्र धनुः करणम् । गार्धौ विध्यन्ति पद्माः शर्कराः ॥

1635. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैदा (VI. 3. 53, S. 991) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles.

Note :—Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा" ? Observe पादौ विध्यन्ति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौर विध्यन्ति, शत्रुविध्यन्ति ॥

१६३६ । धनगणं लब्धा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

तृप्तमेतत् । धनं लब्धा धन्यः । गण लब्धा गण्यः ॥

1636. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्धु is formed from $\sqrt{\text{लभ्}}$ by तृप्, hence it takes the accusative.

१६३७ । अन्नार्णः । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्न लब्धा अन्नः ॥

1637. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्न लब्धा = अन्नः 'fed,' 'who has obtained food.'

१६३८ । वशं गतः । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वश्यः परेच्छानुचारी ॥

1638. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word वासा, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

१६३९ । पदमस्मिन्दृश्यम् । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पदाः कर्दमः । नास्तिशुष्क इत्यर्थः ॥

1639. The affix यत् comes after the word 'pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद् दृश्यमस्मिन् = पद्मः कर्म 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot

Note :—So पद्मा पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means वाक्यते द्रष्टुम् this having the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्यावर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आवर्हणमावर्हि उत्पादने तदस्यास्तीत्यावर्हि । मूलमावर्हि येषां ते मूल्या पुत्राः ॥

1640. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आवर्हि from $\sqrt{\text{वृह्}}$ 'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादने ॥ मूलमेवमावर्हि = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा पुत्राः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant.

Note :—According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आवर्हि, with a व and not ब ॥

१६४१ । संज्ञायां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुष्यस्य पुत्रागमो यत् मलयश्च स्वार्थे निपात्यते संज्ञायाम् । धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता ॥

1641. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding धुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतनुष्या ॥ As धेनुष्यो भवते वसानि ॥ See Amarakosha II. 9. 72. " धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता " ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ज्यः । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्यजमानस्तेन संयुक्ती गार्हपत्योऽग्निः ॥

1642. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'joined with,' after the word 'grihapati' in the third case in construction.

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer'. Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire'; i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder.

Note :—The word संज्ञायां of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in

which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakṣiṇāgni. Or that fire in which Gṛihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

१६४३ । नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाभ्यस-
मसमितसम्मितेषु । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

नौवयं तार्यं नाव्यम् । वयसा तुल्यो वयस्य । धर्मेण प्राप्यं धर्म्यम् । विषेण वध्यो विध्यः । मूलेन
जानाम्य मूल्यम् । मूलेन समो मूल्यः । सीतया समितं सीत्यं क्षेत्रम् । तुलया समितं तुल्यम् ॥

1643. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयम् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so. Thus —

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat.

2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit, one alike in age.

3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma'.

Note.—Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्माद्वनयेते (IV. 4 92 S 1644) ? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.

4. विषेण वध्यः = विध्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.

5. मूलनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or "to be overpowered or bent by the root".

Note :—The word जानाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix यञ्, contrary to rule III. 1 98 S. 2844 which required यत्), means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered' : hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the outlay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.

6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e g cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सीत्यं 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne.

Note :—The word समितं is equivalent to संगत 'united with' according to Kāśikā सीत्वं therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g परमसीत्वं वत्तमसीत्वं द्विसीत्वं ॥

8. तुल्या समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit, 'meted out by the balance'. सम्मित means समान, सदृश ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

धर्मादनपेतं धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । अर्थ्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतद्वयैः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit', न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.'

Note :—The word सज्ञायां (IV. 4 89 S 1641) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

छन्दसा निर्मितं छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

1645. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्य 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण्यत् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

आद्यत् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र वीरसः । उरस्यम् ॥

1646. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरसैः 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit. "produced through the loins." With यत् the form will be उरस्यम् ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word सज्ञायां (IV. 4 89.) governs this sūtra also.

१६४७ । हृदयस्यप्रियः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हृद्यो देशः । हृदयस्य हृत्तेत्येति हृदप्रियाः ॥

1647. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛidaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः (VI. 3. 50 S. 988) 'pleasant to the heart' e. g. हृद्यो देशः हृद्यवनम् ॥

Note.—But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञाया (IV. 4. 99 S. 1641) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word

१६४८ । बन्धने ऋषौ । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

हृदयशब्दात् षष्ठ्यन्ताद्बन्धने यत् स्याद्वेदेऽभिधेये । हृदयस्य बन्धनं हृद्यो वशीकरणमन्त्रः ॥

1648. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛidaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनं ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनऋषिः = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

१६४९ । मतजनहृत्तात्करणजल्पकर्षेण । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मतः ज्ञानं तस्य करणं भावः साधनं वा मत्यम् । जनस्य जल्पो जन्यः । हृत्स्य कर्षो हृत्यः ॥

1649. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं = मत्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge' Mata means knowledge. जनस्य जल्पः = जन्यः 'a rumour'. हृत्स्य कर्षः = हृत्यः ploughed'.

Note.—So also विहृत्यः, विहृत्यः the tadanta vidhi applies रयसीताद्वलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

१६५० तत्र साधुः । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अथ साधुः भगवतः । सामञ्जसाधुः सामान्यः । ये चाभावकर्मणोरिति प्रकृतिभावः । कर्मण्यः । शरण्यः ॥

1650. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto'.

Thus सामस्य साधुः = सामन्त्र्यं (The अन् remains unchanged by VI. 4. 168 S. 1154) ' conversant with the Sāma-Veda '. So also कर्मण्यः, शरण्यः &c. The साधुः here means प्रवीणः, or योग्यः, ' expert ' and ' fit ', and does not mean उपकारकः ' a benefactor or a good person '.

Note :—When the sense is that of ' good ', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

१६५१ । प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

प्रतिजन साधुः प्रतिजनीन । सांयुगीनः । सार्वजनीनः । वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1651. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of ' excellent in regard thereto,' after the word ' pratijana ' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः = प्रतिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) ' suitable against an adversary ' or ' who is excellent for every person '. So also सांयुगीनः, सार्वजनीनः, वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इत्युग, 3 सयुग, 4 समयुग 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 असुख्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन ॥

१६५२ । भक्ताण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भक्ताः शालय ॥

1652. The affix ण comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the word ' bhakta ',

This debars यत् । Thus, भक्ते साधवः = भक्ता शालयः ' rice,' lit. suitable or excellent for food '.

१६५३ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०१ ॥

परिषद्यः । परिषद इति योगनिभाभाणोऽपि । परिषदः ॥

1653. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the word ' parishad ' (as well as ण).

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = परिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sūtra into two. Thus (1) परिषदः and (2) ण्यः ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = परिषदः ' one veiled in the affairs of a council ', ' a minister '.

१६५४ । कथादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १०२ ॥

कथायां साधुः काथिकः ॥

1654. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the words ' kathā ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = काथ् + इक् (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282) ' a narrator of stories '.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा *, 4 संकथा *, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ठ विद्, कुष्ठचिन्त) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 आनोवाद * (1) 10 वृत्ति, 11 समह (सद्ग्रह), 12 गुण 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेदः ॥

१६५५ । गुडादिभ्यष्टञ् । ४ । ४ । १०३ ॥

गुडे साधुर्गौडिक इत्थु । साक्तुको यव ॥

1655. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guḍa &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संपाम, 9 सघात, 10 सक्राम *, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६ । पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् । ४ । ४ । १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पाथेयम् । आतिथेयम् । वसनं वसतिस्तत्र साधुर्वासतेयी रात्रिः । स्वापतेयं धनम् ॥

1656. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधु = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2 S 475) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेय 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः. स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

१६५७ । सभाया यः । ४ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सभ्य ॥

1657. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3 S, 3708 and VI. 1. 185). Thus सभायां साधुः = सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

१६५८ । समानतीर्थे वासी । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

साधुरिति निवृत्तम् ॥ वसतीति वासी । समाने तीर्थे गुरौ वसतीति सतीर्थ्यः ॥

1658. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛtti of साधु now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्यः (VI. 3. 87 S. 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

१६५९ । समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्त । ४ । ४ । १०८ ॥

समाने उदरे शयित स्थित समानोदर्यो भ्राता ॥

1659. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयित्. is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयित् = समानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI, 3, 88 S. 1016.

१६६० । सोदराद्यः । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सोदर्यः । अर्थः शयित् ॥

1660. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word रदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयित् = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta, as it was in the last ; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghitīya.

अथ तद्धितव्यद्विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छः । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यस्य प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661. From this sūtra forward up to 'tena-kṛitam' V. 1. 37 S. 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule.

Note.—The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty-seven Sūtras V. 1. 1 to 37 S. 1702. Thus in the Sūtra तस्मैहित 'suitable for that', V. 1. 5 S. 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus वत्सेभ्योहितो = वत्सीयो गोधुक्; करभीय उष्ट्रः, अकरभीयः, अवत्सीयः ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sūtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix. As an affix, छ has no force beyond V. 1. 17, S. 1679 the affix यत् being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतादित्येव । उवर्णान्ताद्वाविभ्यश्च यस्याच्छस्यापवादः । नाभे नभं च * ॥ नभ्योऽक्षः । नभ्यमञ्जनम् । रथनाभावेवेवम् ॥ ह्यनः सप्तसारं वा च शीर्षेवम् * ॥ ह्यन्यम् । ह्यन्यम् । ऊधरोऽनङ् च * ॥ ऊधन्यः ॥

1662. The affix 'yat' comes after a prātipadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses of the affix being those taught upto Sūtra V. 1. 37 S. 1702.

The senses of Prāk-kṛītya affixes are three, viz those taught in sūtras V. 1. 5, S. 1665 V. 1. 12 S. 1674 and V. 1. 16 S. 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

Note.—the words सनङ्ग्यः meaning 'a kind of leather', and चरुः 'a kind of हविः offering', and सक्तुः 'a kind of food', all end in उ and are governed by this sūtra, in spite of V. 1. 15 S. 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V. 1. 4 S. 1664 and its vārtika which applies especially to 'offerings' and 'food modifications'. This is an example where a subsequent sūtra does not debar a prior sūtra (I. 4. 2). Thus सनङ्ग्य + यत् = सनङ्ग्यं चर्म, 'leather fit for making Sanangu', चरु + यत् = चरुया हविरङ्गुलाः 'rice fit for making charu', सक्तु + यत् = सक्तुया धानाः 'barley fit for making Saktu'

Gaṇa Sūtra :—नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added. Thus नाभये हित = नभ्य meaning अक्ष 'axis, axle' lit. 'fitted for the nave of the wheel', or a wood fit to be made the nave of a wheel or अङ्गनम् the grease.

Note.— When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V. 1, 6 S 1666. In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि, e. g. नाभि + यत् = नाभ्यम् 'suitable for navel' i. e. oil.

Gaṇa Sūtra :—The word इवन् takes samprasāraṇa, व being changed to व, and optionally this व is lengthened; and the udātta accent falls on the final. As इवन् + यत् = इवन्म or इवन्म fit for a dog. Contrary to Vl. 4, 144, the न् of इवन् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

Gaṇa Sūtra :—The final of the word ऊधस् is replaced by अनङ्; e. g. ऊधस् + यत् = ऊध् + अन + य = ऊधन्यः कूपः 'a well'.

1 गी, 2 हविस्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विष, 5 बर्हिस्, 6 अष्टका, 7 खलवा (खलवा), 8 युग, 9 मेधा, 10 सुक् (सक्), 11 नाभि नभश्च, 12 शुनः सप्रसारण वा च दीर्घस्व तत्संनियोगेन आम्तोवाचम्, 13 ऊधसोऽनङ्च, 14 कूप*, 15 खल्व*, 16 दर (उदर), 17 खर, 18 असुर*, 19 अध्वन (अध्वन, अध्वा) 20 क्षर*, 21 वेद*, 22 बीज*, 23 बीज* (बीज) 24 स्कन् ॥

१६६३ । कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

यस्यात् । कम्बल्यमूणापलशतम् । सज्ञायाम् किम् । कम्बलीया ऊर्णा ॥

1663. The affix यत् comes in the Prāk-kṛtīya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debar's 'chha. Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्यम् 'A kambalya-measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool. This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यमूर्णा पलशतम् ॥

Why do we say सज्ञायाम्? Observe कम्बलीया ऊर्णा "wool" lit. 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४ । विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आमिक्ष्य दधि । आमिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाश्यास्तण्डुला । पुरोडाशीया । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664. The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'offering,' and after "apūpa &c," in the sense of Prak-kṛtīya.

Thus आमिक्ष्यं दधि, "fit for making आमिक्षा" i. e. curd :—or आमिक्षीयं with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाश्या or पुरोडाशीया स्तण्डुला, 'suitable for making Purodāśa' i. e. a kind of rice.

Note.— The word हवि occurs in the गद्यादि class (V. 1. 2 S. 1662) and it necessarily take यत् there being no option. The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrificial offerings, and not the word-form 'havi'.

So also after अपूप्यादि, as अपूप्यम् or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 अणूय, 2 तण्डुल, 3 (अभ्यूय), 4 अभोष, 5 अवोष, 6 अयोष, 7 पृथुक, 8 भोदन, 9 छप, 10 पूष, 11 कण्व, 12 प्रदीप, 13 हुतल, 14 कटक, 15 कर्णवष्टक, 16 इर्गल,* 17 अर्गल, 18 वानाविकारिभ्यश्च, 19 युप,* 20 स्थूणा, 21 वीप (पीप), 22 अश्व, 23 पञ्च, 24 कट, 25 अयः स्थूण,

Gana Sūtra —The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food ; such as सक्तु ॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed. See V. 1. 2 S 1662.

१६६५ । तस्मै हितम् । ५ । १ । ५ ॥

वस्सेभ्यो हितो वस्तीयो गोधुक् । शङ्कुवे हित शङ्कुव्य शङ्कु । गव्यम् । हविष्यम् ॥

1665. An affix comes after a word in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that.'

Thus वस्सेभ्यो हितो गोधुक् = वस्तीय. 'fit for calves' i.e. a cow-milker So also शङ्कुवे हितं = शङ्कु + यत् = शङ्कुव्य (VI. 4. 146, S. 847. VI. 1. 79 S. 63). As शङ्कुव्य शङ्कु, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गव्यम् ; हविष्यम् ॥

१६६६ । शरीरावयवाद्यत् । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

वन्ध्यम् । कण्वम् । * नस् नासिकायाः ॥ नस्यम् । नाव्यम् ॥

1666. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body.

The word शरीर means animal organism. This debars छ, thus, वन्ध्यम् 'good for the teeth' कण्वम्, औष्ठ्यम्, नाव्यम्, नस्यम् such as dentrifice, snuff, oil &c. See VI. 1. 213.

Vart:—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्, and the word क्षुद्र follow as, नस्यम्, नस्त, नस् क्षुद्र ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3 55 S 1430 and V 1. 6 S. 1666, तस् is taught in V. 4. 45 S 2126.

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरस् is replaced by शीर्षन् before यत् by the next sūtra.

१६६७ । ये च तद्धिते । ६ । १ । ६१ ॥

यादौ तद्धिते परे शिरश्चक्रवत्य शीर्षन्निदेशः स्यात् । शीर्षण्य । तद्धिते किम् । शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति ॥ वा केशेषु * ॥ शीर्षण्यः शिरस्या. वा केशाः । अचि शीर्ष इति वाच्यम् * ॥ अजादौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षनिदेशः । स्थूलशिरस इव स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

1667 There is the substitution of शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here, from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुखयो भवति, शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यत् is here added

by V. 1. 6 S. 1666. The word शीर्षेन् retains its original form before this affix यत्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vart :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षययाः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

Vart :—There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्य = हस्तिशीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इप् (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम = स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

Note —Had the word been शीर्षेन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Again in forming the feminine of हस्तिशीर्षिः by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), arises this difficulty —व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हस्तिशीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षेन् (for शीर्षेन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61 S. 1667). The form which we get will be thus, हस्तिशीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हस्तिशीर्षिण् + य (VI. 1. 61 S. 1667) = हस्तिशीर्षय्या (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154) But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हस्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हस्तिशीर्षि + व्यङ् = हस्तिशीर्षि + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this ādeśa becomes sthānivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षेन् as required by VI. 1. 61, S. 1667, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānivat to इप् affix.

१६६८ । खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय द्वित खल्यम् । यव्यम् । माष्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ब्रह्मण्यम् । चाब्रह्म्यम् ॥

1668. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'māsha,' 'tila,' 'vṛisha' and 'brahmana.'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor'. So also यव्यम्, माष्यम्, तिल्यम्, वृष्यम्, or ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥

Note :—No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृष्यो द्वितम् । ब्राह्मण्येभ्यो द्वितम् ; the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor यत् though वृष is = वृषन् and ब्रह्मन् is = ब्राह्मण ॥

The word च in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated. Thus रथाय द्विता = रथ्या ॥

१६६९ । अजाविड्यां ध्यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥

अजय्या यूथि । अविष्या ॥

1669. The affix *य्यन्* comes in the senses of 'good for that,' after the words 'aja' and 'avi.'

This debars 'chha.' Thus अजय्या यूथि. 'the yellow jasmine called yūthi.' अविष्या यूथि ॥

१६७० । आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्सः । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

1670. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the words 'ātman,' and 'viśvajana' and after compounds having the word 'bhoga' as their second term.

This debars क्ख ॥ In the sūtra, the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise. It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sūtra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakṛiti. Thus आत्मन् + ख = आत्मनीयम् 'suitable for one's self' the न् of ātman, which required to be elided by VI. 4 149 S 679, is saved by the next sūtra.

१६७१ । आत्माध्वानौ खे । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

एतौ खे प्रकृत्या स्तः । आत्मने हितमात्मनीयम् । विश्वजनीयम् । कर्मधारयोर्वेदेभ्यते * ॥ पष्ठी-
तत्पुरुषाद्बहुव्रीहिश्च क्ख एव । विश्वजनीयम् ॥ पञ्चजनानुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चजनीयम् ॥ सर्वजनाद्व्य-
त्यक्षः * ॥ सार्वजनिकः । सर्वजनीयः । महाजनाद्व्य * । माहाजनिकः । मातृभोगीयः । पितृ भोगीयः ।
राजभोगीयः ॥ आचार्यार्णवत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यभोगीयः ॥

1671. The final of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीयः (V. 1. 9. S. 1670).

Note :—आध्वानमलङ्कानी (V. 2. 16 S. 1817) अध्वनीयः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsānta affix टच् added to the avyayibhāva (V. 4 108 S. 678), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85 S. 958).

So also विश्वजनीयम् 'suitable for all men.' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhāraya compound, meaning 'all men,' for the application of this rule; when it is a Tatpurusha or a Bahuvrīhi compound, it will take क्ख ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हितं = विश्वजनीयम् 'beneficial for man-kind.'

Vart :—So also after Karmadhāraya Compound पञ्चजन, e, g, पञ्चजनीयम्, otherwise पञ्चजनीयम् ॥

Vart :—After the Karmadhāraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes टच् and ख, as सर्वजनीयं and सर्वजनिकम् ; otherwise सार्वजनीयम् ॥

Vart :— The affix टच् comes always after the word नष्टजन whether it be a Karmadhāraya or a Tatpurusha, but not so when it is a Bahuvrīhi Com-

pound As महाजनाय हितं महाजनिक ॥ In a Bahuvrhi it will be महाजनियः with क् ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix ख, as, मानुभोगीणः and पितृभोगीणः ॥ The word भोग means 'body. But मानीयः and पित्रीयः with क्, when the word भोग does not follow.

Vart —The words राजा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix ख, as राजभोगीनः and आचार्यभोगीनः ॥

Gaṇa sūtra —In the case of आचार्यभोगीनः the न is not changed into ण (VIII. 4 2.) The words do not take the affix ख when used singly. As, राज्ञोऽहितम्, आचार्याय हितम्, no affix being employed

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णढञौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वाणो वेति वक्तव्यम् * सर्वस्मै हितं सार्वम् । सर्वयिम् ॥ पुरुषादधविकारसमूहेनकृतेषु * ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगान्तनेत्यस्य द्वन्द्वमध्ये निवेशः । पुरुषस्य धध पौरुषेयः । तस्यदमित्यणि प्राप्ते । पुरुषस्य विकारः पौरुषेयः । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् इत्याञि प्राप्ते । समूहेऽप्यणि प्राप्ते । एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृता इवेति नाघः । तेनकृतेमध्येऽणि प्राप्ते अग्रन्थे तु प्रासादादावप्राप्त एवेति विवेकः ॥

1672. The affixes ण and ढञ् come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'purusha'.

Vart —The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्मै हितं = सर्वयिम् or सार्वम् ॥

Vart —The affix ढञ् comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means : 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'.

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahābhāṣhya.

Thus पुरुषस्यधध = पौरुषेयः 'man-slaughter.' Here अण् (IV. 3. 120 S 1500), is debarred. So also पुरुषस्य विकारः = पौरुषेयः "human." Here अञ् (IV. 3. 154. S 1532) is debarred.

Similarly in the sense of समूहः "crowd," as in the following line of Māgha ;—

एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृता इव ॥ Here also the अण् of तस्य समूहः is debarred.

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix अण् would have come, but this debar it. When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sūtra applies, and this ordains ढञ् as a vidhi. Thus पौरुषेयो ग्रन्थः "a human book", as opposed to अपौरुषेया वेदाः "the non-human Vedas". So also पौरुषेयः प्रासादः "a man-built palace."

१६७३ । मानवचरकाभ्यां खञ् । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

मानवाय हितं मानवीनम् । चारकीणम् ॥

1673. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'mānava', and 'charaka'.

This debars छ ॥ As माणवाय हित = माणवीनम् ॥ So also चारुकीणम् ॥

१६७४ । तदर्थविकृतेः प्रकृतौ । ५ । १ । १२ ॥

विकृतिवाचकाश्चतुर्थ्यन्तात्तदर्थ्यायां प्रकृतौ वाच्यायां छप्रत्यय स्यात् । अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि । प्राकारीया इष्टका । शङ्ख्य दाह ॥

1674. After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that.

Note.—The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product. The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive'. तदर्थ 'serviceable for that' i. e. the primitive being serviceable for the product. The word तदर्थ shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else. That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a particular product and nothing else. The word तदर्थ shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added. Some read the words तस्मै हिते also into this sūtra.

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो हितानि एतानि काष्ठानि = अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal,' so also प्राकारीया इष्टका 'bricks serviceable for making a wall'. Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V. I, I. S. 1661 Similarly शङ्ख्य दाह 'wood serviceable for a spear'.

Note:— Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto' ? Observe धानानां धानाः, धानानां सक्तवः ॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but सक्तु is the product also of other things than धाना. such as लाजा &c

Why do we say विकृते 'after a product' ? Observe वृत्कार्थः कुप, there is no affix. For कुपः 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति i. e. material cause and effect. As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed.

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive.' Observe अस्यर्था कोशी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword. The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword.

By using the words प्रकृति and विकृति it is further shown that the prakṛti is liable to modification or vikāra.

१६७५ । छदिरुपधिबलेर्दञ् ॥ ५ । १ । १३ ॥

छादिषेयाणि नृणानि । बालेयस्तण्डुलाः ॥ उपधिशब्दास्त्वार्थे इष्यते * ॥ उपधीयेत इत्युपधीः रथाङ्गं सदेव औपधेयम् ॥

1675. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'chhadis,' 'upadhi', and 'bali' denoting the product.

This debars छ. Thus छादिषेयाणि नृणानि, बालेयस्तण्डुलाः ॥

Ishti.—The affix comes after the word *रुपाधि* without changing the sense. *रुपधीयत इत्युपधि* = *रथांगम्* part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself. The word *औपधेयम्* also means the same.

१६७६ । ऋषमोपानहोऽर्थः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

रुस्थापवादः । आर्षभ्यो वस्तः । औपानह्यो मुञ्जः । चर्मण्यप्यमेव पूर्वविपत्तिर्बोधेन ।
औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

1676. The affix *इय* comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'rishabha' and 'upānah' denoting the products.

This debars *ह्र* ॥

Thus आर्षभ्यो वस्तः, औपानह्यो मुञ्जः ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather चर्म,' the affix 'nya' will come after *रुपानह्* debarring by anticipation the *अञ्* of V. I. 15 S. 1677. Thus औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

१६७७ । चर्मणोऽञ् । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मणो, या विकृतिस्तद्वाच्यकावम् स्यात् । बध्न्यै इदं वार्धं चर्म । वारधं चर्म ॥

1677. The affix *अञ्* comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather.

The word *चर्मण* in the aphorism is in the genitive case. This *अञ्* debars *ह्र* ॥ Thus वार्धं चर्म and वारधं चर्म a leather serviceable for making a 'vārdhra' and 'vāratra' i. e. a leather thong.

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

माकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात्प्राकारीया इष्टका । प्रासादीयं वारु । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्यात् प्राकारीयो देशः । इतिषाब्धौ लौकिको विवक्षामनुसारयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यादिति ॥

1678. The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syāt';—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein'.

Note —The word *सद्* shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words *अस्य* 'of it' and *अस्मिन्* 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word *स्यात्* 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word *इति*, is for the sake of distinctness.

Thus प्राकार आसाम् इष्टकानां स्यात् = प्राकारीया इष्टका, 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall'. So also प्रासादीयं वारु ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन् देशे स्यात् = प्राकारीयो देशः 'place sufficient to make a wall therein', प्रासादीया भूमिः ॥

Note 1.—The word स्यात् being in the Potential Mood (विधिलिङ्) of भव् 'to be', has the force of संभावन् 'potentiality, sufficiency' as given in Sûtras III, 3. 164. S 2811 &c. Such as when the large number of bricks makes it possible to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिदकानां स्यात् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it possible to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादोऽस्मिन्नेषो स्यात् ॥

In the examples under this sūtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sūtra V. 1. 12 S. 1674. The examples under this sūtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose. Herein lies the difference between this sūtra and the previous ones.

The repetition of the word सद् twice in this sūtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim: अनेकस्मिन् प्रत्ययार्थे प्रत्येकं समर्थं विभक्तिः संबन्धनीयः 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case'

Why there is no affixing in this case: प्रासादो वेवदत्तस्य स्यात्? The use of इति in the Sūtra would prevent this, the force of इति being that the classical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives.

१६७६ । परिखाया ढञ् । ५ । १ । १७ ॥

पारिखेयी भूमिः ॥

1679. The affix ढञ् comes, after the word 'parikhā' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'.

This debars छ ॥ Thus पारिखेयी भूमिः 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'.

Up to this Sūtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and यत्. Hereafter another affix will be taught.

Here ends the chapter on छ and यत् affixes.

—:O:—

अथ तद्धितार्हीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ARHIYA AFFIXES.

१६८० । प्राग्वतेष्टञ् । ५ । १ । १८ ॥

तेन तुल्यमिति वर्ति षड्यति तत्तः माक् षञ् अधिक्रियते ॥

1680. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 115 S. 1778. (excluding that) the affix षञ् bears rule.

Note —The affix षञ् governs all the succeeding sūtras upto तेन तुल्यक्रिया चेद्वाते, and has the senses given to it in Sûtras V. 1. 37 S. 1702 &c. Strictly speaking the affix षञ् governs only upto V. 1. 110 S. 1773 and not upto 115. Thus in V. 1. 72, the affix षञ् must be read ; as पारायणिकः, तैरायणिकः, चान्द्रायणिकः ॥

१६८१ । आर्हीदगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणदृक् । ५ । १ । १९ ॥

तदर्हतीत्येतदभिधाय्य षञ् अधिकारमध्ये षञोऽपवावृणगधिक्रियते गोपुच्छादीन्वर्जयिष्या ॥

1681. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 63 S. 1728 inclusive, the affix दृक् bears rule, 'with the exception of the word 'gopuchchha', or a Numeral, or a word denoting a measure of capacity.

Note :—Strictly speaking दृक् governs upto sūtra V. 1. 65 S. 1730. The word आर्हीदृ is made up of आ + अर्हीत् । The force of आ here is अभिविधि or inclusive, so that in the Sûtra तदर्हति (V. 1. 63.) also, the दृक् will be employed. The affix दृक् debarb षञ् ॥ The sense will be the same as given in V. 1. 37 S. 1702 &c. the difference between दृक् and षञ् being in accent only. Thus निष्कया कृति = नैष्किकम् । So also पाणिकम् ॥

१६८२ । असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । २० ॥

आर्हीदित्येतत्तेन क्रीतमिति यावत्सप्तदश सूत्राननुवर्तते । निष्कादिभ्योऽसमासे दृक् स्यादर्हीयेष्वर्थेषु । नैष्किकम् । समासे । तु षञ् ॥

1682. The affix दृक् comes after the words निष्क &c, when they are not parts of a compound, the sense of the affix being that taught in the subsequent sūtras upto V. 1. 63, S 1702.

The word आर्हीत् is understood in the sūtra also. This दृक् debarb षञ्. Thus नैष्किकम् ॥

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix ङ्ङ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + ङ्ङ् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

Note :—The following seven are nishkādi words —1 निष्क, 2 पण, 3 पाद, 4 भाज, 5. बाह; 6. द्रोण, 7. दृष्टि ॥ Drona denotes measure, śhaṣṭī denotes numeral and would have taken ङ्ङ् ॥

१६८३ । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाण्यौ । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धिः स्यात् त्रिदावौ ॥ परमनैष्किकः । असमासमहणं ज्ञापकं भवति । इतः प्राक् सन्तविधिरिति । तेन सुगन्धम् । यवापूप्यमित्यादि ॥ इत ऊर्ध्वं तु संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तमहणं प्राग्वत्तेरिष्यते तथास्तुकि ॥ पारायणिकः । द्वैपारायणिकः । बहुक्रीति किम् । द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीते द्विशर्षम् । द्विशर्षेण क्रीते शूर्पावङ् मा भूत् । किं तु ङ्ङ् । द्विशौर्षिकम् ॥ 'असंज्ञा' इति किम् । पञ्चकलापः । परिमाणस्य पञ्चकलापिकम् । तदस्य परिणाममिति ङ्ङ् ॥

1683. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicative ङ्, ए, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

Thus परमनैष्किकः ॥

The words 'asamāse etc when they are not parts of a compound' of the last sūtra are jñāpaka, indicating that in the preceding sūtras the tadanta-vidhi applied. Thus we have not only गन्ध, but सुगन्धम् also (V. 1. 2. S. 1662), not only अपूप्यम् but यवापूप्यम् also (V. 1. 4. S. 1664). But in the sūtras that follow, the tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix. As पारायणिकः and द्वैपारायणिकः ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta-vidhi does not apply as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति ।). Why do we say 'when there is no luk' Observe द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीत = द्विशर्षम् ॥ द्विशर्षेण क्रीते = द्विशौर्षिकम् with ङ्ङ् not भङ् ॥ V. 1. 26 S. 1691).

Why do we say 'when it is not a name?' Observe पञ्चकलापिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix ङ्ङ् by V. 1. 57 S. 1723.

Note :—The word परिमाण in this sūtra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense. Technically परिमाण does not include संख्या, etymologically it does. Pāṇini has used this word परिमाण in some sūtras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense. Thus in sūtras IV, 1. 22 S. 480, and V. 1. 19. S. 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sūtras IV. 8. 156, S. 1534 and V. 1. 57. S. 1723 the etymological sense is meant. Technically परिमाण means सर्वतो मातं or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as ग्रह्य. &c i. e. a cubic measure and a square measure. In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure, technically

called प्रमाण such as a वितस्त्र 'a cubit' &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called उन्मान such as पल, &c on the other side. In short उन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a lineal measure, and a संख्या is beyond all these.

Note :—Q. Is not the employment of the word असमासे in the Sūtra redundant? For by the maxim महणवता प्रतिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नोस्ति "that which cannot, possibly be anything but a prātipadika, does not, contrary to I. 1. 72, S. 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself;" the prātipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sūtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A. The employment of the word असमासे in this Sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधि I. 1. 72, S. 26 applies to the previous sūtra, while in the subsequent sūtras it does not. As उगदादिभ्यो यत् (V. 1. 2, S. 1662) the यत् applies not only to गो &c but to words ending in गो &c. As गत्यम् and तुगत्यम्, अतितुगत्यम् ॥ Not only अपूयम्, अपूरीयम् (V. 1. 4 S. 1664) but also यवापूयम् यवापूरीयम् ॥ Not only वृत् (V. 1. 6. S. 1666) but also राजद्वयम् ॥

While in the sūtras subsequent to this V. 1. 20, S. 1682 the tadanta-vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhya and that also in Sūtras upto V. 1. 115. S. 1778 and not there after as, वैपारायणिकः and वैपारायणिक (V. 1. 72, S. 1726. Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुक् the tadanta-vidhi does not apply. Thus द्वाभ्यां श्रुपार्थां कृति = द्वि श्रु + कृत् (V. 1. 18 S. 1680) = द्विश्रुपम्, (the affix being elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1698). Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्विश्रुपम्, the tadanta-vidhi will not apply. Thus द्विश्रुपेण कृत्, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta-vidhi applied, we get the affix अम् (V. 1. 26 S. 1691) in the alternative. But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix इम् V. 1. 8. S. 1669, and have द्विश्रुपिकम् ॥ Here the affix इम् is not elided by V. 1. 28, S. 1698 as there is no Dvigu compounding. The above rule is summarised in the following *ishiti* प्राक्तेः संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणमलुकि ॥

१६८४ । अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा । ७ । ३ । २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणवाचकस्योत्तरपदस्योत्प्रेक्षो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा अिति णिति किति च । अर्धग्रोणेन कृतेन अर्धग्रोणीकम् । अर्धग्रोणीकम् ॥

1684. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ज्, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धग्रोणीकम् or अर्धग्रोणीकम्, with इम् (V. 1. 18.).

*Note :—*Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe अर्धग्रोणीकम् only = अर्धकोश. प्रयोजनस्य ॥

१६८५ । नातः परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

अर्धपरस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपदस्य तु वा अितौ । अर्धप्रस्थिकम् । अर्धप्रस्थिकम् ॥ अतः किम् अर्धकौडविकम् । तपरः किम् । अर्धखार्या भवा अर्धखारी । अर्धखारीभार्य इत्यत्र वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति पुंल्लङ्घानिवेधो न स्यात् ॥

1685. When the first vowel of the second member preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or अर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. 1. 18 S. 1680) ॥ अर्धकसिक or अर्धकसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe अर्धकौडविक ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्या भव. = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. S. 840 as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.)

Note:—Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person वैयाकरणो भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणाभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 8.

१६८६ । शताच्च ठन्यतावशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

शतेन क्रीतं शतिकम् । शत्यम् । अशते किम् । शतं परिमाणस्य शतकः सङ्ख । इह प्रत्ययार्थो वस्तुतः प्रकृत्यर्थान्निमित्तः । तेन ठन्यतौ न किंतु कनेष । असमास इत्येव । द्विशतेन क्रीत द्विशतकम् ॥

1686. The affix ठन् and यत् come in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word शत when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred'.

The word आहीत् V. 1. 19 S. 1681 is understood here also. These affixes ठन् and यत् debar the affix कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. Thus शतेन क्रीतम् = शत्यम् or शतिकम् 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'.

Why do we say अशते 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe शतं परिमाणस्य = शतकनिशानम् 'a band whose measure is hundred' The word अशते qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible; for the word शत as a base must always mean 'a hundred' The following examples will illustrate the meaning; शतमध्याया परिमाणस्य ग्रन्थस्य

शतकः a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas ' In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛiti) and the sense of the affix (pratyayaṁtha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix For शतकः is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शतं 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part. Similarly शतकौ गोसयः 'a herd of cows hundred in number'. Here the सयः essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not वन् or बन् (V, 1. 58). But not so in the case of शत शतकशतः, शतिक शतकशतः, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence, and not discovered merely from the word Hence the following Vārtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽभ्यशतत्वेऽप्रतिषेधः ।

The word च in the sūtra draws in the word असमासे from the previous sūtra. Thus द्वौ च शत च = द्विशत, द्विशतेन क्रीतं = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins'. Here the affix is कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. So विशतकम् ॥ According to the 1stī given in the Sūtra VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 the tadanta-vidhi applies here.

१६८७ । संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

संख्यायाः कन् स्यादार्हीवेऽर्थे ननु त्यन्तशदन्तायाः । पञ्चभिः क्रीत पञ्चकः । बहुकः । त्यन्तायास्तु साम्तिकः । शदन्तायाः चात्वारिशतकः ॥

1687. The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with ति or शत, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728

The word आर्हीत् is to be read into this sūtra also The word संख्या is defined in I. 1. 23 S. 258 This कन् debars वम् ॥ Thus पञ्चभिः क्रीत = पञ्चकः, बहुकः, गणकः ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in ति or शत'? Observe साम्तिकः, चात्वारिशतकः formed by वम् ॥

१६८८ । वतोरिद्धा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

वसन्तात्कन इद्धा स्यात् । तावतिकः । तावरकः ॥

1688. 'The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with वत् takes optionally the augment इद्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V. 1. 62.

The words ending in वत् are संख्या; see I. 1. 23 and would consequent take कन् by V. 1. 22. The present sūtra ordains the optional affixing of इद् to this कन् ॥ Thus तावरकः Or तावतिकः ॥

१६८९ । विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां ड्वुनंसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २४ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । शाब्द्यां कन् स्यात् । शसंज्ञायां ड्वुन् स्यात्कनोऽपवादः । विंशकः, त्रिंशकः । संज्ञायां तु विंशतिकः । त्रिंशकः ॥

1689. The affix ड्बुन् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the words 'Viṅsati' and 'triṅsat' when it does not denote a Name: ann the ति and अन् of the base are dropped before this affix.

The affix कन् will be added by dividing the sūtra into two : viz (1) विशातिर्विशदभ्यां (2) ड्बुनसंज्ञायाम् , the meanings being (1) the affix 'Kan' is added to viṅsati and triṅsat , (2) The affix dvun is added to the same words, when not denoting a name.

Thus विशति + ड्बुन् = विश + भक (VI. 4. 142 S. 844) = विशकः, विशतु + ड्बुन् = विश + भक (VI. 4. 143 S. 316) = विशकः ॥

When not denoting a Name विशातिक विशक formed by affix कन् V. 1. 22.

१६९० । कंसाट्टिठन् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

टो डीबर्धः । इकार उच्चारणार्थः । कंसिकः । कंसिकी ॥ अर्धश्चोति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अर्धिकः । अर्धिकी ॥ कार्षापणाट्टिठन्वक्तव्यः प्रतिरक्षेयश्च वा * ॥ कार्षापणिकः । कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिक । प्रतिकी ॥

1690. The affix टिठन् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word कंस ॥

This debars टञ्, the anubandha टि of टिठन् shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the न् of टिठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686). Thus कंसिक fem कंसिकी ॥

Vart :—So also it must be stated after the word अर्धः; e. g. अर्धिकः अर्धिकी ॥

Vart :—So also after the word कार्षापण, e. g. कार्षापणिकः fem. कार्षापणिकी ॥ Sometimes the word प्रति is substituted for कार्षापण before this affix, as प्रतिकः, fem. प्रतिकी ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादअन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शौर्यम्, शौर्यिकम् ॥

1691. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the word 'śūrpa'.

This debars ङञ् which comes in the alternative. As, शूर्पेण क्रीतं = शौर्येण or शौर्यिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एभ्यां ङ् स्यादङ् मूढकनामपवादाः । शतमानेन क्रीतं शतमानम् । विंशतिकम् । सहस्रम् । वासनाम् ॥

1692. The affix अण् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the words 'satamâna', 'viṅśatika', 'sahasra', and 'vasana'.

This debars ढम्, ठक् and कन् ॥ Thus शतमानेन क्रीतं = शतमानम्, so also वैशतिकम्, साहस्रम् and वासनम् ॥

१६९३ । अर्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २८ ॥

अर्धपूर्वद्विगोश्च परस्यार्धस्य लुक् स्यात् । अर्धकसम् । द्विकसम् । सज्ञायां तु पाञ्चकलापिकम् ॥

1693. The affix having the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728, is elided by लुक्, after a stem beginning with the word adhyardha, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name.

The word आर्हात् is understood here also. Thus अर्धकसम्, द्विकसम्, अर्धपूर्वम्, द्विपूर्वम्, त्रिकसम्, त्रिपूर्वम् ॥ Here the affixes ङिठ् and ञ् are elided.

Note :—Though in the word द्विपूर्वम् &c the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II. 1. 51. S. 728) such as in शब्दां शर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विपूर्वम् ॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound. But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as द्विपूर्वेण क्रीतं = द्विशौरिकम् ॥ Hence the following rule : द्विगोर्लुकि तन्निमित्तमङ्गणम् ॥ See IV. 1. 88, V. 1. 20.

Why do we say असज्ञायाम् 'when not a Name' ? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम् or पाञ्चलोहितिकम् and पाञ्चकलापिकम् being names of certain measures. The feminine word लोहिनी is changed into the masculine by the Vārtika भस्यादे सङ्गिते given under VI. 3. 35. The lohni is the red seed with which gold &c. is weighed.

Note :—The word अर्धक is a Sāṅkhyā (See I. 1. 23. S. 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound. Its separate mention in this sūtra may appear superfluous. It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jñāpaka) that this word is not always a Sāṅkhyā. Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix कृत्वस्त्व (V. 4. 17. S. 2085) this word is not a sāṅkhyā.

१६९४ । विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राङ्गयाम् । ५ । १ । २९ ॥

लुक्वा स्यात् । अर्धकार्षापणम् । अर्धकार्षापणिकम् । द्विकार्षापणम् । द्विकार्षापणिकम् । औपसहस्रानिकस्य ङिठ्सां लुक् । पञ्चे अर्धप्रतिकम् । द्विप्रतिकम् । अर्धसहस्रम् । अर्धसहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

1694. The affix having the senses taught up to V. 1. 63. S. 1728 is optionally luk-elided, after the words kârshâpana, and sahasra, when they are preceded by adhyardha or are members of a Dvigu compound.

This sūtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sūtra. Thus अर्धार्धकार्षापणम् or अर्धार्धकार्षापणिकं, द्विकार्षापणम् or द्विकार्षापणिकम्, here the affix टिप् (V. 1. 25 S. 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other. When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षापण (V. 1. 25. S. 1690) अर्धार्धप्रतिकम्, द्विप्रतिकम् ॥

So also after the word सङ्ग, e. g. अर्धार्धसङ्गम् or अर्धार्धसङ्गिकम्, द्विसङ्गम् or द्विसङ्गिकम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vriddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sūtra VII. 3. 15. S. 1752.

१६६५ । द्वित्रिपूर्वाभिष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

कुम्भा स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । त्रिनिष्कम् । त्रिनैष्किकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहुनैष्किकम् ॥

1695. The Ārhiya-affix (V. 1. 63. S. 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvi and tri.

The word द्विगो. 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V. 1. 28. S. 1693 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनिष्कम् or त्रिनैष्किकम् (VII. 3. 17. S. 1683).

Vart.—So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e. g. बहुनिष्कम् or बहुनैष्किकम् ॥ The irregular Vriddhi of the second term is caused by VII. 3. 17.

१६६६ । विस्तारच्च । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वित्रिबहुपूर्वादिस्तारार्हीवस्य कुम्भा स्यात् । द्विविस्तम् । द्विविस्तिकमित्यादि ॥

1696. The ārhiya-affix (V. 1. 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvi or tri.

The word च in the sūtra draws in the words द्वित्रिपूर्वात् ॥ Thus द्विविस्तम् or द्विविस्तिकम् ॥

Note 1.—The separation of this sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१६६७ । विंशतिकात्खः । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अर्धार्धपूर्वाद्विगोरित्येव । अर्धार्धविंशतिकीनम् । द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

1667. The affix kha (ईन्) comes in the Ārhiya senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the word viṅśatika when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अर्धार्धविंशतिकीनम्, द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

Note :—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V. 1. 28.

१६६८ । खार्या ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अध्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारिकम् ॥ कौवलायाभेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ खारिकम् ॥

1698. The affix *īkan* comes in the *Ārhiya* senses (V. 1. 37-63), after the word *khārī*, when preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

Thus अध्यर्धखारीकम्, द्विखारिकम् ॥

Vdp1 :—So also after the word *खारी* alone, as *खारीकम्* ॥

१६६९ । परापादमाषशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अध्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अध्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पादः पारिती न । यस्येति लोपस्य स्यातिषज्ञावात् । पद्यत्वतदर्थे इत्यपि न । प्राण्यङ्गार्थस्यैव तत्र ग्रहणात् ॥

1699. The affix *yat* comes in the *ārhiya* senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the words *pana*, *pāda*, *māsha* and *śata* when preceded by the word *adhyardha*, or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्, so also अध्यर्धपाद्यम्, द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI- 4. 130. S. 414, because the elided अ of पाद is *sthānivat*.

Thus द्विपाद + यत् = द्विपाद् + ० (अ लोपे by यस्येतिच VI. 4. 148. S. 311) + यत् ॥ This lopa elided अ becomes *sthānivat* and द्विपाद is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद and so VI. 4. 130 S. 414 does not apply.

Nor is पाद् not changed into पद्, by VI. 3. 53. S. 991. The substitution enjoined by VI. 3. 53 takes place when पाद् means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity.

१७०० । शाणाद्या । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्यास्यभे उम् । तस्य लुक् । अध्यर्धशाण्यम् । अध्यर्धशाणम् ॥

1700. The affix *yat* comes optionally after the word *śāna* in the *ārhiya*-senses (V. 1. 63), when it is preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu.

This debar *उम्* which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V, 1. 28 S. 1693 Thus अध्यर्धशाण्यम् or अध्यर्धशाणम् ।

१७०१ । द्वित्रिपूर्वाद्यन् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शाणारित्येव । चाद्यत् । तेन त्रैलोक्यम् । परिमाणान्तस्या संज्ञाशाणयोरिति पर्युदासादिद्विचारेव । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाण्यम् । इह उमादयस्त्रयोदशमत्याः प्रकृतास्तेषां समर्थविभक्तयोऽर्थाभावात् तास्त दशानीकृत्यन्ते ॥

1701. The affix **अय** as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word **śāṇa**, in the **ārhiya**-senses (V. 1. 37-63) when preceded by the words **द्वि** and **त्रि**

The **य** comes optionally by the last sūtra and is also drawn into this by the word **च** Thus we have three forms, **द्विशाण्यम्**, **त्रिशाण्यम्** and **द्विशाण्यम्** ॥

Note :—The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII. 3. 15-17 S. 1752, 1754, 1688, does not however take place in the case of **शाण** this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII. 3. 17. The Vṛiddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII. 2. 117.

Thus in the preceding sūtras V. I. 18 to V. I. 36 thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added In the following sūtras are given the meanings and the construction.

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् । ५ । १ । ३७ ॥

ठक् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीतं गौपुच्छिकम् । सामृतिकम् । मास्थिकम् । ठक् । नैष्किकम् ॥

1702. The thirteen affixes taught in V. 1. 18-36, have the sense of " purchased with this price ", and are added to a word in the third case in construction.

The thirteen affixes **ठक्**, **ठक्**, **ठक्**, **यत्**, **कन्**, **ड्वन्**, **दिठन्**, **अम्**, **अण्**, **स्व**, **ईकम्**, **यत्**, and **अण्** have already been taught. Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added. The **तेन** shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction ; and **क्रीतम्** shows that the sense is that of ' purchased '. The illustrations have already been given in the previous sūtras. Some more may be mentioned here. Thus **गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम्** = **गौपुच्छिकम्** (the accent falling on **गौ**); so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as **सामृत्यक्रीतम्** = **सामृतिकम्**, **मास्थिकम्**, **नैष्किकम्** ॥

१७०३ । इदोण्याः । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इत्यात्तद्धितलुकि । लुकोऽपवादः । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभिः क्रीतः पदः पञ्चगोणिः ।

1703. The short **इ** is substituted in the place of **gonî**, when the Taddhita affix is elided by **luk**.

By the sūtra I. 2. 49. S. 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long **ई** of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word **गोणी** in which under similar circumstances the short **इ** replaces the long **ई**, as in the compound **पञ्चगोणिः** purchased for five **gonis**. Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of " purchased," has been

rejected after गोपो by V. 1. 28. S. 1693 therefore by the previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

*Note :—*This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पञ्चानिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चसूचिः दशसूचिः ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

संयोगः सम्बन्धः । उत्पातः शुभाशुभसूचकः । वातिकः शत्रो वा धनवतिमयोगः । वातिकं वात्वं वा वक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥ वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनबोहूपसंख्यानम् * ॥ वातस्य शमनं कोपनं वा वातिकम् । पौष्टिकम् । श्लैष्मिकम् ॥ सन्निपाताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सान्निपातिकम् ॥

1704. The above affixes have further the sense of “for its sake”, when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance.

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्तं ‘cause or occasion’ gives the sense of the affix ; संयोग means ‘a connection, or relation’ ; उत्पातः means ‘a portent indicative of good or bad luck.’ Thus शतस्य निमित्तं धनवतिना संयोगः = शत्रोः ‘a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred.’ So also वातिकः, साहसः ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तमुत्पातौ वक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् = शत्रोः, वातिकम्, साहसम् “the twitching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred” i. e. indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c.

*Vart :—*The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating. As वातिकम् ‘allaying or vitiating of windy humour.’ So also पौष्टिकम्, श्लैष्मिकम् ॥

*Vart :—*Also after the word सन्निपात, as, सान्निपातिकम् ॥

१७०५ । गोह्यचोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाभ्यादेर्यत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

गोर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातौ वा गह्यः । ह्यश्च, धन्यः । यशस्यः । स्वर्ग्यः । गोह्यश्च किम् । विजयश्च वैजयिकः । असंख्येत्यादि किम् । पञ्चानां पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । मासिकम् । खारीकम् । अम्बादि, आम्बिकम् । आदिमकम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षसाहुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षस्यम् ॥

1705. After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or aśva &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of ‘a relation or a portent for the purpose of that’.

This debars' डञ् ॥ As गो निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = गैश्च: 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow.' So also after a word of two syllables, as, द्वैश्चः, स्वैर्वा, वयैर्वा ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्च &c"? Observe पञ्चानां निमित्तं = पञ्चकम्, सप्तकम्, अष्टकम्; मास्य-कम्, सारीकम्, आश्विकः formed by V. 1. 22, 18, 19

Vart:—The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated: e g. ब्रह्मवर्चसस्व निमित्तं श्रुत्या संयोगः = ब्रह्मवर्चसम् "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahnavarchasa."

1 अश्च, 2 अश्चम्, 3 गण, 4 कर्ण, 5 उमा, 6 गङ्गा (भङ्ग भङ्गा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वसु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ च । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

चायत् । पुत्रीव । पुत्र्य ॥

1706. After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that.'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken चत् by the last aphorism. This ordains छ also Thus पुत्रस्व नितित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = पुत्रीव. or पुत्र्य ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणजौ । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः । सर्वभूमिषाब्धोऽनुशतिकादिषु पच्यते ॥

1707. The affixes अण् and अञ् are respectively added to the words sarvabhūmi and prithivî, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose"

This debars डक् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा = सार्वभौमः, so also पार्थिवः ॥ In सार्वभौमः there is Vpiddhi of both members of the compound by VII. 3. 20. S. 1438.

१७०८ । तस्येश्वरः । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivî, are added the same affixes अण् and अञ् respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof".

Note:—Thus सर्वभूमीश्वरः = सार्वभौमः 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिवः the lord of the earth'

Note:—The word तस्य, showing the genitive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was running into it from V. 1. 38 S. 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V. 1. 38 do not extend further.

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word ईश्वर. would have been an attribute, like the words संज्ञेय and इत्यात, of the word निमित्तः ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमीश्वरः सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः ॥

1709. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivi, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, when the sense is that of "known therein".

The word विदितः means known, published &c. सर्वभूमौ विदितः = सार्वभौमः "known in the whole world." So also पार्थिवः ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकादृञ् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिकः । अत्रुपातिकारित्वादुभयपदवाप्तिः । सार्वलौकिकः ॥

1710. The affix thañ comes in the sense of 'known therein', after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction.

Thus लोके विदितः = लौकिकः, सार्वलौकिकः ॥ The irregular Vṛiddhi of both members takes place by VII. 3. 20 S. 1438.

१७११ । तस्य वापः । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

अप्यन्ते अस्मिन्निति वापः क्षेत्रम् । प्रत्यस्य वापः प्रास्थिकम् । ब्रौणिकम् । खारीकम् ॥

1711. The above mentioned affixes (V. 1. 18 &c) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'sown with so much'

The word वापः means 'sown therein' i. e. a field. Thus प्रत्यस्य वापः क्षेत्रम् = प्रास्थिकम् 'sown with a Prastha', ब्रौणिकम्, खारीकम्, i. e. a field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Drona or a Khāri.

१७१२ । पात्रात् छन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वापः क्षेत्रं प्रास्थिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

1712. The affix shthan comes in the sense of 'sown with so much', after the word pātra.

This debars छञ् ॥ The न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197 , S. 3686) the ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The word पात्र denotes a measure of capacity. Thus पात्रस्यवापः = प्रास्थिकं क्षेत्रम्, sem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्नुद्गायताभशुल्कोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयते इत्यादि क्रमेण प्रत्येकं संबन्धादेकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धिः आद्यः लाभः शुल्कः उपदा वा दीयते पञ्चकः । शतिकः । शत्यः । सादसः । उत्तमार्जेन मुक्तातिरिक्तं भाग्यं वृद्धिः । आमाविषु स्वामि-
भ्राह्मो भाग आद्य । विक्रेता मूल्याधिकं प्राप्तं लाभः । रक्षानिर्वहो राजभाग शुल्कः । उत्कोच उपदा ॥
चतुर्थ्यं उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्ध्यादिदीयते पञ्चको देवदत्तः । सममब्राह्मणे दानमिति वृद्धिकस्य-
त्वविषयो वा ॥

1713. The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of "an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that".

The affix is added to a word in the first case (तद्) in construction. The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्). The word दीयते 'is given' in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धि, आद्य &c. The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest. The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c. is called आद्य or rent. The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c. is called लाभ or profit. The share of the king for protection &c. is called शुल्क or tax. The present or bribe is called उपदा ॥ Thus पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धिर्वा आद्यो वा लाभो वा शुल्को वा दीयते = पञ्चकः 'that transaction &c. in which five percent is given as interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe'. Similarly शत्यः, शतिकः, सादसः &c.

Vart:—So also in the sense of a Dative. As पञ्चास्मै वृद्धिर्वा आद्यो वा लाभो वा उपदा दीयते = पञ्चको देवदत्तः "Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as interest &c". This Vartika may be redundant, if we take the locative as some-
time having the force of dative also. As in the sentence सममब्राह्मणे दानम् ॥

१७१४ । पुरणार्धाट्ठन् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

अथाक्रमं षट्ठिनोरपवादः । द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिकः । तृतीयिकः । अर्थिकः ।
अर्धशब्दो रूपकस्यार्थे कृत् । ॥

1714. The affix than comes in the same sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein" after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word ardha.

This debars षट्ठ् and ट्ठन् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिकः, तृतीयिकः, अर्थिकः, सप्तमिकः, अष्टमिकः ॥ The word अर्ध is technically the name of रूपकार्थः ॥

१७१५ । भागाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

आट्ठन् । भागशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्थे कृत् । भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते भाग्यं भागिकं शतम् ।
भाग्यं भागिका विशालिः ॥

1715. The affix yat (य्) comes after the word bhâga in the sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein."

By the word च्च in the sūtra उन् also comes. This debars इङ् ॥ Thus भागो वृद्धाविरस्मिन् वीयते = भाग्य or भागिक वासव; भाग्या or भागिका विंशतिः ॥ The word वाग also denotes रूपकार्थ ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति बहुत्यावहति भाराङ्गशादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

वशादिभ्यः परो यो भारशब्दस्तदन्त यश्चातिपठिकं तत्प्रकृतिकावृद्धितीयास्तादित्यर्थः । वंशभारं हरति बहुत्यावहति वा वांशभारिकः । ऐक्षुभारिक । भाराङ्गशादिभ्य इत्यस्य उवाचान्तर भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्वंशान् हरति वांशिकः । ऐक्षुकः ॥

1716. The above mentioned affixes, after the word भार preceded by the word वंश &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'.

The case in construction here is accusative (तद्) ॥ Thus वंशभारं हरति, वहति आहवति वा वांशभारिकः, ऐक्षुभारिकः ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase भाराङ् वंशादिभ्यः is explained as भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्यः ॥ Then the sūtra will mean "the above named affixes come after वंश &c. when they denote a load". Thus भारभूतान् वंशान् हरति = वांशिकः, ऐक्षुकः ॥

Note.—The word हरति means 'to carry to another place or to steal'; वहति means 'to carry on ones back or head,' आवहति means, 'to produce or bring.'

1 वंश, 2 कुटज, 3 शल्पज, 4 मूल, 5 स्थुणा, (स्थुन) 6 अक्ष, 7 अक्षमन्, 8 अक्ष, 9 लक्षज, 10 वज्र, 11 लङ्का ॥

१७१७ । यज्जद्रव्याभ्यां ठन्कजौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

यथास्तथ्य स्तः । यज्ज हरति बहुत्यावहति वा यज्जिकः । द्रव्यकः ॥

1717. The affixes than and kan come respectively after the words vasma and dravya, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c'.

Thus यज्जं हरति वहति वा = यज्जिकः, द्रव्यकः ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

प्रस्थं समव्रति प्रास्थिकः कदाहः । प्रस्थं स्वस्मिन्समावेशयतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्थिकी ब्राह्मणी । प्रस्थमवहरति पचति वेत्यर्थः ॥ तत्पचतीति त्रौणादण् च * ॥ चाङ् । त्रौण पचतीति त्रौणी । त्रौणिकी ॥

1718. The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that; or takes away that, or cooks that."

The word तद् is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative. The word संभव means the capacity to hold the exact quantity; अवहार means 'taking

away, or containing'. Thus प्रस्थं संभवति = प्रास्थिकः 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure.' So प्रस्थमवहरति or पचति = प्रास्थिकः 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure.' Similarly क्षीरविकः and खारीकः ॥ The word संभव does not govern the word पचति, thus प्रस्थं पचति ब्राह्मणः = प्रास्थिकी Brāhmanī who cooks a Prastha.'

Vari :—The affix अण् also comes after the word क्षीण in the sense of 'who cooks that,' e. g. क्षीणं पचति ब्राह्मणी = क्षीणी or क्षीणिकी ॥

१७१९ । आढकाचितपात्रास्त्रोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

यद्ये ङम् । आढकं संभवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिकी । आचितीना । आचितिकी । पात्रीणा । पात्रिकी ॥

1719. The affix kha (ईन) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c, after the word āḍhaka, āchita, and pātra.

This ख debaris ङम् which comes in the alternative. Thus आढकं संभवति, अवहरति पचति वा = आढकीना or आढकिकी, आचितीना or आचितिकी, पात्रीणा or पात्रिकी ॥

१७२० । द्विगोः द्विष । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादिवेष । आढकाद्यन्ताद्विगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु द्विष्यौ वा स्तः । पचो ङम् । तस्याप्यर्थेति लुक् । द्वित्वान्द्विष । आढकिकी । आढकीना । द्विगोरिति ङीप् । आढकी । आचितिकी । आचितीना । अपरिमाणेति ङीप्निषेधात् । आचिता । द्विपात्रिकी । द्विपात्रीणा द्विपात्री ॥

1720. The affix shṭhan as well as the affix ख (ईन) may optionally come, after the same words āḍhaka, āchita, and pātra, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c.

The ख is read into the sūtra by the word च of the aphorism. These two affixes ख and ङम् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix ङम्, then it is elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. The ङ् of ङम् is for accent (VI. 1. 19 S. 2645), and the प् for ङीप् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms ;—आढकिकी, आढकीना, or आढकी ; आचितिकी, आचितीना, आचिता ॥ In this case of आचिता the feminine is not formed by ङीप् (IV. 1, 21. S. 479) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV. 1. 22, S. 480. So also द्विपात्रिकी, द्विपात्रीणा and द्विपात्री ॥

१७२१ । कुलिजाल्लुक्खी च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्ताद्विगो संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु लुक्ख्यौ वा स्तः । खात् ङम् । लुगभावे ङम् अवयवम् । द्विकुलिजी । द्विकुलिजिकी । द्विकुलिजीना । द्विकुलिजिकी ॥

1721. After the word kulija, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (ख), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By च the affix ठन् is also added. The elision being optional, the affix वम् V. 1. 18 S. 1680 may *optionally* be elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693. Thus we get *four* forms : द्विकुलिजिकी (इन्), द्विकुलिजिना (ख), द्विकुलिजो (वम् लुक्), द्विकुलिजिकी (ठन्) ॥ In the last example, there is not viddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII. 3. 17.S. 1683. The anomaly is explained by holding that the word कुलिज should be included in the exception along with संज्ञा and शाय of VII. 3. 17.

१७२२ सोऽस्यांशवस्त्वभृतयः । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अशो भागः । अर्धं मुख्यम् । अतिर्वेत्तनम् । पञ्च अशो वस्त्वो अतिर्वेत्तनं पञ्चकः ॥

1722. The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have also the sense of 'this is his portion, price or pay.'

The सः shows that the case in construction is nominative. The word अंश means 'share,' वस्त्व means 'price,' अति means 'wages.' Thus पञ्च अशो वस्त्वो वा अतिर्वेत्तनं = पञ्चकः 'whose portion, price or pay is five.'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

प्रथमं परिमाणमस्य प्रास्थिको राशिः ॥

1723. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have the sense of "this is its measure."

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case. Thus प्रथ. परिमाणमस्य = प्रास्थिको राशि 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha.' So also क्षारीकः, क्षयः, क्षतिकः, साहस्र, द्वैजिका, कौडिकः, वार्षातिकः, वार्षसहस्रिकः ॥ So also अष्टिर्जीवित परिमाणमस्य = वाष्टिकः, द्विसप्ततिकः ॥

Note:—Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sūtra, when their anuvritti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word सोऽस्य and तदस्य being the same ? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V. 1. 28 S. 1693 does not apply. Thus द्वैजिर्जीवितपरिमाणमस्य = द्विवाष्टिकः, द्विसप्ततिकः ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V. 1. 24.

१७२४ । संख्यायाः संज्ञासङ्ख्यसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रमनुवसते । तत्र संज्ञायां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययो वाच्यः । यद्वा ह्येकयोरिति वस्त्वसंख्यामात्रवृत्तेः परिमाणानि प्रत्ययः । पञ्चवै पञ्चकाः शकुनयः । पञ्च परिमाणमेषामिति वा । सङ्ख्ये पञ्चकः । सूत्र अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् । सङ्ख्यस्य प्राणिसमूहे रूढत्वात्सूत्रं पृथगुपात्तम् । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोत्रे उवाचि * ॥ पञ्चदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य पञ्चदश । सप्तदश । एकविंशः । सोमयागेषु छर्त्तनैः क्रियमाणा पृथग्वैदिकानि स्तुतिः स्तोमः ॥

1724. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1893 &c come after a word denoting a numeral, in the sense of "this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of study.

The phrase *सदस्य परिमाणम्* is understood here. The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case. When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical. Thus *पञ्चका* = *पञ्च*, 'the Five' as *पञ्चका शकुनः*; *त्रिका* 'the Three' 'शालङ्कायनाः ॥' The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a *संघ* 'a multitude or flock' as *पञ्चकः संघः*, *अष्टकः* ॥ So also when it means a *सूत्र* 'a Book', as *अष्टाव-
ध्यातः परिमाणस्य सूत्रस्य* = *अष्टक पाणिनीयम्* 'The Ashtaka of Pāṇini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyāyas'. So also *पञ्चकं वैशाखपदीयम्*, *त्रिकम् काशकृत्तनम्* ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyāyas the same as *संघः*? No, the word *संघः* is confined to a collection of living beings only.

The word *अध्ययन* means 'study'. Its numerical measure (*संख्या परिमाण*) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read. Thus *पञ्चकोऽधीतः* 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes *सप्तकोऽधीतः*, so also *अष्टकः* ॥ *नवकः* ॥

Vārt :—The affix *ङ* comes after the words *पञ्चदश* &c, when the word means a Stoma. As, *पञ्चदश मन्त्राः परिमाणस्य* = *पञ्चदश स्तोमः*, *सप्तदश स्तोमः* &c. The indicatory *ङ* causes the elision of final (*दि*) by VI. 4. 143, S. 316 in the cases of words like *एकविंशः* &c. In the case of *पञ्चदश* the *न्* is elided by VI. 4. 144. S. 679. Stoma is the praise-hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests at the soma-sacrifice. A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in *sapta-daśa stoma* the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses. Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have *pancha-daśa stoma*. When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes *eka vimśa stoma* &c.

१७२५ । पङ्क्तिर्विंशतित्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् ।

५ । १ । ५६ ॥

एते कठिशब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

1725. The following words are anomalous : *pañkti* 'a verse', *vinśati* 'twenty', *triṅśat* 'thirty', *chatvāriṅśat* 'forty', *pañchāśat* 'fifty', *shashthi* 'sixty', *saptati* 'seventy', *aśīti* 'eighty', *navati* 'ninety', and *śata* 'a hundred'.

Note :—The words *सदस्य परिमाणम्* are understood here also : *पङ्क्ति* is formed by adding *सि* to *पञ्च*, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', i. e. a half quarter consisting of 5 syllables. The word *विंशति* is formed by adding *शानिच* to the word *विन्* which replaces the two word *द्वय-*

दशतः as दशती परिमाणस्य संघस्य = विंशतिः ॥ So the affix दशत comes after दश representing अष्टोदशतः ; so for चतुर्विंशतः we have चत्वारिंशत् and then add दशत्, similarly with पञ्चदशत् ॥ Similarly with the rest.

Note :—All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kāśikā Kāra, and hence it is omitted.

Note :—The word वंक्ति also means 'a line'. As ब्राह्मणवन्क्तिः, विपीलिका वंक्तिः ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology.

१७२६ । पञ्चदशती वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणस्य पञ्चदशतः । दशत् । पक्षे पञ्चकः । दशकः ॥

1726. The word pañchat and dasat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'.

This ordains इति instead of कन् V. 1. 22, which also comes in the alternative. As पञ्चदशतः, दशदशतः or पञ्चकोवर्गः, दशकोवर्गः ॥

१७२७ । त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतो ब्राह्मणे संख्यायां डात् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणनेषां ब्राह्मणानां त्रैशानि । आख्यायिकानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727. The affix दाप् comes after the words triṅśat and chatvâriṅśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brāhmaṇa-book.

The word वर्ग does not govern this sūtra. The indicatory इ causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it (VI. 4. 143. S. 316). The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिधेय and not विषय, i. e. when the word means a Brāhmaṇa itself. Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brāhmaṇa literature'. As त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणनेषां ब्राह्मणानां = त्रैशानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brāhmaṇa containing thirty Adhyāyas'. So आख्यायिकानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brāhmaṇas.

१७२८ । तद्वर्हति । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

लघु यो ग्यो भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीयान्तादप्राप्य ह्युः । श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति श्वेतच्छत्रिकः ॥

1728. The affixes V. 1. 18. S. 1680 &c, have also the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The case in construction here is accusative. Thus श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति = श्वेतच्छत्रिकः "who deserves the White Umbrella".

१७२९ । छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

नित्यमाभीक्ष्यम् । छेदं नित्यमर्हति छेदिको वेतसः । छिन्नमरुदन्वात् ॥ विरागं विरजं च * ॥ विरागं नित्यमर्हति वैरजिकाः ॥

1729 After the words छेद &c in the second case in construction, the above-mentioned affixes have the sense of "who deserves that under all circumstances".

Thus छद् नित्यमर्हति = छद्दिकः, so also वैरञ्जिकः ॥

1 छद्, 2 भेद, 3 ब्रह्म, 4 द्यौः, 5 वर्त (वर्त), 6 कर्ष, 7 तीर्थ*, 8 संप्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग, 10 प्रयाण*, 11 विमर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 समञ्ज, 14 विमञ्ज* 15 विकर्ष*, 16 प्रकर्ष*, 17 विरान विरञ्ज च (from विरान is formed वैरञ्जिक), ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शिरश्छेद नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्यः । शीर्षच्छेदिकः । यद्वक्तोः सन्नियोगेन शिरसः शीर्षभावे निपात्यते ॥

1730. The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śirshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'.

Thus शिरश्छेद नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्यः, or शीर्षच्छेदिकः ॥ The word शिरस् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix.

१७३१ । दण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

एभ्यो यत् स्यात् । दण्डमर्हति दण्डयः । अर्घ्यः । वध्यः ॥

1731. After the words daṇḍa &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The word नित्य does not govern this sūtra. This य debars ङक् V. 1. 19. S. 1681. Thus दण्डमर्हति = दण्डय 'deserving to be killed'. अर्घ्यः, वध्यः ॥

1 दण्ड, 2 दण्ड, 3 मनुष्यार्क, 4 कक्षा, 5 अर्घ्य, 6 मेघ, 7 मेघा, 8 सुवर्ण*, 9 उदक, 10 वध, 11 युग, 12 युगा, 13 भाग, 14 इय, 15 मङ्ग*, ॥

Note :- The Kāśikā gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यो यः ; another version gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यः only drawing the affix यत् from the last sūtra.

१७३२ । पात्रात् घञ्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

आद्यत् तवर्हतीत्यर्थः । पात्रियः । पात्रयः ॥

1732. The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pātra.

This debars ङक् and ङम् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also. Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्रयः or पात्रियः ॥

१७३३ । कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

आद्यत् । कडं करोतीति विमहे अत एव निपातनात् खञ् । कडङ्करं माषमुत्राविकाष्ठमर्हतीति कडङ्करीयो गौः । कडङ्कर्यः । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीयः । दक्षिणयः ॥

1733. The affix chhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kaḍaṅkara and dakṣhiṇā

This debars ङक् ॥ Thus कडङ्करमर्हति = कडङ्करीयः or कडङ्कर्यः 'one deserving straw' such as a cow. So also दक्षिणीयः or दक्षिणयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana deserving alms.'

१७३४ । स्थालीबिलात् । ५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीबिलमर्हति स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुलाः । स्थालीबिल्या । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थः ॥

1734. The affixes *chha* (ईय) and *yat* (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word *sthālībīla*.

This debars ङक् ॥ Thus स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुलाः or स्थालीबिल्या 'rice deserving the pot' i. e. cookable rice.

१७३५ । यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां यज्जम् । ५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यथासंख्यं स्तः । यज्ञपृथ्विज वाऽर्हति यज्ञियः । आर्त्विजीनो यजमानः ॥ यज्ञत्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्माहं-
हीत्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ यज्ञियो वेशः । आर्त्विजीन क्त्वयेक् ॥

1735. The affixes *gha* and *खञ्* come respectively after the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, in the sense 'of deserving that.'

This debars ङक् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana worthy of honor at a sacrifice.' आर्त्विजीनो ब्राह्मणः ॥

Var. —After the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof". Thus यज्ञकर्माहंति = यज्ञियो वेशः 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice.' क्त्वयेक् कर्माहंति = आर्त्विजीन ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of ङक् V, 1, 19. S. 1681 hence forward is the government of ङक् V. 1. 18.

अथ तद्धित ठञधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AFFIX ठञ् ।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायणं वर्तयति पारायणिकश्छात्रः । तुरायणं यज्ञविशेषः । त वर्तयति तैरायणिको यजमानः ।

1736. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words *pârâyana*, *turâyana* and *chân-drâyana* being in the 2nd case in construction.

The force of *भवेति* ceases. Thus पारायणिकश्छात्रः, a pupil, who reads under a teacher : तैरायणिको यजमानः, चाग्नेययज्ञिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, (परस्व करोति) ॥

१७३७ । संशयमापन्नः । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

संशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थः सांशयिकः ॥

1737. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after the word *sansaya* in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it".

Thus संशयमापन्नः प्राप्तः = सांशयिकः स्यात्तुः " a doubtful pillar ", i. e. in a precarious state.

१७३८ । योजनं गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

योजनिकः । कौशशतयोजनशतयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ कौशशतं गच्छति कौशशतिकः । योजनशतिकः ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ कौशशताशभिगमनमर्हतीति कौशशतिको भिक्षुः । योजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

1738. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word *yojana* in the accusative construction.

Thus योजनं गच्छति = योजनिकः ॥

Vart :—So also after the words कौशशत and योजनशत ॥ As कौशशतिकः योजनशतिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix after these two words means also " who is worthy to be approached from so far ". As कौशशताशभिगमनमर्हति = कौशशतिको भिक्षुः योजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

१७३९ । पथः ष्कन् । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

पथो ङीष्पथः । पन्थानं गच्छति पथिकः । पथिकी ॥

1739. The affix shkan comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word patha, being in the 2nd case in construction.

Of the affix क्त्वं, ष् is for डीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). and ष् for accent (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686). As पन्थानं गच्छति = वैधिक fem पथिकी ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति पन्थः । पान्था ॥

1740. The affix na comes after the word pantha which becomes the substitute of pathin, the sense of the affix being "who always goes"

The word नित्य qualifies the sense, of the affix. Thus पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति = पान्थ as पान्थो भिक्षां याचते ॥ Why नित्यं ? See पथिकः ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनाहतं च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनाहतं औत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिकः ॥ आहतप्रकरणे वारिज्जल स्थलकान्तारपूर्वाहुपसंख्यानम् ॥ * वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741. The affix ठञ् comes, after the word uttara-patha in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way.'

The construction of the sūtra shows that the base must be in the 3rd case. The word च shows that the word गच्छति 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism. Thus उत्तरपथेनाहतं = औत्तरपथिकम् or उत्तरपथेन गच्छति = औत्तरपथिकः ॥

Var1:—So also after the word पथ preceded by the words वारि, अज्जल, स्थल, कान्तार the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way. As वारिपथेनाहतः = वारिपथिकम्, वारिपथेन गच्छति = वारिपथिकः masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing.

१७४२ । कालात् । ५ । १ । ७८ ॥

घुटादिभ्योऽणित्यतः प्रागधिकारीऽयम् ॥

1742. In the following sūtras, the phrase "after a word denoting time" should be supplied to complete the sense.

The word कालात् bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V. 1. 97. S. 1761 exclusive. Thus the next sūtra तेन निर्वृत्तम् means 'accomplished by means thereof'. We must read the word काल into it. As मासेन निर्वृत्तम् = मासिकम् &c.

१७४३ । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

अद्वा निर्वृत्तमाहिकम् ॥

1743. The affix *thañ* comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time".

Thus अद्वा निर्वृत्त = आहिकम् "to be accomplished in a day" i.e. a certain portion of reading &c, आर्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥

१७४४ । तमधीष्ठोभृतोभावी । ५ । १ । ८० ॥

अधीष्टः सत्कृत्य व्यापारितः । भृतो वेतनेन कृतः । भूतः स्वसत्तया व्याप्तकालः । भावी तादृशत्वात् नागतः कालः । मासमधीष्ठो मासिकोऽध्यापकः । मास भृतो मासिक कर्मकरः । मासं भृतो मासिको व्याधिः । मास भावी मासिक उत्सवः ॥

1744. The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long".

The word अधीष्ठः means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III. 3. 161, भृतः means "engaged on wages", भूतः means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and भावी the same as last in the future. The word denoting time will be in the second case by II. 3. 5 S. 558. Thus मासमधीष्टः = मासिकोऽध्यापकः, so also मासंभृतः = मासिकः कर्मकरः, मासंभृतः = मासिको व्याधिः, मासंभावी = मासिक उत्सवः ॥

१७४५ । मासाद्वयसि यत्कञ्जौ । ५ । १ । ८१ ॥

मासं भृतो मास्य । मासीनः ॥

1745. The affixes *yat* and *khañ* come after the word *māsa*, in denoting 'age'

This debars उञ् ॥ The word भृतः of the previous sūtra should be read into this. Thus मासंभृतः = मास्यः or मासीनः 'a month old'.

Note :—Why do we say when denoting 'age' ? Observe मासिकः ॥

१७४६ । द्विगोर्यप् । ५ । १ । ८२ ॥

मासाद्वयसीत्यनुवर्तते । द्वौ मासौ भृतो द्विमास्यः ॥

1746. The affix *yap* comes after the word *māsa* when forming a Dvigu compound ; and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासौ भृतः = द्विमास्यः, त्रिमास्यः ॥

१७४७ । षण्मासाण्यञ्च । ५ । १ । ८३ ॥

वयस्यैव । यव्यनुवर्तते । चाङ् । षण्मास्य । षण्मास्यः । षण्मासिकः ॥

1747. After the word shanmāsa, come the affixes nyat as well as यप् and ङञ्, in the sense of 'age'.

The word vayasī is understood here. So also the affix यप् ॥ By force of च we draw in ङञ् also.

Thus षण्मास्यः, षण्मास्यः, and षण्मासिकः ॥

१७४८ । अत्रयसि ङञ्च । ५ । १ । ८४ ॥

चाण्यत् । षण्मासिको व्याधिः । षण्मास्यः ॥

1748. The affix than comes also after the word shanmāsa, when 'age' is not meant.

The च draws in the affix ण्यत् also. 'Thus षण्मासिको व्याधिः or षण्मास्यः 'a disease lasting six months'.

१७४९ । समायाः खः । ५ । १ । ८५ ॥

समामधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा समीनः ॥

1749. The affix kha (ईन) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word samā.

This debars ङञ् ॥ Thus समामधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = समीनः ॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is तेन निर्वृत्त V. 1. 79, S. 174; as समया निर्वृत्त = समीनः ॥

१७५० । द्विगोर्वा । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

समायाः ख इत्येव । तेन परिच्येत्यतः प्राङ्निर्वृत्ताविधु पञ्चस्वर्थेषु प्रत्ययाः । द्विसमीनः । द्वैसमिकः ॥

1750. The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V. 1. 79. 80 S. 1743 and 1744 after the word Samā, forming a Dvigu.

In the alternative ङञ् will also apply. Upto sūtra V. 1. 93. S. 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S. 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S. 1744) Thus द्विसमीनः or द्वैसमिकः ॥ Then Vārtika taught in V. 1. 20 (प्राग्वते सयथापूर्वपदानां तदन्तमहणमलुकि) applies here also. Thus द्वैमासीनः or द्वैमासिकः, त्रिमासीनः, or त्रैमासिकः ॥

१७५१ । रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्च । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

द्विगोरित्येव । द्विरात्रीणः । द्वैरात्रिकः । द्व्यह्नीनः । द्वैयद्विकः । समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वात् ङञ् । द्विसंवत्सरीय ॥

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses (V. 1. 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744) after the words *râtri*, *ahan*, and *samvatsara*, occasioning a Dvigu.

The word dvigu is understood in this sūtra.

In the alternative डम् will also come. Thus द्विसात्रीणः, द्विसात्रिकः, द्व्यहीनः VI. 4. 145 S. 789 or द्वयद्विकः ॥ The samāsānta affix not being universally applicable, we have no डच् ॥ द्विसंवत्सरीणः, द्विसंवत्सरिकः VII. 3. 15. S. 1752. This form gets the irregular vṛiddhi by the following.

१७५२ । संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च । ७ । ३ । १५ ॥

संख्याया उत्तरपक्षस्य वृद्धिः स्याद् अत्रादौ । द्विसंवत्सरिकः । द्वे षष्ठी भूतो द्विषाष्टिकः । संख्यायाः परिमाणान्तस्येतेव सिद्धे सप्तस्तमस्य परिमाणग्रहणे कालपरिमाणस्याग्रहणार्थम् । तेन द्वैतमिक इत्युत्तरपक्षवृद्धिर्न ॥

1752. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसंवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो or भावी (V. 1, 80 S. 1744) द्विषाष्टिकः = द्वे षष्ठी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ The words द्वि, षष्ठी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16 S. 1754). and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under *kālādhikāra* (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII. 3. 17 S. 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than *samvatsara*, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way as द्वैतमिकः ॥

Note :—Similarly in sūtra IV. 1. 22, S. 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III. 2, 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general

१७५३ । वर्षाल्लुक् च । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्ताद्विगोवां लः । पक्षे डम् वा च लुक् । वीणि रूपाणि । द्विवर्षीणो व्याधिः । द्विवर्षिकः । द्विवर्ष ॥

1753. The above affixes kha and thaḥ may also be elided after a Dvigu ending in varshā.

The affix ण् as well as डम् come in the five fold senses V. 1. 79, 80, after the word वर्ष forming a Dvigu ; and these two affixes may also be elided optionally. Thus we have three forms, द्विवर्षीणो, द्विवर्षिको or द्विवर्षो व्याधिः 'a disease that lasted two years'. (Compare VII. 3. 16, S. 1754. but when the

sense is that of भावी, the form will be द्वैवर्षिकः ॥) To get this irregular vṛiddhi, the following sūtra applies.

१७५४ । वर्षस्याभविष्यति । ७ । ३ । १६ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् । द्विवर्षिकः । भविष्यति तु द्वैवर्षिकः । अधीष्टतयोरभविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न । गम्यते हि तत्र भविष्यत्ता न तु तद्धितार्थः । द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

1754. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवर्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भूत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= श्रीणि वर्षाणि मार्गः) ॥ The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भूत (V. 1. 80 S. 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥ Here VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 applies and it causes the vṛiddhi of the second member. This sūtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

हो कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य द्विकौडविकः । द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं द्विसौवर्णिकम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । असतेति किम् । पञ्च कपालः परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकपालिकम् । तद्धितान्तः सज्ञा । द्वैशाणम् । कुलिजः शब्दमपि केचित्पठन्ति । द्वैकुलिजिकः ॥

1754 A. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As हो कुडवा प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविकः (V. 1. 109 S. 1772) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V. 1. 37 S. 1702), द्विसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29. S. 1694. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, द्विनैष्किकम् (V. 1. 30 S. 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चकपालानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30 S. 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वैशाणम् ॥ द्वैशाणम् formed with भण (V. 1. 35 S. 1700 and 36 S. 1701). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिजः is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 S. 1721) द्वैकुलिजे वेदप्रयोजनम् ॥

१७५५ । चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्तादिर्दिगोः प्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लुक् स्यात् चेतने प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विवर्षो दारकः ॥

1755. The affixes meaning "accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80" are necessarily elided after the word varshâ forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason.

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional. Thus द्विवर्षो दारकः 'a boy two years old'.

Note.—Why do we say चित्तवति "when meaning endowed with reason"? Observe द्विवर्षीणो व्याधिः ॥

१७५६ । षष्टिकाः षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

बहुवचनमतन्त्रम् । षष्टिको धान्यविशेषः । तृतीयान्तात्कम् राजशब्दलोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

1756. The anomalously formed word shashtîkâh has the meaning of "what are matured in six nights".

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sūtra.

The word षष्टिकाः may be said to be formed by adding कम् to षष्टिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being 'matured'. Thus षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते = षष्टिका. 'a kind of barley'. It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days.

१७५७ । तेन परिजय्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम् । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

मासेन परिजय्यो जेतुं शक्यो मासिको व्याधिः । मासेन लभ्यं कार्यं सुकरं वा मासिकम् ॥

1757. The affix त्हां comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of "to be subdued", "to be gained or attained", "to be completed" and "to be easily completed in that time".

Thus मासेन परिजय्य (शक्यते जेतुं) = मासिको व्याधिः, मासेन लभ्यम् कार्यं or सुकरम् मासिकम् ॥

१७५८ । तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५ । १ । ८९ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कालवाचिनोऽस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । मास ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । भार्धमासिकः । यद्वा प्रथमान्तादस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः । मासोऽस्येति मासिक ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्न्यादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यन्तेभ्यः उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ महानाम्न्यो नाम विदामघवन्नित्याद्या ऋचः । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य महानाम्निकः । हरदत्तस्तु भस्माढ इति पुत्रज्ञावान्माहानामिक इत्याह ॥ चतुर्मासाराप्यो यज्ञे तत्र भव इत्यर्थे * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु भवन्ति चातुर्मास्यानि यज्ञकर्माणि ॥ सज्ञाथामण् * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु वसति चातुर्मासी शाखावी । अण्णन्तत्याज्डीप् ॥

1758. The affix *than* comes after a word of time in the sense of "an abstinence that lasts so long" or "who practises abstinence so long".

The word तद् shows that the word must be in the accusative case: अस्य shows the force of the affix. ब्रह्मचर्यः joins both. Thus मासं ब्रह्मचर्यस्य = मासिको ब्रह्मचारी "who practises abstinence for a month". So also आर्धमासिकः, सांवत्सरिकः ॥ The second case is by II. 3. 5. S. 558.

Another explanation is, the affix *than* comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period. As मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्यस्य = मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम् "an abstinence lasting for a month". आर्धमासिकं, सांवत्सरिकं ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself. Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions.

Vart :—So also after the words महानामी &c in the genitive construction. As महानामिकः। Mahānāmni are certain Rik verses. But Haradatta gives the form महानामिकः by applying the rule of masculinisation of the Vartika मस्याडे (VI. 3, 35. S. 836) In this case VI. 4. 144. S. 679 causes the elision of णि ॥

After these words, the affix means also 'who practises that'. As महानामीश्चरति = महानामिकः, आदित्यव्रतिकः, गौडानिकः ॥ महानामी + ङम् = महानामन् + ङम् (VI. 3. 35. S. 836 Vart) = महानामिकः (VI. 4. 144 S. 679).

Note :—The affix ङिनि comes after the words अवान्तरदीक्षा &c, in the sense of 'who practises'. As अवान्तरदीक्षांश्चरति = अवान्तरदीक्षी, तिलव्रतित् ॥

Note :—The affixes ड्वुन् and ङिनि come after the word अष्टचत्वारिंशत्, as अष्टचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि व्रतंश्चरति = अष्टचत्वारिंशकः or अष्टचत्वारिंशित् ॥

Note :—The same affixes comes after the words चतुर्मास्य &c, the final य being elided. As चतुर्मास्यानि चरति = चातुर्मासकः or चातुर्मासित् ॥

Vart :—The affix एय comes after चतुर्मास, in the sense of 'produced there'. As चतुर्थु मासेषु भवानि = चातुर्मास्यानि ॥ It refers to a sacrifice

Vart :—The affix अण् comes, when it is a Name, as चतुर्थु मासेषु भवा = चातुर्मासी पौर्णमासी ॥ So also बाबाही, कार्तिकी, फाल्गुनी ॥ The feminine डीप् is added because it is an अण् formed word.

१७५९ । तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

द्वादशाहस्य दक्षिणा द्वादशाहिकी । आख्यामहणादकालादपि । आग्निष्टोमिकी । वाजपेयिकी ॥

1759. The affix *than*, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of "the fee thereof".

As द्वादशाहस्य दक्षिणा = द्वादशाहिकी । So also आग्निष्टोमस्य दक्षिणा = आग्निष्टोमिकी, वाजपेयिकी ॥

The word उच्यते in the sūtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice-denoting words which do not express time (V. 1. 78 S. 1742). Had it not been used, the sūtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as एकाह, द्वादशाह which are time-denoting words as well. The Vārtika in V. 1. 20, S. 1682 would apply to द्वादशाह, &c. Some texts do not read च in the sūtra.

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्ये भववत् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्रावृषि दीयते कार्ये वा प्रावृषेऽप्यम शारदम् ॥

1760. The affixes having the sense of भव (IV. 3. 53, S. 1428, IV. 3. 11 S. 1381) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of “ what is given in that, and what is done in that ”.

As प्रावृषि दीयते or कार्ये = प्रावृषेऽप्यम (IV. 3. 17. S. 1388) शारदम् (IV. 3. 16, S. 1387). All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons. The words वत् in भववत् means that all the rules of तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53, S. 1428) apply here.

This sūtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sūtra, as तत्र च दीयते, यज्ञाख्येभ्य, as आग्निहोमिकं भक्त, राजसूयिकम्, वाजपेयिकम् ॥ Here ends the section on Time-affixes.

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्ये वा वैयष्टम् । व्युष्ट, तीर्थ, सभाम, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761. The affix अण् comes after the words व्युष्ट &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of “ being given therein or done therein ”.

Thus व्युष्टे दीयते कार्ये वा = वैयष्टम्, नैत्यम् ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 नित्य, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेशन, 5 उपसक्रमण, 6 तीर्थ, 7 अस्तरण (आस्तरण), 8 सभाम, 9 संघात; 10 आग्निपद, 11 पीलुमूल (पीलु, मूल) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 संभ्रम, 15 दीर्घ, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाञ्च हस्ताभ्यां ण्यतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाञ्चेत्यव्ययवातात्तृतीयान्ताद्धस्तशब्दाच्च यथासंख्य ण्यतौ स्तः ॥ अर्थाभ्यां तु यथासंख्य नैष्यत ॥ यथाकथा च दीयते कार्ये वा यथाकथाञ्चम् । अनादरेण देवं कार्यं वेत्यर्थः । इस्तेन दीयते कार्ये वा इत्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes ण and यत् come respectively after the words yathâ-kathâ-cha, and hasta, being in the third case in construction, having the sense of what is “ given or is done in this way or with this ”.

The words दीयते and कार्य apply to both; the rule of यथासेख्यः (I. 3. 10 S. 128) not applying to it. The word यथा कथाच is an Indeclinable, meaning contempt. Of course this word cannot take any case-affix, it therefore only gives the sense of third case. As यथाकथाच दीयते कार्ये वा = यथाकथाचम् ; given with contempt or done with contempt, हस्तेन दीयते कार्ये वा = हस्तम् ॥

१७६३ । संपादिनि । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

इम् । तेनेत्येव । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि कार्यवेष्टकिकं हुलम् । कर्णालंकाराभ्यामवश्यं शोभत इत्यर्थः ॥

1763. The affix *thañ* comes after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of "fitted for that".

The word संपादिन् means 'suitable, proper, fit.' The word संपादिन् is formed by adding णिनि to संपद्, the force of the affix being that of necessity (III. 3. 170 S. 3311). as कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि हुलम् = कर्णवेष्टकिकं हुलम् 'a face fit for ear-rings' which becomes beautified by ear ornaments &c. वाक्शयुगिकम् शरीरम् i. e. वक्त्रयुगेन विशेषतः शोभते ॥

१७६४ । कर्मवेषाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०० ॥

कर्मणा संपादि कर्मण्यं शौर्यम् । वेषेण संपादि वेष्यो नटः । वेषः कृत्रिम आकारः ॥

1764. The affix *yat* (य) comes in the sense of "being fitted with that", after the words *karma* and *vesha*, in the third-case in construction.

This debars *thañ*. कर्मणा संपद्यते = कर्मण्यं शौर्यम्, वेषेण संपद्यते = वेष्यो नटः ॥ 'Vesha' means artificial appearance, i. e. disguise.

१७६५ । तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । १०१ ॥

सन्तापाय प्रभवति सान्तापिकः । सांभानिकः ॥

1765. The affix *thañ* comes after the words *santāpa* &c in the dative construction, in the sense of "what is able to effect that".

The word प्रभवति means 'able, capable'. The dative here has the force of *अलम्* (II. 3. 16 S. 583). As, सन्तापाय प्रभवति = सन्तापिकः, सांभानिक

1 संताप, 2 संताह, 3 सपाम, 4 सयोग, 5 संपराय, 6 संवेदान, 7 संपेय, 8 निष्पेय, 9 सर्ग, 10 निःसर्ग, 11 विसर्ग, 12 उपसर्ग, 13 प्रवास, 14 उपवास, 15 संचाल, 16 संवेष्ट, 17 सवाङ् 18 संमोदन, 19 सक्तु, 20 मांसोदनादिगृहीतादि, 21 असर्ग, ॥

१७६६ । योगाय । ५ । १ । १०२ ॥

आहम् । योगाय प्रभवति योग्यः । योगिकः ॥

1766. The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga.

By force of the word च 'and' the affix ठञ् also applies. Thus योगाय प्रभवति = योग्य' or योगिक' ॥

१७६७ । कर्मण उक्ञ् । ५ । १ । १०३ ॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कार्मुकम् ॥

1767. The affix ukañ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'

This debars ठञ्. As कर्मणेप्रभवति = कार्मुक धतुः ॥ This word कार्मुकम् means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else

१७६८ । समयस्तदस्य प्राप्तम् । ५ । १ । १०४ ॥

समया प्राप्तेऽस्य सामयिकम् ॥

1768. The affix thañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it"

Thus सामयिकं कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'.

१७६९ । ऋतोरण् । ५ । १ । १०५ ॥

ऋतुः प्राप्तेऽस्य आर्त्तवम् ॥

1769. The affix an comes after the word ritu, meaning "that has come for it".

As ऋतुःप्राप्तेऽस्य = आर्त्तवं पुष्पम् (Guna by VI. 4. 146 S. 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived",

१७७० । कालाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

कालः प्राप्तेऽस्य काल्य शीतम् ॥

1770. The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'.

As काल्य शीतं ॥ See VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

१७७१ । प्रकृष्टे ठञ् । ५ । १ । १०८ ॥

कालादित्येव । तदस्येति च । प्रकृष्टो दीर्घः कालोऽस्येति कालिक धैरम् ॥

1771. The affix thañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding".

As प्रकृष्टो कालोऽस्य = कालिकघणम् "long-standing debt". कालिकम् धैरम् "long-standing enmity"

In this sūtra काल and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word प्राप्तम् ।

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

तदस्येत्येष । इन्द्रमहं प्रयोजनमस्य ऐन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजनं कलं कारणं च ॥

1772. The affix *thāñ* comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this".

As इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य = ऐन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजन means fruit or cause.

१७७३ । विशाखाषाढादगमन्थदण्डयोः । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

आभ्यामण् स्यात्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रमाभ्यन्थदण्डयोरर्थयोः । विशाखा प्रयोजनमस्य वैशाखो मन्थः । आषाढो दण्डः ॥ चूडादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ चूडा, चौडम् । अद्वा, आद्धम् ॥

1773. The affix *an* comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words *visākṣhā*, and *ashāḍhā*, when the derivative of the first is combined with *मन्थ* and that of the second with *दण्ड* ॥

As वैशाखो मन्थः, आषाढो दण्डः ॥

Var. —So also after the words चूडा &c. As चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य = चौडम्, अद्वा प्रयोजनमस्य = आद्धम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774. The affix *Chha* (ईय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words *अनुप्रवचन* &c.

This debars ङम् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य = अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उत्थापन, 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संवेक्षण, 5 प्रवेक्षण, 6 अनुप्रवेक्षण, 7 अनुवासन, 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 शान्दारोहण, 11 प्रारम्भण, 12 आरम्भण, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुवेक्षण, 15 अनुवाचन, 16 प्ररोहण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदान् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

व्याकरणसमापनं प्रयोजनमस्य व्याकरणसमापनीयम् ॥

1775. The affix *Chha* comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the word *samâpana*, when it has a word in composition preceding it.

This debars ङम् ॥ Thus व्याकरणं समापनं प्रयोजनमस्य = व्याकरणं समापनीयम् ॥

Notes—The specific mention of the word पद in the aphorism indicates that the rule will not apply when a word other than a 'pada,' such as the affix 'bahuch,' V. 3. 68, S. 2023 precedes the word *Samâpana*.

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकद् चौरै । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमसद्वायमगारं प्रयोजनमस्य दुष्टविधौ । स ऐकागारिकश्चौरः ॥

1776. The word ऐकागारिकद् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'.

The feminine will be in डीप् ॥ Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य—ऐकागारिकः fem. की ॥

Note:—This word can be regularly formed by डम्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief. When any other thing is designated, it will not take this affix. Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य भिक्षाः, here there will be no affixing. The feminine moreover will be in डीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इकद् with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the first syllable.

१७७७ । आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालावाद्यन्तैः यस्येत्याकालिकः । समानकालस्याकाल आवेशः । आद्यु विनाशीत्यर्थः । पूर्वादिनि मध्याह्नादाद्युत्पन्न विनान्तरे तत्रैव नश्वर इति वा ॥ आकालाद्वंश * ॥ आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

1777. The word ākālīkaṭ is irregularly formed in the sense of "what coincides with the beginning and the end i. e. what lasts only an instant".

The word आकाल is substituted for समानकाल ॥ Thus आकालिकः स्तनयितुः 'a thunder lasting for an instant'. आकालिकी विद्युत्—"a lightening lasting a twinkle". i. e. whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born.

Vart:—The affixes डन् and डम् also come after आकाल, as आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix डम् V, 1, 18.

अथ तद्धित तत्त्वजधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXV.

AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION,

१७७८ । तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवदधीते । क्रिया चेद्वतिः क्तिन् । पुत्रेतुल्ये मा भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः ॥

1778. The affix vati (वत्) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of “like that”, when the meaning is ‘similarity of action’.

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं वर्तते = ब्राह्मणवत्, as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say “action”? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in ‘quality’. As पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः “as big as the son”.

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् सुप्ते प्राकारः । चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गावः ॥

1779. The affix vati comes also in the sense of “like what is there in or thereof”.

As मथुरायामिव = मथुरावत् ‘like that in Mathura’, as मथुरावत् सुप्ते प्राकारः, चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गावः &c.

१७८० । तद्वर्हम् । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिमर्हति विधिवत् पूज्यते । क्रियामवयवं मरुद्भक्त्युत्पत्त्यनुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ॥

1780. The affix “vati” comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of “befitting that or suited to that”

Thus विधिमर्हति = विधिवत् पूज्यते “respected as god”. The word kriyā should be read into this sūtra from V. 1. 115, S. 1778, by ‘frog-leap’ anuvṛitti, for it is not to be read in S. 1779.

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति छत्रम् “the umbrella as befits a king”.

१७८१ । तस्य भावस्त्यतलौ । ५ । १ । ११८ ॥

प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारो भावः । गोर्भावो गोत्वम् । गोता । त्वान्तं क्लीबं, तलन्तं स्त्रियाम् ।

1781. The affixes tva and tal come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of “the nature thereof”

As गोर्भावः = गोस्त्वम् or गोता ॥ The word formed by tva is of Neuter gender, that formed by tal is feminine.

१७८२ । आ च त्वात् । ५ । १ । १२० ॥

ब्रह्मणास्त्व इत्यतः प्राक् स्वतन्त्रावधिक्रियेते । अपवादः सह समावेशार्थः । गुणवचनादिभ्यः कर्मणि विधानार्थं चेदम् । चकारो नञ् लम्भ्यामपि समावेशार्थः । स्त्रिया भावः स्त्रीणम् । स्त्रीत्वम् । स्त्रीता । पौलम् । पुंसम् । पुस्ता ॥

1782. From this forward as far as the aphorism V. 1. 136, S. 1801 the affixes त्व and तल् bear rule.

Thus in V. 1. 122, S. 1784 त्व and तल् are read, giving the forms पृथुत्वम् and पृथुता &c. This rule is intended to secure admission for these two affixes notwithstanding the bars in the shape of subsequent aphorisms directing the employment of other affixes. These affixes signify, in addition to भाव (nature), कर्म (action) also, in V. 1. 124 S. 1788. The word च in the aphorism is intended to secure their admission notwithstanding the affixes नञ् and लम् (VI. 1. 87 S. 69). Thus स्त्रियाः भावः = स्त्रीणम्, स्त्रीत्वम्, स्त्रीता 'the nature of a female'. पुंस्त्वम्, पुस्ता, पौलम् ॥

१७८३ । न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषावचतुरसंगतलवणवदयुधकतरसलसेक्यः । ५ । १ । १२१ ॥

इतः परं ये भावप्रत्ययास्ते नञ्त्तत्पुरुषात् तत्पुरुषादीन्वर्जयित्वा । अपतित्वम् । अपदुत्वम् । नञ्पूर्वात्किम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । तत्पुरुषात्किम् । नास्य पदवः सन्तीत्यपदुस्तस्य भावः आपदवम् । अचतुरेति किम् । आचतुर्यम् । आसङ्गत्यम् । आलवण्यम् । आवयम् । आयुध्यम् । आकलयम् । आरस्यम् । आलस्यम् ॥

1783. The affixes denoting 'nature', taught hereafter, do not come after a Tatpurusha compound formed by the negative particle नञ्, with the exception of the following :—chatura, saṅgata, lavana, vaṭa, budha, kata, rasa, and lasa.

Thus the words अपति and अपदु will have two forms only i. e. अपतित्वम् or अपतिता, अपदुत्वम् or अपदुता ॥

Note.—While by V. 1. 128, S. 1793 other compounds will have यक् also, as सैनपत्यम् ॥ An exception to this is आचिदुर्ग (VII. 2. 25 S. 3065), as used by the author himself.

Why do we say नञ् पूर्वात् " a Tatpurusha whose first member is नञ् " Observe बार्हस्पत्यम्, राजापत्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a Tatpurusha ?' Observe, when the word अपदु is a Bahuvrīhi compound meaning नास्य पदवः सन्ति, its derivative will be आपदवम्, ॥

So also the compounds of चतुर &c, with नञ् e. g. आचतुर्वन्, आसंगलम्, आलवण्यम्, आवदयम्, आवुध्यम्, आकत्यम्, आरस्यम्, आलस्यम् ॥ In some texts, there is युध instead of बुध ॥

१७८४ । पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिच्वा । ५ । १ । १२२ ॥

वाचचनमयादिसमावेशार्थम् ॥

1784. The affix imanich (इमन्) comes optionally in the sense of 'nature', after the words prithu &c.

The word वा 'optionally' is employed with the intention of securing admission for the affixes ञ् &c. Thus पृथु + इमन् । Now applies the following

१७८५ । र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः । ६ । ४ । १६१ ॥

हलादेर्लघोर्लकारस्य रः स्यात् इमेनेयस्तु ॥

1785. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and इयन्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus पृथु इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् । Now applies the following.

१७८६ । टेः । ६ । ४ । १५५ ॥

मस्य देर्लोपः स्यादिष्टेनेयस्तु । पृथोर्भावः प्रथिमा । पार्थवम् । अदिमा । मार्तवम् ॥

1786. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and इयन् follow.

Thus पृथोर्भावः = प्रथिमन् nom प्रथिमा (पृथु + इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् VI. 4. 161 = प्रथ् + इमन् VI. 4. 155 = प्रथिमा), or पार्थवम् by V. I. 131. S. 1796 So also अदिमा or मार्तवम् ॥ The र of पृथु and इदु is elided by the present Sūtra and र is substituted for ऋ by VI. 4, 161. S. 1785. Of course, the affixes स्व and तञ् come here also as, पृथुस्वम्, इदुस्वम्, पृथुता, इदुता ॥

1 पृथु, 2 इदु, 3 महन्, 4 पट्, 5 तनु, 6 लघु, 7 बहु, 8 साधु, 9 आशु, (आशु¹), 10 चरु (ऊरु), 11 रुद्र 12 बहुल, 13 खण्ड, 14 दण्ड, 15 खण्ड, 16 अकिंचन, 17 बाल*, 18 होड, 19 पाक, 20 वस्त्र, 21 मन्त्र, 22 स्वादु, 23 ह्रस्व, 24 शीर्ष, 25 मिय, 26 वृष, 27 ऋजु, 28 सिम, 29 ध्रुव, 30 जणु*, 31 वेणु (1).

१७८७ । वर्णद्वयादिभ्यः श्यञ्च । ५ । १ । १२३ ॥

चादिमानिष । शौक्ल्यम् । शुक्लिमा । वा र्षम् । *

पृथुपृथुभक्तकृशद्वपयिषूढानानेव रस्यम् । * द्रहिमा । यो ङीवर्षा । श्रीचित्ती । यथाकामी ॥

1787. The affix shyan also comes, as well as imanich after a word denoting colour, and after the words driḍha &c, in the sense of 'nature thereof'.

Thus शुक्लस्य भावः = शौक्ल्यम्, शुक्लमन्, शुक्लस्य, शुक्लताः ॥ काष्ठस्य, कृषिमन्, कृष्यम्, कृष्यता, वाढस्य, वृद्धिमन् (nom. मा), वृद्धस्य, वृद्धता ॥

The व् of व्यञ् shows that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV 1 41). As शौचित्यः fem. शौचित्ती (VI. 4. 148. and 150 S 311 and 472). So also यथाकामी ॥

Vart.—The following are the six words which substitute र for ऋ under VI. 4. 161. S. 1785 वृधु, वृहु, धृश, कृश, दृढ, परिवृढ, ॥ Thus वृद्धिमा ॥

Note—It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, भानु, भानु, &c as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥ See. III. 1 21, S. 2677.

१७८८ । गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्यः कर्मणि च । ५ । १ । १२४ ॥

आज्ञाये । जडस्य कर्म भावो वा जाड्यम् । मूढस्य भावः कर्म वा मीढ्यम् । ब्राह्मण्यम् ॥ *

अर्हतो लुप् च ॥ अर्हतो भावः कर्म वा आर्हन्त्यम् । आर्हन्ती । ब्राह्मणादिराकृतिगयाः ॥

1788. The same affix *shyañ* has after a word expressive of quality, and after Brâhmana &c, the sense of 'the activity or occupation of something or some one.'

The च in the aphorism is employed with the intention of including भाव or "nature" The word कर्म denotes activity. जडस्य भावः कर्म वा = जाड्यम् ॥ So also मीढ्यम्, ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम् ॥

This class of ब्राह्मण &c is *ākṛitigana* i. e. the fact of a word belonging to which is known only from the forms met with in writers of authority.

Vart :—The augment लुप् is added to अर्हेत् when it takes the affix व्यञ् ॥ Thus the activity or nature of अर्हेत् will be आर्हन्त्यम् fem आर्हन्ती the य is elided by VI. 4. 150 S. 472.

The words अथातथ and अथापुर् preceded by the negative particle अ, i. e. the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर् belong to the Brâhmanādi class. They also take व्यञ्; the vṛiddhi in their case is governed by the following sūtra.

१७८९ । यथातथयथापुर्योः पर्यायेण । ७ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नञः पर्योरेतयोः । पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पर्यायेणादेरेचो वृद्धिर्मिवावौ । अयथातथाभावः अयथातथ्यम्, अयथातथ्यम् । अयथापुर्त्यम् । अयथापुर्त्यम् । आवावसमाप्तिर्भावनकर्माधिकारः ॥ अतुर्वर्णादीनां स्वाय उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अत्वारो वर्णाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यम् । आतुराश्रम्यम् । त्रैत्यम् । बाह्यम् । सैन्यम् । साम्रिध्यम् । सामीप्यम् । शौपम्यम् । त्रैलोक्यमित्यादि । सर्वे देवाः सर्वदेवास्तानधीते सर्वदेहः । सर्वदेहिरिति लुक् । स एव सार्वभौमः । अतुर्वर्ण्योभयपदवृद्धिम् * ॥ अतुरो वेदानधीते अतुर्वेदः स एव आतुर्वेद्यः । अतुर्विद्यस्येति पाठान्तरम् । अतुर्विद्य एव आतुर्वेद्यः ॥

1789. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर् may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged.; and when these words are vṛiddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आनयातप्यम् or अनयातप्यम्, आयथापुर्वम् or अयाथापुर्वम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds are exhibited as यथातप and यथापुर and are Avy-ayibhāvas (II. 1. 7. S 661), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुर are shortened.

The words भाव and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three.

Vārt —The affix does not change the sense in चातुर्वर्ण्य &c, as चत्वार एव वर्णाः = चातुर्वर्ण्यम्, ॥ चतुराश्रयम्, वैश्वर्यम्, पाङ्गुण्यम्, सैन्यम्, सान्निध्यम्, सामीप्यम्, औपम्यम् त्रैलोक्यम् ॥ &c.

So also सर्ववेदाः = सर्ववेदः. All Vedas. One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk-elided by the vārtika under IV. 2. 60 S. 1270. This word सर्ववेद takes the affix व्यम् without any change of sense. As सार्ववेद्यः

Vārt —There is vṛiddhi of both members of the compound चतुर्वेदः 'who studies four Vedas' before श्याप्. As चतुर्वेद + व्यम् = चातुर्वेद्यः ॥ Instead of चतुर्वेदस्य, another reading of this Vārtika is चतुर्विद्यस्य thus चतुर्विद्य + व्यम् = चातुर्वेद्यः । चतुर्वेदः is formed from विद्या by अण् luk elision (IV. 1. 88. S. 1080), चतुर्विद्यः by ङक् elision (IV. 2 60 S. 1270. vārt).

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यन्तलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

मेति संघातमङ्गणम् । स्तेन चौर्ये पञ्चाद्यच् । स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म वा स्तेयम् । स्तेनाविति योगं विभज्य स्तेन्यमिति व्यमन्तमपि केचिद्विच्छन्ति ॥

1790. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "nature thereof or action thereof", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix.

The न in the sūtra is taken in its composite form, i. e. न् + अ ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न् N only. The word स्तेन is formed by अच् of पञ्चादि class.

Note :—Had न of the sūtra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + व्यम् = स्तेन् + य (the अ is elided by VI. 4 148. S. 311), Here the elided अ becomes sthānivat by I. 1. 57 S 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sūtra, we have स्ते + ० + ० + य ॥ The elided अ would cause the ए to be changed to अय &c the form would be स्तय ॥ Hence the whole syllable न् is elided by this sūtra and not separately by the application of S. 311 and this sūtra.

As स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म वा = स्तेयम् ॥ Some divide the sūtra into two स्तेनात् व्यम् भवति (2) ततो यन्त लोपश्च, as स्तेन्यम् and स्तेयम् ॥

१७९१ । स्तन्युर्यः । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सख्युर्भावे कर्म वा सख्यम् ॥ दूतवणिग्भ्यां च * ॥ दूतस्य भावः कर्म वा दूतम् । वणिज्भवमिति काशिका ॥ माधवस्तु वणिज्भावाच्च स्वभावान् स्वीकृतिः । भाव एव चायं प्रत्ययान्न तु कर्मणीत्याह । नाम्ने तु दूतवणिग्भ्यां चेति नास्त्येव । ब्राह्मणादिस्वाध्यायिज्यमपि ॥

1791. The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सख्यम् 'friendship'.

Vārt—So also after the words, दूत and वणिक्, as दूतम् ॥ According to Kāśikā we have वणिज्यम् ॥ Mādhava says "वणिज्या is inherently feminine. The affix ṣhyañ is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action." In the Bhāṣya this vārtika is not at all found. The word वणिज्यम् is formed by V 1 124, S. 1788 वणिक belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class.

१७८२ । कपिज्ञात्योर्देक् । ५ । १ । १२७ ॥

कपेयम् । ज्ञातेयम् ॥

1792. The affix ḍhak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jñāti.

Thus कपेर्भावे कर्म वा = कपेयम्, ज्ञातेयम् ॥ The rule of यथासंख्य (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply any where under this head.

१७८३ । पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् । ५ । १ । १२८ ॥

सैनपत्यम् । पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजाऽस्ते * ॥ राजशब्दोऽसमासे यक् लभते इत्यर्थः । राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा राज्यम् । समासे तु ब्राह्मणादिस्वात् व्यञ् । आधिराज्यम् ॥

1793. The affix yak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c

Thus सैनपतेर्भावे कर्म वा = सैनपत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राज्यम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजास्ते (भसमासे, राजन् अस्ते), 3 ग्रामिक (समाधिक), 4 विण्डिक, 5 सुहित *, 6 बाल, 7 मन्द, 8 खण्डिक, 9 वण्डिक, 10 वर्मिक (वर्मिन), 11 कर्मिक, 12 धर्मिक *, 13 शिलिक (शीलिक), 14 सूतिक, 15 मूलिक, 16 तिलक (तिलिका), 17 अञ्जलिक, 18 अज्जनिक, (भज्जनिक), 19 कृषिक, 20 पुत्रिक (पुत्रक), 21 अदिक*, 22 क्षत्रिक, 23 पक्षिक*, 24 पथिक (पथिका), 25 अमिक, 26 प्रतिक, 27 सारथि (सारथक), 28 आस्तिक*, 29 सूचिक, 30 संरक्ष*, 31 सूचक (संरक्षसूचक), 32 नास्तिक*, 33 अजानिक, 34 शाक्य (राक्ष्य), 35 नागर*, 36 चूडिक, 37 एविक, 38 तिलिक, 39 स्तनिक, 40 चूडितिक, 41 कृषिक, 42 पृथिक, 43 पत्रिक, 44 सलिक, 45 पक्षिक, 46 जलिक, 47 शर्मिक, 48 तिष्ठिक, 49 प्राचिक, 50 प्रविक, 51 परिषिक, 52 पूजनिक, 53 मूलिक, 54 स्वरिक ॥

G. Vārt—The word rājan gets yak augment when not in a compound As राज्यम् "the nature or action of the king-royal". In the compound it will take ṣhyañ of the Brāhmaṇādi class." As अधिराज्यम् ॥

१७९४ । प्राणभृज्जातिथयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ् । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

प्राणभृज्जाति । आम्भम् । औष्ट्रम् । वसोवचनम् । कौमारम् । कैशोरम् । औशाजम् । औनेचम् । सौष्ठवम् । दौष्टवम् ॥

1794. The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after udgātri &c.

Thus आम्भस्य भावः कर्म वा = आम्भम्, औष्ट्रम्, कौमारम्, कैशोरम्, औशाजम्, औनेचम् ॥ सौष्ठवम्, दौष्टवम् ॥

1 उद्गात्रम्, 2 उनेत्रम्, 3 मनिहर्तृ, 4 प्रशास्त्रम्, 5 होत्रम्, 6 पोत्रम्, 7 वर्तृ, (कर्तृ), 8 रथगणक, 9 पत्तिगणक (पत्तिगणक पत्तिगणक), 10 सुष्टु, 11 दुष्टु, 12 अष्टवर्तु, 13 वधू, 14 पुमग मन्त्रे ॥ In the Mantra literature subhaga takes षञ्, as महते सौभाग्य; sometimes there is no अञ् as सौभाग्य मन्त्रे दत्वाय ॥

१७९५ । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽञ् । ५ । १ । १३० ॥

हैहायनम् । वैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्थाविरम् । श्रोत्रियस्य यलोपम् ॥ औचम् । कुशलचपल-
निपुणपिशुनकुतूहलक्षेत्रज्ञा युवादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पच्यन्ते । कौशलम् । कौशलमित्यादि ॥

1795. The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in hāyana, and after yuvana &c.

Thus हिहायनस्य भावः कर्म वा = हैहायनम्, वैहायनम्; यौवनम्, स्थाविरम् ॥

Gana-Vart.—The य of श्रोत्रिय is elided, as श्रोत्रियस्य भावः कर्म वा = औचम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 स्थाविर, 3 होत्रम्, 4 यजमान, 5 पुरुषासे (पुरुष असमासे), 6 भ्रातृ (भ्रातृ), 7 कुतुक (कतक), 8 अमण (अणम), 9 कटुक*, 10 कमण्डलु, 11 कुक्षी, 12 सुक्षी, 13 दुक्षी, 14 सुहृदय, 15 दुहृदय, 16 सुहृद्, 17 दुहृद्, 18 सुभ्रातृ, 19 दुभ्रातृ, 20 वृषल, 21 परिव्राजक, 22 सव्यह्यचारिन्, 23 अनृशस, 24 हृदयासे (हृदय असमासे), 25 कुशल, 26 चपल, 27 निपुण, 28 पिशुन, 29 कुतूहल, 30 क्षेत्रज्ञ, 31 श्रोत्रियस्य यलोपम्, 32 यातृ, 33 कृतक, 34 कुचुक, 35 कन्दुक, 36 मिथुन, 37 कुल्ली, 38 महत्, 39 कितव, 40 पोतः ॥

The word कुशल, चपल, निपुण, पिशुन, कुतूहल and क्षेत्रज्ञ belong both to the Yuvādi and Brāhmanādi class. As कौशलस्य or कौशलम् &c.

१७९६ । हगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

शुचेर्भावः कर्म वा औचम् । मौनम् । कथं काव्यम् । कविशब्दस्य ब्राह्मणादिस्वास्थ्यम् ॥

1796. The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof,' after a stem ending in इक् (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or ऋ or ए), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light.

Thus शुचेर्भावः कर्म वा = औचम्, मौनम् (शुनि) (Why do we say लघुपूर्वात् 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe कण्डुत्वम्, पण्डुत्वम्) ॥ Why काव्यम् from कवि ? The word कवि takes यञ् as belonging to the Brāhmanādi class V. 1. 124.

१७९७ । योपधाद्गुरुपौत्तमाद्वुञ् । ५ । १ । १३२ ॥

रामणीयकम् । आभिधानीयकम् । सहाय्याद्वा * साहाय्यम् । साहायकम्

1797. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is *ञ्*, and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy.

Note :—The word *इपौत्तमं* means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more. That word whose penultimate syllable is *गुरु* 'heavy' is called *गुरुपौत्तमम्*; the *योपधा* means 'having penultimate *ञ्*' ॥

Thus *रामणीयकम्* from *रामणीय*, *आभिधानीयकम्* ।

Note :—Why do we say "the penultimate letter being *ञ्*" ? Observe *विमानस्य* from *विमान* ॥

Note .—Why do say *गुरुपौत्तमं* "the penultimate syllable being heavy" ? Witness *सचिवस्यम्* ॥

Vat :—Optionally so after the word *सहाय* ; as *साहायकम्* and *साहाय्यम्* ॥

Note .—The words *इपौत्तम्* and *इपधा* should be distinguished the first means penultimate syllable (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables), and the second means penultimate letter.

१७९८ । द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । १ । १३३ ॥

शैव्योपाध्यायिका । मानोज्ञकम् ॥

1798. The affix *vun* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words *manojna* &c.

Thus *गोपालपशुपालानां भावः कर्म वा* = *गोपालपशुपालिका* । *शैव्योपाध्यायिका*, *मानोज्ञकम्* ।

1 मनोज्ञ, 2 विथरूप, 3 अभिरूप, 4 कल्याण, 5 मेधाविन्, 6 भाष्य, 7 कुलपुत्र, 8 छान्दस, 9 छान्द, 10 श्रोत्रिय, 11 चोर, 12 धूर्त, 13 विश्वदेव (वैश्वदेव), 14 युवन, 15 कुपुत्र *, 16 ग्रामपुत्र, 17 ग्रामकुलाल*, 18 ग्रामघण्ट (ग्रामखण्ड), 19 ग्रामकुमार, 20 सुकुमार, 21 बहुल, 22 अवश्यपुत्र (अवश्य) 23 अष्टव्यपत्र, 24 अष्टव्यकुल, 25 सारपत्र, *, 26 सप्तपुत्र, 27 कुशल, 28 अहोपुरुष ॥

१७९९ । गोत्रचरणाच्छ्रुताघात्याकारतद्वेतेषु । ५ । १ । १३४ ॥

अत्याकारोऽधिकेपः । तद्वेतेषु गोत्रचरणयोर्भावकर्मणीप्राप्तः । अवगतवान्वा । गार्गिकया श्लाघते । गार्ग्यत्वेन विकल्पत इत्यर्थः । गार्गिकयाऽव्याकुलते । गार्गिकामवेतः । कावकेन श्लाघते ॥

1799. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a family-name (Gotra), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof).

Note :—The word श्लाघा means boasting; अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेतः means तद् प्राप्त 'who has gained that; or तद् ज्ञः 'who inquires that'. The word, तत् refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तद् वेत्त. means "who has obtained that or who has known that".

To take first श्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाश्लाघते or काठिकया श्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Kaṭha". To take अत्याकार as गार्गिकयात्याकुर्वते, काठिकयात्याकुर्वते "he manifests contempt upon another because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Kaṭha". To take तद् वेत्ता as गार्गिकमवेत्त or काठिकमवेत्त = प्राप्त. or अवगतवान् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observe गग्येत्स्वम्, कटस्वम् ॥ The य of गार्ग्य is elided in the above examples by VI. 4 148 & VI. 4 151.

१८०० । होत्राश्च यत् । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होत्राशब्दः ऋषिग्वर्ची स्त्रीलिङ्गः । बहुवचनविशेषमङ्गणम् । अश्लाघावाक्यस्य भावः कर्म वा अश्लाघावाक्यम् । नैत्रावरणीयम् ॥

1800. The affix chha (ईय) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing Hotrā priests.

The word hotrā is feminine and denotes a kind of priest. होत्राभ्यः is plural, to prevent the application of I. 1. 68 S. 25, therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrā derived from हु + हुन् meaning a rityaj

Thus आश्लाघावाक्यम्, नैत्रावरणीयम्, ब्राह्मणाश्लक्षणीयम्, आग्नीध्रीयम्, प्रतिपस्थात्रीयम्, मेष्ट्रीयम्, पोत्रीयम् ।

१८०१ । ब्रह्मणस्त्वः । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होत्रावाचिनो ब्रह्मशब्दोत्त्वः स्यात् । कृत्यापवादः । ब्रह्मणस्त्वम् । नेति वाच्ये स्ववचनं ततो बाधनोर्थम् । ब्राह्मणपर्यायाद्ब्रह्मशब्दाच्च स्वतन्त्रौ । ब्रह्मणस्त्वम् । ब्रह्मता ॥

1801. The affix tva (त्व) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word Brahman, denoting a kind of Hotrā priest.

This debars छ ॥ Thus ब्रह्मणो भावः कर्म वा = ब्रह्मणस्त्वम् ॥ This debars तत् ॥

When ब्रह्मण् means a Brāhmana, by caste, we have ब्रह्मणस्त्वम् or ब्रह्मता ॥

So much for the province of the affixes नञ् and कञ् (IV. 1. 87).

अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE AFFIX मतुप् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवत्यस्मिन्निति भवनम् । धान्यानां भवनं क्षेत्रं मौरीनम् ॥

1802. The affix *khañ* comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of “a place of growing,” when that place is a field.

Note.—The word धान्यानां ‘of grains’, shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case. The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word-form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhânya (I 1, 63 S. 263). भवन means ‘the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)’ ॥

Thus धान्यानां भवन क्षेत्रं = मौरीनम्, कौत्रवीणम्, कौलस्थीनम् ॥

Note.—Why do we say “of grains” ? There will be no affixing in a case like तुणानां भवनं क्षेत्रं ॥

Note.—Why do we say “when it is a field” ? Observe धान्यानां भवनं कुशलं ‘a granary where kidney-beans grow’.

१८०३ । व्रीहिशालयोर्दक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

वैदेयम् । शालेयम् ॥

1803. The affix *dhak* comes in the above sense of ‘a place of growing, when it is a field’, after the words व्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus व्रीहिनां भवनं क्षेत्रे = वैदेयम्, शालेयम्, शालय ‘a field fit for growing rice’.

१८०४ । यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यन् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवन क्षेत्रं यव्यम् । यवक्यम् । षष्ठीक्यम् ॥

1804. The affix *yat* comes in the same sense of ‘a place for growing, it being a field’, after the words yava, yavaka, and shasṭika.

This debars खञ् ॥ Thus यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = यव्यम्, यवक्यम्, षष्ठीक्यम् ॥ See VI, 1 213 S. 3701 for accent.

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमभङ्गाणुभ्यः । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

यत् वा स्यात् । पक्षे खञ् । तिल्यम् । तैलीनम् । माष्यम् । माषीयम् । उन्म्यम् । औमीनम् । भङ्ग्यम् । भाङ्गीनम् । अण्यव्यम् । अण्यवीनम् ।

1805. The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tila, māsā, umā, bhaṅgā and aṇu.

The affix khañ will come in the alternative. Thus तिल्यम् or तैलीनम् 'a field for growing sesamum', माष्यम् or माषीयम् 'a field for growing beans', उन्म्यम् or औमीनम् 'a field of 'inseed', भङ्ग्यम् or भाङ्गीनम् 'a field of hemp', अण्यव्यम् or अण्यवीनम् 'a field for small grain'.

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खलञी । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

असामर्थ्येऽपि निपातनात्समासः । सर्वचर्मणा कृतः सर्वचर्मणः । सर्वचर्मणः ॥

1806. The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof"; after the word sarva-charman.

The word सर्व is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृतः, and with चर्मन् ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मन् there is no sāmāthyā or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samāsa. Sāmāthyā is necessary for that purpose. Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous. Thus सर्वचर्मणकृतः = सर्वचर्मणः or सर्वचर्मणः "made wholly of leather."

१८०७ । यथामुखसंमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

मुखस्य सदृशं यथामुखं प्रतिबिम्बम् । निपातनात्सादृश्येऽव्ययीभावः । समं सर्वं मुखं संमुखम् । समसदृशस्यान्तलोपो निपात्यते । यथामुखं दर्शनी यथामुखीनः । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः संमुखीनः ॥

1807. The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathāmukha, and sanmukha being in the 6th case in construction.

The word दर्शनः means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things. The word यथामुख "a reflection" is an Avyayibhāva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (If. I. 6. S. 652) Thus यथामुखं दर्शनः = यथामुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror. सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः = संमुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking glass. सम means 'all'; and in forming the compound the final अ of सम is elided

१८०८। तत्सर्वादेः पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति । ५ । २ । ७ ॥

सर्वादेः पथ्याद्यन्ताद् द्वितीयान्तात्पः स्यात् । सर्वपथान् व्याप्नोति सर्वपथीन । सर्वाङ्गीणः । सर्वकर्मिणः । सर्वपत्रीणः । सर्वपात्रीणः ॥

1808. After the words pathi, aṅga, karman, patra or pātra, preceded by sarva, being in the second case in construction, the affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of "what pervades or fills the whole of that".

Thus सर्वपथान् व्याप्नोति = सर्वपथीनोरयः ; सर्वाङ्गीणस्ताप, सर्वकर्मिणः पुरुषः, सर्वपत्रीणः सारथिः, सर्वपात्रीण औशनः ॥

१८०९। आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति । ५ । २ । ८ ॥

पादस्थाम पदं सम्पर्यादीकृत्य आप्रपदम् । आप्रपदीनः पदः ॥

1809. The affix kha (ईन) comes after the word āprapada, in the sense of "reaching thereto".

The word पदम् means the 'top of the foot'. आप्र means "upto". आप्रपद is an Avyayibhāva compound meaning 'to the top of the foot'. Thus आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति = आप्रपदीनः पदः 'cloth reaching to the end of the feet', i. e. showing the width of the cloth by comparison with the body

१८१०। अनुपदसर्वाभ्यानयं बद्धाभक्षयतिनेषु । ५ । २ । ९ ॥

अनुपायामे सादृश्ये च । अनुपदं बद्धा अनुपदीना उपानत् । सर्वान्नानि भक्षयति सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षुः । अभ्यानय स्थलविशेषः । त नेयोऽभ्यानयतिः शारः ॥

1810. The affix kha comes after the words anupada, sarvāṇṇa, and ayānaya, being in the second case in construction, in the senses of 'so bound', 'eating that', and 'to carry thereto' respectively.

Thus अनुपदं बद्धा = अनुपदीना 'a kind of shoe'; this word is always feminine. The force of अनु here is that of 'length' or 'likeness'. That is 'a shoe of the measure of a foot'. So सर्वान्नानि भक्षयति = सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षुः 'a mendicant who eats the whole food'. So also अभ्यानयतिः शारः 'a chessman or piece that is taken to the position on the chess called ayānaya'. The word अभ्यानय is compounded of two words अय, meaning 'going from right to left', and अनय 'from left to right', and it means a particular position in which the pieces moving from right to left and left to right cannot move further, and attack the other pieces.

Note—According to some अभ्यानयति is the name of the front pieces in one's own row of chess-men. A piece which moves only on one side, does not admit

1816. The affix kha comes after the word anugu, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'.

Thus the word अनुगु means गोः पश्चाद् ॥ Thus अनुगु पर्याप्त गच्छति = अनुगु-
र्गोः 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i. e. a cowherd.

१८१७ । अध्वनो यत्खौ । ५ । २ । १६ ॥

अध्वानमलं गच्छति अध्वन्यः । अध्वनीनः । ये चाभावकर्षणोः । आत्माशानो खे इति सन्नाम्नां
मकुलीभावः ॥

1817. The affixes yat (य) and kha (ईन) come after the word adhvan, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'.

Thus अध्वानमलंगामी = अध्वनीनः or अध्वन्यः 'able to undertake a journey'. By aphorisms VI. 4. 168, 169 S. 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final न्, which it does before other affixes, by VI. 4. 144. S. 679.

१८१८ । अभ्यमित्राच्छ च । ५ । २ । १७ ॥

आगत्यौ । अभ्यमित्रियः । अभ्यमित्र्यः । अभ्यमित्रिणः । अभिजाभिमुखं सुष्ठु गच्छतीत्यर्थः ॥

1818. The affix Ohha (ईय) also as well as yat and kha. comes after the word abhyamitra, in the sense of 'who is able to go'.

The च draws in यत् and ख ॥ Thus अभ्यमित्रं अलंगामी = अभ्यमित्रियः, अभ्यमित्र्यः
अभ्यमित्रिणः 'a warrior who vallantly encounters his enemy' = अभिजाभिमुखं सुष्ठु
गच्छति ॥

१८१९ । गोष्ठ्यात्खञ् भूतपूर्वे । ५ । २ । १८ ॥

गोष्ठो मृतपूर्वः गोष्ठिनो देशः ॥

1819. The affix khañ comes after the word goshṭha in the sense of 'it formerly had been'.

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्थ i. e. a cow-pen, it means the place all around a cow-pen. The word मृतपूर्व qualifies it. Thus गोष्ठो मृतपूर्वः =
गोष्ठिनो देशः 'a place which was formerly a Goshṭha'. Otherwise when not
meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठो वर्तते ॥

१८२० । अभ्यस्यैकाहगमः । ५ । २ । १९ ॥

एकाहेन गम्यते इत्येकाहगमः । आभीनोऽध्वः ॥

1820. The affix khañ comes after the word aśva, in the genitive case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or traversed in one day'.

The word अश्वत्थ being in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix. The एकाहगम means एकाहेन गम्यते i. e, what is or can be gone over in one day. Thus अश्वत्थैकहागमैऽश्वा = आश्वीनः, as आश्वीनानि शते पतित्वा = यावन्ति योजनाभ्येकहेनाभ्येन गम्यते तावतां शते गत्वा ॥ सहस्राश्वीने वा इतः स्वर्गो लोकः ॥

२८२१ । शालीनकौपीने अधुष्टाकार्ययोः । ५ । २ । २० ॥

शालाप्रवेशमर्हति शालीन अधुष्ट । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीनं पापम् । सत्साधनत्वात्तदुत्तमत्वाद्वा बुर्यपत्तिरपि । तत्संबन्धात्तदाच्छादनमपि ॥

1821. The word śālīna and kaupīna are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively.

The word अधुष्ट means 'not proud', अकार्यम् means 'unfit to be done' i. e. an infamous act. The words come from शाला "a hall" and कूप 'a well'. It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well'. However some say शालाप्रवेशमर्हति 'who deserves to enter a hall', = शालीनः, कूपपतनमर्हति 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' कौपीन', hence a thing to be concealed as the male organ; and the dress that conceals it. As शालीनो जडः, कौपीनं पापं ॥

१८२२ । व्रातेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

व्रातेन शरीरायातेन जीवति नतु बुद्धिवैभवेन स व्रातीनः ॥

1822. The affix khañ comes after the word vrāta in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life, or who lives by this".

The word व्रात means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor व्रातेन जीवति = व्रातीनः 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'.

१८२३ । साप्तपदीनं सख्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

सप्तभिः पदैरवाप्यते साप्तपदीनम् ॥

1823. The word śāptapadīna is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word साप्तपदीन comes from सप्तपद् but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said सप्तभिः पदैरवाप्यते = साप्तपदीनम् "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words".

Note :—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable. साप्तपदीन seems to have some connection

with that. The word सातपदीन or न means 'a friend' also, the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well.

१८२४ । द्रव्यङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

ह्योगोदोहस्य द्वियङ्गुरविशः विकारार्थे खम् च निपात्यते । दुह्यत इति दोहः क्षीरम् । ह्योगोदोहस्य विकारो द्रव्यङ्गवीनं नवनीतम् ॥

1824. The word "haiyaṅgavīna" is anomalous, when it is a Name.

The word द्रव्यङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter'. The word comes from ह्यः 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk'. ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारः 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i. e. "fresh butter". The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general. There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means अवश्वित् or 'whey'.

१८२५ । तस्य पाकमूले पील्वविकर्णादिभ्यः कुणञ्जाहचौ । ५ । २ । २४ ॥

पीलूनां पाकः पीलुकुणः । कर्णस्य मूलं कर्णजाहम् ॥

1825. The affixes kuṇāp (कुण) and jāhach (जाह) come after the words pilu &c and karna &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'.

The word तस्य shows that the construction must be genitive. The affix कुणञ् comes after पील्वदि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाहच् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'.

Thus पीलूनां पाकः = पीलुकुणः, कर्कण्डुकुणः, so also कर्णस्य मूलं = कर्णजाहम् ॥

1 कर्णः, 2 शक्तिः, 3 नखः, 4 मुखः, 5 केशः, 6 पादः, 7 सुत्पः, 8 भूः, 9 भृङ्गः (भूभङ्गः । भूभृङ्गः), 10 वन्तः, 11 भोगः, 12 पृष्ठः, 13 नखः, 14 अङ्गुष्ठः ॥

1 पीलुः, 2 कर्कण्डुः ('ण्डू), 3 शमी, 4 करीरः, 5 कुवलयः, 6 वरः, 7 अश्वस्थः, 8 खदिरः ॥

१८२६ । पक्षान्तिः । ५ । २ । २५ ॥

मूलमहणमात्रमनुवर्तते । पक्षस्य मूलं पक्षान्तिः ॥

1826. The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'.

Notes—The word मूल of the last sūtra is drawn into this aphorism, and not the word पक्ष as well. This is an exceptional case of अनुवृत्ति, generally the whole is drawn and not a portion. Hence arises the following maxim कस्मिंश्चैकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते "Sometimes it also happens that only a part of the words of a rule which are mutually connected is valid in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid".

Thus पक्षस्य मूलं = पक्षातिः i. e. प्रतिपत् 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'.

१८२७ । तेन विसञ्चुञ्चुपचणपौ । ५ । २ । २६ ॥

यकारः प्रत्यययोरादौ लुप्तनिर्दिष्टेन चस्य भेदज्ञा । विद्यया वित्तो विद्याचुञ्चुः । विद्याचणः ॥

1827. The affixes chuñchup (चुञ्चु) and chanap (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'.

The word वित्त means known, illustrious. Thus विद्यया वित्तः = विद्याचुञ्चु, विद्याचणः, कैशचणः ॥ The initial च् in these affixes is not इत् (I. 3. 7. S 189) because the affixes really are चुञ्चुप् and चणप् ॥ Thus च् is elided after words. So च् is not the initial of an affix, and does not get इत् designation.

१८२८ । विनञ्ज्यां नानाञौ न सह । ५ । २ । २७ ॥

असदर्थे पृथग्भावे वर्तमानाभ्यां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययौ । विना । नाना ।

1828. The affixes ना and नाञ् come respectively after the words वि and नञ्, in the sense of 'not being together'.

Thus वि + ना = विना 'without', नञ् + नाञ् = नाना 'several'.

१८२९ । वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ । ५ । २ । २८ ॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसाधनवाचकात्स्वार्थे । विस्तृतम् विशालम् । विशङ्कटम् ॥

1829. The affixes śâlach (शाल) and śaṅkatach (शङ्कट) come after the preposition चि, without changing the sense.

Thus विगत भृङ्गम् = विशालम् विशङ्कटम् ॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as विशालः, विशङ्कटः ॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c. There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix.

१८३० । संप्रोदश्च कटच् । ५ । २ । २९ ॥

सङ्कटम् । प्रकटम् । उक्कटम् । चाद्विकटम् ॥ अलावृत्तिलोमाभङ्गाभ्यो रजस्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अलावृत्तां रजः अलावृकटम् ॥ गोष्ठजावयः स्थानाविषु पशुनामभ्य * ॥ गवां स्थान गोगोष्ठम् ॥ सघाते कटच् * ॥ अक्षीना सङ्घातोऽविकटः ॥ विस्तारे पटच् * ॥ अविपट ॥ द्विस्त्रे गोयुगच् * ॥ त्रावुष्ट्री उष्ट्रगोयुगम् ॥ षट्स्त्रे षड्वचच् ॥ * ॥ अश्वषड्वगम् ॥ स्त्रेस्त्रे तैलच् * ॥ तिलतैलम् । सर्षपतैलम् ॥ भवने क्षेत्रे शाकटशाकिनौ * ॥ इक्षुशाकटम् । इक्षुशाकिनम् ॥

1830. The affix katach (कट) comes after the words sam, pra, ud, (and vi).

The वि is read into the sâtra by virtue of the word च् ॥ Thus संकटम्, प्रकटम्, उक्कटम्, विकटम् ॥

Vart :—The affix कट् comes after अलावु, तिल, उमा, and भङ्ग in denoting dust thereof. As अलावूनां रजः = अलावूकटम्, तिलकटम्, उमाकटम्, भङ्गाकटम् ॥ &c.

Vart :—The affix गोष्ठच् comes after the names of animals, in denoting the places. As गवो स्थान = गोगोष्ठः, &c.

Vart :—When a flock is denoted, the affix कट् is added, as अविकटः ॥

Vart :—When spreading is denoted, the affix is षट्, and आविषटः ॥

Vart :—When a couple is denoted, the affix is गोष्ठुगच्, as वृष्टगोष्ठुगम् ॥

Vart :—When six is denoted, the affix is षड्गवच्, as अश्वषड्गवम् ॥

Vart :—The affix तैलच् comes when it means the oil of it. As तिलतैलम्; सर्पतैलम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes शाकट and शाकिन denote 'a field where it grows', after the words इक्षु &c. As इक्षुशाकटम्, इक्षुशाकिन ॥

१८३१। अवात्कुटारश्च । ५ । २ । ३० ॥

आकटच् । अवाचीनोऽवकुटारः । अवकटः ॥

1831. The affix कुटारश्च as well as कट् comes after the word अव ॥

As अवकुटारः, अवकटः 'downwards,' 'very deep'.

१८३२। नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां दीदञ्नाटज्भूटचः । ५ । २ । ३१ ॥

अवाहित्वेव । नतं नमनम् । नासिकाया नतं अवदीदम् । अवनाटम् । अवभटम् । तद्योगान्नासिका अवदीद । पुरुषोऽप्यवदीदः ॥

1832. The affixes दीदच्, नाटच् and भूटच् come after the word अव, in the sense of a hooked nose, when the word so formed is a Name.

Thus नासिकाया नतम् = अवदीदम्, or अवनाटम्, अवभटम् ॥ The word signifies the nose, as well as the person also, as अवदीद नासिका, अवदीदः पुरुषः ॥

१८३३। नेबिडजिबरीसचौ । ५ । २ । ३२ ॥

निबिडम् । निबिरीसम् ॥

1833. The affixes बिडच् and बिरीसच् come after the word नि, in the above sense of hooked nose, the whole word, being a Name.

Thus निबिडम् and निबिरीसम् ॥

Note.—How do you say निबिडा केशा or निबिडं वस्त्रम् ? It is by analogy.

१८३४। इनच् पिटश्चिक चि च । ५ । २ । ३३ ॥

नेरित्वेव । नासिकाया नतेऽभिधेये इनच्पिटचौ प्रत्ययौ पकृतेश्चिक चि इत्यादेशौ च । कप्रत्यय-
चिकारेणैव वक्तव्यौ * । चिकितम् । चिपिटम् । चिकम् ॥ क्लिप्तस्य चित् पिन् क्षमास्य चक्षुषी * ।
क्लिप्ते चक्षुषी अस्य चित् । पिङ्गः ॥ शुभ् च * ॥ शुभः

1834. The affixes **इनच्** and **पिटच्** come after the word **नि** in the above sense of a hooked nose; and **चिक्** and **चि** are the substitutes of **नि** before those affixes respectively.

Thus **नि + इनच् = चिक् + इनच् = चिकिन**, **नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिपिटः** ॥

Vart :—So also comes **क्**, and **चिक्** replacing **नि**, as **नि + क = चिक् + क = चिक्कः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **ल** comes after the word **क्लिन्न** in the sense of 'its eyes'; and **चिस्** and **चिन्** are substitutes of **क्लिन्नः** as **क्लिन्ने अस्य चक्षुषी = चिस्**, **चिन्**: 'blear-eyed'

Vart :—**चुल** is also the substitute As **चुलः** ॥

Note —These words apply to the 'eye' also, as **चिल्ले**, **चिल्ले** **चुल्ले** "sore-eyes." They apply to 'person' also

१८३५ । उपधिभ्यां त्यकभासभारुढयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

संज्ञायामित्यनुवर्तते । पर्वतस्यासन्न स्थलमुपत्यका । भारुढ स्थलमधित्यका ॥

1835. The affix **tyakan** (**त्यक**) comes after the words **upa** and **adhi**, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively; the words so formed being Names

Thus **उपत्यका = पर्वतस्यासन्न** lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain, **अधित्यका = पर्वतस्यारुढम्** a table-land, high-land.

Note :—The rule VII. 3. 44 § 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms **उपस्थिका** or **अधस्थिका** ॥

१८३६ । कर्मणि घटोठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटत इति घटः । पचाद्यच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मठः पुरुषः ॥

1836. The affix **athach** (**अठ**) comes after the word **karma**, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it.'

The word **घट** means zealous work. It is formed from $\sqrt{\text{घट}}$ with the **अच्** of the **Pachādi**. Thus **कर्मणि घटते = कर्मठ** पुरुषः 'a clever, proficient person.'

१८३७ । तवस्य संजातं तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारकाः संजाता अस्य तारकितं नभः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1837. The affix **itach** (**इत**) comes after the words **tārakâ** &c. in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'.

Thus **तारकाः संजाता अस्य नभसः = तारकितं नभः** 'a starry sky' i. e. a night in which stars are visible. **पुष्पितो वृक्षः** 'a tree in which flowers have grown'.

The तारकादि class is आकृतिगण ॥

1 तारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कर्णक, 4 मञ्जरी*, 5 कञ्जीष, 6 क्षण*, 7 सूच (सूचक), 8 मूष, 9 निष्क्रमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उद्या, 12 प्रचारा, 13 विचार, 14 कुङ्कुम, 15 कण्डक, 16 सुतल*, 17 मुकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुतूहल, 20 स्तम्भक, 21 किसलय, 22 पल्लव, 23 खण्ड, 24 वेग, 25 मित्रा, 26 मुद्रा, 27 बुभुक्षा, 28 धेनुष्या, 29 पिपासा, 30 भ्रजा, 31 भ्रम, 32 पुलक, 33 अङ्गारक, 34 वर्णक, 35 श्लोह, 36 शोह, 37 सुख, 38 दुःख, 39 उत्कण्ठा (उत्कण्ठ), 40 भर, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्मन्*, 43 व्रण*, 44 गौरव*, 45 शास्त्र, 46 तरंग, 47 तिलक, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र) 49 अस्थिकार, 50 गर्व, 51 मुकुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 उत्कर्ष, 54 रण*, 55 कुवलय, 56 गर्ध, 57 क्षुध (क्षुधा), 58 सीमन्त, 59 क्वर, 60 गर*, 61 रोग, 62 रोमाञ्च, 63 पण्डा, 64 कज्जल, 65 वृष्टि*, 66 कौरक, 67 कल्लोल, 68 स्थपुट*, 69 फल, 70 कञ्चुक*, 71 मृङ्गार*, 72 अङ्कुर, 73 बोधन*, 74 बकुल*, 75 श्वध*, 76 वाराल*, 77 कलङ्क, 78 कर्म, 79 कन्दल, 80 मूर्च्छा*, 81 भङ्गार, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिबिम्ब*, 84 विप्लवन्त (वितप्ल, तन्त्र)*, 85 प्रत्यय*, 86 रीक्षा*, 87 गर्ज, 88 गर्भदिपाणिनि (गर्भिता शालयः but गर्भिणी गौ), 89 तन्त्रा, 90 स्रवक, 91 कर, 92 भान्जोल, 93 गोर, 94 राग ॥

१८३८ । प्रमाणे द्वयसज्जघ्नमात्रचः । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

तदर्थेत्यनुवर्तते । ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् । ऊरुद्वयम् । ऊरुमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणे लः * ॥ सामः । विष्टिः । वितस्ति ॥ द्विगोर्नित्यम् * ॥ द्वौ सामौ प्रमाणमस्य द्विसमम् ॥ प्रमाणपरिमाणाभ्यां सख्यायाश्चापि संशये मात्रज्जघ्नस्य * ॥ साममात्रम् । प्रस्थमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । दस्वन्तास्त्वर्थे द्वयसज्जघ्नस्यो बहुलम् * ॥ तावद्व तावद्वयसम् । तावन्मात्रम् ॥

1838 The affixes dvayasach (द्वयस) daghnach (दघ्न) and mâttrach (मात्र), come in denoting "that whereof this is the lineal measure" after a word in first case in construction.

The word तदस्य is understood here. Thus ऊरुः प्रमाणमस्य = ऊरुद्वयसम्, ऊरुद्वयम्, ऊरुमात्रम् 'as high as the thigh'.

Note.—As ऊरुद्वयसमुपकम् 'water reaching upto the thigh'. According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths, and not horizontal measures. The affix मात्रच् comes in a general sense also As प्रस्थमात्रम् 'a cubit long'.

Vart.—The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure. Thus साम प्रमाणमस्य = सामः 'that which is sama (a hand) in length'. Similarly विष्टिः, वितस्ति ॥

Note.—The affix mâttra only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words

Vart.—The elision is invariable after a Dvigu. As द्वौ सामौ प्रमाणमस्य = द्विसमम् ॥

Note.—Why do we say "invariable"? The elision will take place even where there is doubt. द्वे विष्टि स्थातां वा न वा ~ द्विविष्टिः ॥

Vart.—The affix मात्रच् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt. As

प्रमाणान्नम् = शमः प्रमाणमस्य स्यान्न वा, प्रस्थमात्रम्, पंचमात्रम् ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vārtika, where mātra is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word नित्य being used there.

Vārt :— The affixes द्वयसच् and मात्रच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वटु ; as तावद्वयसच्, = तत् परिमाणमस्य धान्यादिस्तावत् तावन्मात्रम् &c.

१८३६ । पुरुषहस्तिद्वयामण् च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य पौरुषम् । पुरुषद्वयसच् । हस्तिनम् । हस्तिद्वयसच् ॥

1839. The affix an also, as well dvayasach &c, comes after the words purusha and hasti, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure.'

The phrase तदस्य प्रमाणं is understood here. By च the affixes द्वयसच् &c are drawn in. Thus पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य = पौरुषम्, पुरुषद्वयसच्, पुरुषवृत्तम्, पुरुषमात्रम्, हस्तिद्वयसच्, हस्तिवृत्तम्, हस्तिमात्रम्, हस्तिनम् ॥

Note :—The affix is always elided after a Dvigu. As द्विपुरुषद्वयसच्, त्रिपुरुषम्, द्विहस्ति, त्रिहस्ति, द्विपुरुषी, त्रिपुरुषी, द्विहस्तिनी, त्रिहस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य यावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840. The affix vatup (वत्) comes after the words yad, tad, and etad, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume'.

The phrase तदस्य is understood here: As यत् परिमाणमस्य = यावान् । This form is thus evolved; यत् + वतुप् = यावत् (the ti अत् being replaced by वा by VI. 3. 91) = यावन्त् (the न्त् being added by VII. 1. 70) = यावान्त् (the अ being lengthened by VI. 4. 41); the vibhakti being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and त् being elided by VIII. 2. 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदम्भ्यां वो घः । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां वतुप्स्यादस्य च घः । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words kim and idam, घ (इय्) is substituted for the व् of vatup.

Thus किम् + वतुप् = की + वतुप् (VI. 3. 90) = क् + वतुप् (VI. 4. 148) = कियत् nom. कियान्. Similarly इयम् इयत् nom. इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किमः संख्यापरिमाणे ङिति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

चाद्वतुप् । तस्य च वक्ष्य घः स्यात् । का संख्या येषां ते ङिति । कियन्तः ॥

1842 The affix *dati* (अति with the elision of इम्) as well as the affix *vatup* comes after the word *केय्*, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'.

The च introduces the affix *वतुप्* which is changed into *वतुप्* (इयत्) ॥ The word *संख्यापरिमाणे* means *संख्यायाः परिमाणं* i. e. *संख्यापरिच्छेदः* making estimate by numbers. As का संख्या परिमाणं तेषां ब्राह्मणानां = कति ब्राह्मणाः or कियन्तो ब्राह्मणाः how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these. This always comes in the plural.

१८४३ । संख्याया अवयवे तयप् । ५ । २ । ४२ ॥

पञ्चावयवा अस्यञ्चतयं वाह ॥

1843 The affix *tayap* (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many".

The word *तयस्य* is understood here. Thus पञ्च अवयवा अस्य = पञ्चतयम् having five parts. The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole.

१८४४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायञ्चा । ५ । २ । ४३ ॥

द्वयम् । द्वितयम् । त्रयम् । त्रितयम् ॥

1844. The affix *ayach* (अय) is optionally the substitute of *tayap*, after words *dvi* and *tri*.

As द्वावयवावस्य = द्वयम् or द्वितयम्, त्रयम् or त्रितयम् 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI. 4. 148).

१८४५ । उभादुदात्तो नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ४४ ॥

उभगद्वद्वत्तयोऽयञ्च स्यात् स चाद्युदात्त । उभयम् ॥

1845. After the word *udha*, *ayach* is always the substitute for *tayap*, having the acute (*udatta*) accent on its first syllable

Note :—The affix *अयञ्च* having indicatory च takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI. 1 163 S. 3710), i. e. on य, the special mention of *udatta* in the sūtra shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i. e. the first syllable i. e. अ, for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word *udatta* in the sūtra.

If उभ is a Sankhya word (I. 1. 28 S. 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken तयप्, the present sūtra ordains अय instead as a substitute always. If it is not a Sankhya, then we should first ordain तयप् after it, by the process of splitting the sūtra V. 2 42 into two, thus संख्यायाः तयप्, अवयवे तयप् and then replace तयप् by अय ॥

Thus उभा पीतलोहितौ अवयवौ यस्य = उभयः ॥ उभये त्वमनुष्याः ; उभयोः नयिः ॥

१८४६ । तदस्मिन्नाधिकमिति दशान्ताङ्गः । ५ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्नेकादशम् ॥ शतसहस्रयोरेवेत्येते * ॥ नेह एकादश अधिका अस्यो विंशतौ ॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानजातीयस्य एवेत्येते * ॥ नेह । एकादश भाषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846. The affix *da* अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in *daśan*, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of “ this is surplus in it ”.

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शते = एकादशं शतं “hundred + eleven”. So also-
एकादशं सहस्रं ॥

Ishti :—This applies only after शत and सहस्र, therefore, it does not apply here :—एकादशाधिका अस्यो विंशतौ ॥

Ishti :—This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination. As एकादश कार्पाषया अधिका अस्मिन् कार्पाषण्य शते = एकादशं कार्पाषण्यशतं ॥ But not here —एकादशः भाषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

Note :—The word इति in the sūtra is for clearness. The rule applies to शतसहस्रं also, as एकादशं शतसहस्रं which may mean either (1) एकादश शतान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सहस्रान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् ॥

१८४७ । शदन्तविंशतेश्च । ५ । २ । ४६ ॥

उ. स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । विंशदधिका अस्मिन् विंश शतम् । विंशश्च ॥

1847. The affix *da* comes in the sense of “ this is surplus in it ”, after a Numeral ending in शन् and after विंशति ; with the elision of अन् and अति ॥

The indicator *v* उ causes elision of टि portion VI. 4. 142. S. 844
Thus विंशदधिका अस्मिञ्छते = विंश शतं

Note :—This rule applies to abstract Numerals Hence not here, गोविंशदधिका अस्मिन् गोशते ॥

So also after विंशति, as विंश शतं ॥

१८४८ । संख्यायागुणस्य निमाने मयट् । ५ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मूल्ये वर्तमानाप्रथमान्तासंख्यावाचित् पृथगर्थे मयट् स्यात् । यवाना द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्यौ वृश्चिह्नागस्य द्विमयद्विवृश्चिह्नानाम् । गुणस्येति किम् । द्वौ व्रीहिययौ निमानमस्यौ वृश्चित् । निमाने किम् । द्वौ एणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तेजस्य द्विगुण क्षीर पच्यते तेलेन ॥

1848 The affix *mayat* (मय with feminine in डीप्) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of “ containing so many times more of something ” or “ the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other ”.

The word तद्व्य from V. 2. 36 should be read in this. The sense of the aphorism is "after a Numeral in the first case in construction (तद्), with the force of a genitive (व्यस्य), comes the affix मयद्, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (निमान) of a portion (गुण)". The word गुण means भाग or "portion", and निमान means 'price'. In comparing the quality of one thing with another, निमान is the value or price. Thus यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदाश्विद्विभागस्य = द्विनयमुदाश्विद्ववानाम् "two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udaśvit". Similarly त्रिनयम्, चतुर्मयम्, lit. "Udaśvit is त्रिनय or 'two-times' the value of yava".

Note 1—The word गुणस्य is in the singular number. The comparison must therefore, be made with one portion of a thing, with the several portions of the other. The ratio must be $x:1$, but never $x:2$, or $x:3$ &c. Therefore, the rule does not apply here, द्वौ भागौ यवानां अथ उदश्वितः ॥ The x also must be more than one. The rule therefore does not apply here. एको भागो निमानमस्य ॥

The word गुण denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction. As द्वौ भागौ यवानामध्यर्द्ध उदश्वितः ॥

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i. e. in denoting the thing received in exchange. (निमेय) As उदश्वितो द्वौ भागौ निमेयस्य यवभागस्य = द्विमया, as द्विमया यवा उदश्वितः = "उदश्वितो द्वौ गुणा निमेयो वेदामेकगुणानां यवानां" "the exchange value of Udaśvita is twice as much as that of a Yava". The word निमान means the thing given in exchange; and निमेय the thing received in exchange. Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins.

Why do we say गुणस्य 'of a portion'? Observe द्वौ त्रीद्विवौ निमानमस्योदश्वितः ॥ Here being no comparison of ratios, there is no affixing.

Why do we say निमाने "in denoting the thing given in exchange"? Observe, द्वौ शुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तेजस्य = द्विशुणो वष्यते तेज क्षीरेण "one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk". Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing.

Note 1—In short मयद् has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As द्विनय "two time", the word qualifying sometime the निमान, sometime the निमेय; e. g. द्विनयमुदश्वित यवानां "Udaśvit is two-times or two-fold or Yava in value", or द्विमया यवा उदश्वितः "two-times Yava are equal to one Udaśvit"

१८४६ । तस्य पूरणे ङद् । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एकादशानां पूरणे एकादश ॥

1849. The affix ङाट् (ङ, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is "making full this number".

That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशाना पूरणः = एकादशः the "eleventh" (i. e. the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven).

Note :—By this affix, ordinals are formed. The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this :—पञ्चानां सुष्टिकानां पूरणो घटः ॥

१८५० । नान्तादसंख्यावेर्मट् । ५ । २ । ४९ ॥

उदो मङ्गागमः स्यात् । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चमः । नान्तादिकम् । विशः । असंख्यादिः किम् । एकादशः ॥

1850. The augment mat (म) comes before डद्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न् when no other Numeral precedes it.

Thus पञ्चमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five). Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशते पूरणः = विश 'twentieth'. Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः ॥

१८५१ । षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक् । ५ । २ । ५१ ॥

इषां थुगागमः स्याद्बुद्धिः । षण्णां पूरणः षष्ठः । कतिथः । कतिपयशब्दस्यासंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव शापकाद्बुद् । कतिपयथः । चतुर्थः ॥ चतुरस्रयतायायक्षरलोपश्च ॥ तुरीयः । तुर्यः ॥

1851. When ढाट् follows, थुक् is the augment of the words shaट्, kati ; katipaya and chatur.

The डद् is to be read into this sūtra, and it should be changed into locative, as डदि 'when ढाट् follows'. The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes डद् by force of this sūtra. Thus षण्णां पूरणो = षष्ठः 'sixth'. कतिथः the which in order? कतिपयथः 'the one in order after several', चतुर्थः 'the fourth'.

Vart .—The affixes छ (ईय) and यत् come after चतुर् and there is elision of the first letter. As तुरीयः or तुर्यः ॥

Note :—In this and the two following sūtras, the action of the ड् of डद् vanishes when an augment is added.

१८५२ । बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

उदीत्येव । पूगसङ्घयोः संख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव डद् । बहुतिय । इत्यादि ॥

1852. When ढाट् follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahu, pūga, gana, and saṅgha.

The word डदि is understood here also. The words पूग and सङ्घ are not Numerals ; they take the affix डद् by virtue of this sūtra. Thus बहूनां पूरणो = बहुतियः, पूगतिथः, गणतिथः, and संघतिथः &c.

१८५३ । वतोरिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

उदीत्येव । वावतिथः ॥

1853. When ढाट् follows, इथुक् is the augment of a stem ending in vatu.

The word इटि is understood here also. The words ending in नतु are Numerals (I. 1. 23 S. 258) : and they will take इट् by V. 2. 48 ; the present sūtra declares the augment. Thus यावर्ता, पूरणो = यावर्तिथः, ॥

१८५४ । द्वेस्तीयः । ५ । २ । ५४ ॥

इदोऽपवादः । द्वयोः पूरणो द्वितीयः ॥

1854. The affix तीय comes in the sense of ' completer thereof ', after the word dvi.

This debars इट् ॥ Thus द्वयोः पूरणो = द्वितीयः ' the second '—(hat which completes the two.

१८५५ । त्रेः संप्रसारणं च । ५ । २ । ५५ ॥

तृतीयः ॥

1855. The affix tiya comes in the sense of ' completer thereof,' after the word tri; and there is samprasâraṇa (vocalisation) of the stem.

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is samprasâraṇa (I. 1. 45). Thus त्रि + तीय = तृ + इ + तीय = तृतीयः (VI. 1. 108, the इ of त्रि assumes the form of the prior letter कृ which is substituted for इ)

Note.—In तृतीयः the कृ is not lengthened by VI. 4. 2. because that rule applies to the lengthening of the अण् letters only, this word being read into VI. 4. 2, by anuvṛtti from VI. 3. 111 S. 174. The pratyâhara अण् is formed by the first ए and means the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

१८५६ । विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्त्यतरस्याम् ५ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो उदस्तमडागमो वा स्यात् । विंशतितमः । विंशः । एकविंशतितमः एकविंशः ॥

1856. After the words viṅśati &c, tamaṭ (तम with fem. in डीप्) is optionally the augment of ढाट्.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of पूरण we must read the word इट् into this sūtra, as the affix to which the augment तमट् is added. Thus विंशते पूरण = विंशतितमः or विंशः ' twentieth ' एकविंशतितमः or एकविंशः, विविंशतितमा or विविंशः, विंशत्तमः or विंशः एकविंशत्तमः or एकविंशः ॥

Note :—In the case of मट् and यट् there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augments. Thus पञ्चनृ + मट् = पञ्च + मट् (VI. 4. 144) = पञ्चम ॥

१८५७ । नित्यं शतादिमासाधेमाससंवत्सराच्च । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

शतस्य पूरणः शततमः । एकशततमः । मासाधेरस एव इट् । मासतमः ॥

1857. Always after the words śata &c, and after māsa, ardha-māsa and sam-vatsar, tamaṭ is the augment of ḍaṭ.

The words शतादयः are numerals. The words मास &c. are not numerals; they would not have taken ड् but by the implication of this sūtra. Thus शतस्य पूरणः शततमः 'hundredth'; सहस्रतमः । Similarly मासस्य पूरणः = मासतमोदिवस the last day of the month; अर्द्धमासतमः । संवत्सरतमः ॥

Note:—By the next sūtra the words शत &c, would have taken तमद्; but the scope of that sūtra is confined to numerals not preceded by another numeral. There is no such restriction here. Hence we have एकशततमः । द्विशततमः ॥

१८५८ । षष्ठ्यादेश्चाऽसंख्यदेः । ५ । २ । ५८ ॥

षष्ठितमः । संख्यादेस्तु विंशत्यादिभ्य इति विकल्प एव । एकषष्ठः । एकषष्ठितमः ॥

1158. After the words shashhṭi &c. when no other Numeral precedes them; tamaṭ is always the augment of ḍaṭ.

By sūtra V. 2. 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus षष्ठितमः

Why do we say "when not preceded by a Numeral"? Observe एकषष्ठः एकषष्ठितमः, एकसप्तमः or एकसप्ततितमः ॥ Here V, 2. 56. S. 1856 applies also.

१८५९ । मतौ छःसूक्तसाम्नो । ५ । २ । ५९ ॥

मत्वर्थे छः स्यात् । अष्टछावाकशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति अष्टछावाकीयं सूक्तम् । वारवन्तीयं साम ॥

1859. When a Sūkta or a Sâman is to be expressed, the affix Chha (ह्य) comes after a prâtipadika (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix matup (V. 2. 94).

The word मतौ means 'In the sense of मतुप् affix.' The sense of मतुप् is "whose is it or in whom it is". Thus अष्टछावाक् शब्दोऽस्मिन् = अष्टछावाकीयम् सूक्तम् । मित्रावरुणीयम् साम, वारवन्तीयम् साम ॥

Note:—The affix comes after a collocation of words, as अस्यवानीयं 'the Sūkta containing the words अस्य वान्' e. g. Rig Veda Maṇḍala 1 sūkta 164. Here the words अस्य वानस्य are considered as a Nominal Stem. So also कथापुत्रीयम् ॥

१८६० । अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक् । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

मत्वर्थस्य छस्य । अत एव ज्ञापकात्तत्र छः । विधानसामर्थ्याच्च विकल्पेन लुक् । गर्वभाण्ड । गर्वभाण्डीयः ॥

1860. When an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed, there is (optionally) luk-elision of the affix Chha having the above sense of matup.

This sūtra indicates by implication (ज्ञापकः), that the affix छ comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka. According to Pātañjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix. According to Kaiyyata, as this sūtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional. Thus गर्दभाण्डोऽध्यायः, अनुवाको वा ॥ In the alternative, गर्दभाण्डीयः ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्ताविभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मन्वर्थेऽण् स्यादध्यायानुवाकयोः । विमुक्तः शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति वैमुक्तः । वैवासुरः ॥

1861. The affix an comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c.

Thus विमुक्ताशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = वैमुक्तोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also वैवासुरः &c.
1 विमुक्तः, 2 वैवासुरः, 3 रक्षोऽसुरः, 4 उपसत्, 5 सुवर्णः (सुपर्णः), 6 परितारकः (परिषावकः), 7 सवसत्, 8 वसु, 9 महत्, महत्त्वत्, 10 पक्षीयत्, 11 मधुमत्, 12 महीयत्, (महीयत्), 13 तप्तम्, 14 वर्धयत्*, 15 वृषार्णः, 16 वृषार्णः, 17 वयस्, (वृषार्णयस्), 18 हविर्धाम, 19 पतञ्जिन् (पतञ्जि), 20 महिनी, 21 अस्यह्य, 22 सोमापूषन्, 23 इडा, 24 अग्राविष्णुः, (विष्णु), 25 वर्धयती, 26 वृषहन् (वृषहति), 27 मित्री, 28 सोमः, 29 हेतुः ॥

१८६२ । गोषदादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मन्वर्थेऽध्यायानुवाकयोः । गोषकः । इवेत्यकः ॥

1862, After the nominal stems goṣhada &c, there is the affix vun (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed.

Thus गोषवशाद्वाऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गोषकोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इवेत्यकः, मातरिश्चकाः &c. Another reading is गोषव the final consonant being mute.

1 गोषव्, (गोषवः), 2 इवेत्या (त्वा), 3 मातरिश्चन्, 4 देवस्यत्वा, 5 देवीरापः, 6 कृष्णोऽस्या, खरेष्ठः, 7 देवी (देवी) धिय धिया (धियत्), 8 रक्षोहण, 9 युञ्जान, 10 अञ्जन, 11 प्रभूत, 12 प्रतुर्त, 13 कृत्तान्, (दृष्टान्), 14 सहस्रवर्षी, 15 वातस्य ते, 16 कृषाभ्य, 17 स्वाहाप्रायः, 18 प्रसप्त, (ः), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशलः पथः । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

वुन् स्यात् । पथि कुशलः पथकः ॥

1863. The affix vun comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in construction, when the sense is "versed therein or skilled therein".

Thus पथि कुशलः = पथकः (पथिन् + वुन् = पथ् + वुन् VI. 4. 144. = पथ् + अक, VII. 1. 1.)

१८६४ । आकर्षादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुशल आकर्षक । आकर्षादिभ्य इति रेफरहितो सुख्य पाठः । आकर्षो निकर्षोपल । ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems ākarsha &c, being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus आकर्षेकुशल = आकर्षक, स्तरकः । The best texts have आकष (Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकष), 2 स्तर, 3 विशाच (निपासा) 4 विचण्ड, 5 अशानि, 6 अशमन्, 7 निचय (विचय), 8 चय, 9 विजय, 10 जय, 11 आचय, 12 नय 13 पाव (निपाव), 14 क्षीप, 15 श्रव, 16 श्राव, 17 हन्वा, 18 गह्वद, 19 शकुनि, 20 अय, ॥

१८६५ । धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा । धने कामो धनको देववत्तस्य । हिरण्यकः ॥

1865. The affix kan comes, after the words dhana and hiranya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter.'

The word काम means 'desire, wish' Thus धने कामः = धनको देववत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यको. ॥

१८६६ । स्वाङ्गेभ्यः प्रसिते । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

केशेषु प्रसितः केशकः । तद्वचनायां तत्पर इत्यर्थः ॥

1866. The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words तच्च and कन् are understood in this sūtra. The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon, craving after'. Thus केशेषु प्रसितः = केशक. i. e. केशाविरचनायां प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note;—The स्वाङ्गेभ्यः is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Svānga terms Thus दन्तौष्ठकः, केशनखकः ॥ See. II. 3. 44.

१८६७ । उदरादुगायूने । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

अविजिगीषौ उक् स्यात् । कनोऽपवाहः । बुभुक्षयात्यन्तपीडित उदरे प्रसित औदरिकः । आगूने क्रिय । उदरक । उदरपरिमार्जनादौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

1867. The affix than (हक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara.

This debars the affix कन् ॥

Adyūna = not desiring to conquer; उदरपेक्षारहितः see VIII. 2. 49. S. 3028 for the formation of this word from the root div.

Note—The translation given above is according to Dr. Böhtlingk. According to the Kāśikā, the ānuvṛtti of प्रसित is also read into this sūtra. The meaning then would be 'thak comes after the word udara in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'.

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called ; उदरेऽवि-
जिनीषुर्भण्यत । Thus उदरे प्रसितः = औदरिकः (i. e. भ्रातृन्)

Why do we say when it means 'voracious,'? Observe उदरकः
'abdominal'.

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजातः । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कन स्वयते नतु डक् । सस्यशब्दो गणवाची नतु धान्यवाची । सस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन
पुण्येन परिजातः संबद्धः सस्यक साधु ॥

1868. The affix kan (क) comes after the word sasya being in the third case in construction, when the sense is "to supply richly with it".

The ānuvṛtti of कन्, not of डक्, is to be read here. The word सस्य means 'good quality' and not 'corn', Another reading is शस्य. The word परि means 'all, every where'. That which is full of (परिजात) good qualities (सस्य) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here. Thus सस्येन परिजातः = सस्यकः शालिः 'a rice, above all praise', सस्यकः साधु 'a good man, not equalled by any'.

१८६९ । अंशं हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

हारीत्यावयके णिनिः । अत एव तद्योगे षष्ठी न । अंशको दायारः ॥

1869. The affix kan comes after the word aṅśa 'a share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being 'who must take that'.

The word अंश is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing that the construction must be accusative. The word हारिन्, nom. हारी is formed by adding णिनि to the root ह, the force of the affix being that of "must, or necessity". See III. 3. 170. S. 3311. The word हारिन् will govern accusative and not genitive (II. 3. 70. S. 628.)

Thus अंश हारी = अंशकः 'an heir', i. e. who is entitled to take a share at partition i. e. a दायारः । अंशकः पुषः ॥

१८७० । तन्त्राद्विरापहृते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्त्रकः पदः । प्रत्यय इत्यर्थः ॥

1870. The affix Kan comes after the word tantra 'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of "taken off therefrom not long ago or shortly before".

The word तन्त्र must be in the fifth case in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sūtra. The word अचिर means 'short time, not long' अपहृत means "taken off". Thus तन्त्रावधिरापहृतः = तन्त्रकः 'a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off,' i. e. an unbleached cloth. As तन्त्रकः पट, तन्त्रकः प्राधारः 'a new mantle' = प्रत्यमः or नवः ॥

१८७१ । ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ७१ ॥

आयुधजीविनो ब्राह्मणा यस्मिन्देशे स ब्राह्मणकः । अल्पमन्न यस्यां सा उष्णिका यथागृ ।
अन्नशब्दस्य उष्णोद्देशो निपात्यते ॥

1871. The words Brāhmanaka and ushpika are anomalous, when they are Names.

Thus ब्राह्मणको देश, उष्णिका यथागृ ॥ The affix कन् is added to ब्राह्मण, with the force of 'a place where Brāhmanas who live by the profession of arms dwell'. Similarly उष्णिक means अल्पान्नः ॥ The word अन्न is replaced by उष्ण by virtue of this sūtra,

१८७२ । शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि । ५ । २ । ७२ ॥

शीत करोतीति शीतकोऽन्नस । उष्ण करोतीति उष्णकः शीघ्रकारी ॥

1872. The affix kan comes after the words śīta and uṣhṇa, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'.

The words शीत and उष्ण being used as adverbs will be in accusative construction. As शीतं करोति 'who goes to work coldly' i. e. a lazy man = शीतकः = अन्नसः, जडः ॥ Similarly उष्णक = शीघ्रकारी, दत्तः 'who goes to work hotly'.

१८७३ । अधिकम् । ५ । २ । ७३ ॥

अध्यारूढशब्दात्कन् उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥

1873. The word adhika is anomalous.

The word अधिकः meaning 'more', is formed by adding कन् to the word अध्यारूढ; there being elision of the second term before the affix. Thus अधिको द्रोणः खार्याम् or अधिको द्रोणः खार्याः "a Drona is superior to Khārī" अधिकः खारि द्रोणेन "a Khārī is inferior to Drona". The word अध्यारूढ governs nominative or accusative indifferently.

Note :—Thus अध्यारूढी द्रोणः खारी ॥ Similarly अधिक would have governed the accusative also. But Pāṇini uses the ablative and locative after adhika, as in II. 3, 9; S. 645 and V. 2, 45 S. 1846 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative. This is the case when adhyāruhda is an active participle. But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III. 4. 72, S. 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction. In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative.

१८७४। अनुकामिकाभीकः कमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अनुभिभ्यां कन् । अभिः । पाक्षिको वीर्यश्च । अनुकामयते अनुकः । अभिकामयते अभिकः । अभीकः ॥

1874. The words anuka, abhika and abhika are anomalously formed by adding कन् to anu and abhi, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'.

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुक 'desirous, libidinous'. अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीकः 'a lover, voluptuous person'. These are formed by adding कन् to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of abhi is lengthened

१८७५। पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनृक्षुषायः पार्श्वं तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वकः ॥

1875. The affix kan comes after the word pārśva, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that".

The word पार्श्वम् means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient'. One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वकः 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan'. पार्श्वः = a rib, a cooked thing; as पार्श्वकः = मायाविन्, कौसृतिकः, जालिकः &c.

१८७६। अयः शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

तीक्ष्ण उपायोऽयः शूलं तेनान्विच्छति अयःशूलिकः । साहसिकः । दण्डाजितं दम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति दण्डाजिनिकः ॥

1876. The affixes ṭhak and ṭhañ come respectively after ayahśūla and daṇḍājina, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

The word अन्विच्छति is understood here also. The word अयःशूलम् means 'a violent proceeding'. Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called अयःशूलिकः = साहसिकः ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (daṇḍa) and hide (ajina)' i. e. outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy. Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called दण्डाजिनिकः = दाम्भिकः ॥

१८७७। तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कन् स्यात्पूरणप्रत्ययस्य च लुग्वा । द्वितीयकं द्विकं वा ग्रहणं देवदत्तस्य । द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रहणमित्यर्थः । तावतिथेन भूलातीति कञ्चक्तव्यो नित्य च लुक् * ॥ षष्ठेन रूपेण गृह्णाति षट्को देवदत्तः । पञ्चकः ॥

1877. The affix kan is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts";

and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number.

The word तावत्तिथं (V. 2. 53 S. 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरण i. e. ordinals. The word ग्रहण means 'acquired or learned hereby'. This qualifies the base. Thus द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = द्विकं ग्रहणम् or द्वितीयकं ग्रहणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i. e. "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिकं or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

Veri.—When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the *person* who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरण affix is compulsory and not optional. Thus षष्ठेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = षडको देवदत्तः 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i. e. 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt'. Similarly पचकः, चतुष्कः ॥ The word ग्रहण here is confined to books only and to nothing else.

१८७८ । स एषां ग्रामणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो मुख्यो येषां ते देवदत्तकाः । स्वस्कः । मस्कः ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader".

The word ग्रामणी means 'head-man, leader, spokes-man'. Thus देवदत्तो मुख्योऽस्य = देवदत्तकः, ॥ So also स्वस्कः and मस्कः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when meaning a leader' ? Witness देवदत्तः वाचुरेषाम् ॥ Here there is no affixing.

१८७९ । शृङ्खलमस्य बन्धनं करभे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

शृङ्खलकः करभः ॥

1879. The affix kan comes after the word śrin̄khala 'a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel.

Thus शृङ्खल बन्धनमस्य करभस्य = शृङ्खलकः ॥

Note :—The young ones of a camel are called करभ ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called शृङ्खल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet śrin̄khala being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धन or bond or fetter.

१८८० । उत्क उत्पन्नाः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

उत्तमनस्कवृत्तेरुच्छ्रस्वार्थे क्त् । उत्क उत्कण्ठितः ॥

1880. The word *utka* is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called *उत्कन्तः* ॥ The word *उत्कः* is formed by adding *कन्* to the preposition *उत्* without changing the sense, in the sentence *उत्कन्तमनस्कवृत्तिः* ॥ Thus *उत्को* *देववत्तः* *उत्कः* *प्रवातो* = *उत्सुकः* or *उत्कण्ठितः* ॥

१८८१। कालप्रयोजनाद्वारे । ५ । २ । ८१ ॥

कालवचनात्प्रयोजनवचनाच्च कन्स्याद्वारे । द्वितीयेऽहि भवो द्वितीयको उत्तरः । प्रयोजनं कारणं रोगस्य फलं वा । विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पकः । उष्णं कार्यमस्य उष्णकः । रोगे किम् । द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

1881. The affix *kan* comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect (of the diseased), when an illness is denoted.

The word *काल* means 'days' &c, and *प्रयोजन* means 'the cause (of disease) or its effect'. Thus *द्वितीयेऽहिभवा* = *द्वितीयको उत्तरः* 'the fever which comes on the second day'. Similarly after a word denoting *प्रयोजन*, as, *विषपुष्पैर्जनितः* = *विषपुष्पको उत्तरः* 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers'. So also *काशपुष्पकः* ॥ So also *उष्ण कार्यमस्य* = *उष्णकः* 'a fever producing heat'. Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, *द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य* ॥

Note—The word *सज्ञा* is to be read in to this *sūtra* from the next *sūtra*. Therefore words *द्वितीयक* &c are Names.

१८८२। तदस्मिन्नन्नं प्राये संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ८२ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्तत्तम्यर्थे कन्स्यात् यत्प्रथमान्तमन्नं चैवमायविषयं तत् । गुडापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्यां गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी ॥ षट्केभ्य इतिर्वाच्यः * ॥ षट्किनी ॥

1882. The affix *kan* is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name.

Thus *गुडापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्या पौर्णमास्यां* = *गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी* "The *Gūḍāpūpikā* — *Paurṇamāsi*" i. e. that particular Full-Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food.

Var.—The affix *इति* comes after *षट्क* in the same sense. As *षट्किनी पौर्णमासी* ॥

१८८३। कुलमाषावज्ज् । ५ । २ । ८३ ॥

कुलमाषाः प्रायेणान्नमस्यां कौलमाषी ॥

1883. The affix añ comes after kulmāsha, in the same sense “this is the principal food on this particular occasion”—and the whole word is a Name.

The ञ् of भञ् is for the sake of causing Vṛddhi and accent. Thus कुल्माषाः प्रायेण भक्ष्यं = कौल्माषी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८४ । ओत्रियं छन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

ओत्रियः । त्र्यसुवृत्तश्छान्दसः ॥

1884. The word śrotriyan is irregularly formed meaning ‘who has studied the Chhandas’.

Note.—The ञ् in ओत्रियन् is for the sake of accent. As ओत्रियो ब्राह्मणः “a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas”. The word ओत्रिय is either a condensed expression for the full sentence छन्दोऽधीते, referring to no particular base or affix. Or the word छन्दस् is replaced by ओत्र, and then is added the affix घञ् ॥ But how do you form then छान्दसः, in the sense of छन्दोऽधीते, by adding the affix ञ् by IV. 2. 59 S. 1269 ? The present sūtra is optional, the word च् of V. 2. 77 S. 1877 being understood here : so that we have the form छान्दसः also. Some say that ओत्रिय applies only to that person who has not only studied the Vedas, but who acts upon its purport also, while छान्दसः applies to a student in general ; so one sūtra does not debar the other, as they apply to different objects.

१८८५ । श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

श्राद्धी । श्राद्धिक ॥

1885. The affixes ini (इन्) and than come after the word śrāddha, in the sense of “this is eaten by him”.

Thus श्राद्धं भुक्तमनेन = श्राद्धी or श्राद्धिक. “a person who has eaten obsequial food”.

Note.—This relates to a person who eats on the day the Śrāddha ceremony takes place ; and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of śrāddha. श्राद्धं भुक्ते श्राद्धे भवः श्राद्धिक इति माभूत् ॥ The word श्राद्ध originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word श्रद्धा with the affix ण V. 2. 101. In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony.

१८८६ । पूर्वादिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्वं कृतमनेन पूर्वं ॥

1886. The affix ini (इन्) comes after pūrva, in the sense of ‘by whom something was done formerly’.

The word अनेन of the last sūtra is understood here. But what is the verb of which अनेन is the agent. The भुक्त of the last sūtra is not to be read

into this sūtra. Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c, to complete the sense Thus पूर्व गतमनेन = पूर्वी ॥ In fact पूर्वन् means "by whom some thing was done &c, formerly".

१८८७ । सपूर्वाश्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887. The affix ini comes after the word pūrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done'.

Thus कृतपूर्वी कटम् = पूर्व कृतमनेन 'who formerly made'. भुक्तपूर्वी भोजनम् ॥

Note:—In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II. 1. 4; and then the affix is added. These two sūtras V. 2 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims भ्रह्मवत्ता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika or Nominal stem, does, (contrary to I. 1. 72 S 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself." व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन "The rule of vyapadesivad-bhāva does not apply to a prātipadika". That rule is embodied in the following paribhāṣā—व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्—"an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमनेन इष्टी । अधीती ॥

1888. The affix ini comes after ishṭa &c. in the sense of 'by him'.

Thus इष्टमनेन = इष्टी यज्ञे; पूर्त्तीश्राद्धे &c. "who sacrificed", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिन्, पूर्त्तिन् &c. formed by इन् will govern locative instead of accusative. See vārtika under II. 3. 36. So also अधीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 पूर्त्, 3 उपासादित (उपसादित), 4 निगदित, 5 परिगदित*, 6 परिवादित, 7 निवायित, 8 निवादित*, 9 निषदित, 10 सकलित, 11 परिकलित, 12 सरक्षित, 13 परिरक्षित, 14 आर्षित, 15 गणित*, 16 अवकीर्ण, 17 आद्युक्त, 18 दृष्टित, 19 आह्वान, 20 श्रुत (आह्वानश्रुत), 21 अधीत, 22 अवधान (1)*, 23 आसेवित, 24 अवधारित, 25 अवकल्पित, 26 निराकृत, 27 उपकृत, 28 उपाकृत, 29 अनुयुक्त, 30 अनुगणित, 31 अनुपदित, 32 व्याकुलित, 33 परिकथित, 34 संकल्पित, 35 विकलित, 36 निषत्तित, 37 पदित, 38 पूजित, 39 परिगणित, 40 उपगणित, 41 परित, (?), 42 अपवारित, 43 उपगत, 44 निगृहीत, 45 अपचित् ॥

१८८९ । छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

लोकै तु परिपन्थिगच्छो न न्याय्यः ॥

1889. In the Ohhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'

Note :—The word पर्यवस्थातृ means 'an adversary, an antagonist' Thus मा स्वा परिपरिणी विदन् मा स्वा परिपन्थिनो विदन् (Yaj. Ved. IV, 34.) These words are obsolete in the classical literature. See however Gita III, 34.

१८९० । अनुपदमन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ९० ॥

अनुपदमन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाक् ॥

1890. The word anupadin, formed anomalously by ini, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'.

Thus अनुपदी गवाक् "going after or searching the cows'.

१८९१ । साक्षाद् द्रष्टृरिंक्षायाम् । ५ । २ । ९१ ॥

साक्षाद् द्रष्टा साक्षी ॥

1891. The affix ini comes after the word sâkshât, in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word साक्षात् is an Indeclinable. The word सज्ञा is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word. Thus साक्षाद् द्रष्टा = साक्षी, 'an eye witness'.

Note :—In any transaction like loan, &c. three persons directly see the fact and may be called द्रष्टा viz. who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on. By using the word सज्ञा the word साक्षिन् is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower.

१८९२ । क्षेत्रीयच परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः । ५ । २ । ९२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । क्षीरान्तरे चिकित्स्यः । अप्रतिकार्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1892. The word kshettriyaach (क्षेत्रीय) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i. e. "not curable in this life"

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of para kshetre-chikitsya; or the word क्षेत्रीय, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix च्च् to the word परक्षेत्र, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word पर is elided before this affix. Thus क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः 'incurable disease', i. e.—organic disease. The word परक्षेत्र means body assumed in the next reincarnation. The word क्षेत्रीय applies to an irremediable disease.

Note :—The word क्षेत्रीय means 'poison' also = यत् परक्षेत्रे पराक्षेत्रे संक्रम्य चिकित्स्यते ॥ That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered'. Or क्षेत्रीय means 'rank growth or grass', i. e. यानि सस्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाशयितव्यानि "that like grass &c. which grows in a para-kshetra or another's field i. e. a field set apart for grain &c. and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded

out (chikitsya)'' Or स्नेषि is an 'adulteror', i. e. परद्वारा परस्नेहः, तत्र चिकित्सा निवृत्ति-
ष्यः ॥ These are all secondary meanings.

१८९३। इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा । ५ ।

। २ । ६३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य लिङ्गं करणेन कर्तुंशुभानात् । इति शब्दः प्रकारार्थः । इन्द्रेण दुर्जयमिन्द्रियम् ॥

1893. The word Indriyam, (having udātta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense; and so called, either because it is "the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred", or 'it is seen by Indra', or 'it is created by Indra', or 'it is wished for by Indra', or 'it is given by Indra'.

The word इन्द्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c. Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all. In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix घञ् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either 'a mark thereof'. As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम् = इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Atma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c. So that these organs are the 'marks' or signs or linga of Indra : because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent.

Note.—Or the senses (indriyas) are so-called because they are 'seen or known by Indra or Ātmā' (इन्द्रेण दृष्टं = ज्ञातं). The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction. The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Śruti of the Aitaraya Upanishad Chapter III. verse. 18, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it स एतन्नेव पुरुषं ब्रह्म सततमपश्यद्विदमवर्षामिती, He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—'I have seen this'. Or they are so called because they are created by Indra or Ātmā (इन्द्रेण सृष्टं) i. e. the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self. Or they are so called because they are 'wished for' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण जुष्टं सेवितं) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge. Or they are so called because they are 'given by' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्तं) i. e. they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e. g. the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on. The word वा 'or' joins every one of the above.

The word इति shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also. As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम् = इन्द्रियम् 'senses'—difficult to be subdued by the Soul.

१८९४। तदस्यास्यास्मिन्निति मतुप् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

गायत्र्यास्यास्मिन्वा सन्ति गोमान् ॥ भुमनिन्वाप्रशास्यु निलयोगेऽतिशायने । संबन्धेऽस्ति विद्व-
द्वायो भवन्ति मतुवावयः ॥

1894. The affix matup (मत्तु मन्त् f. ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is '.

Thus गोमोऽस्य सन्ति = गोमन्त् nom गोमान् ' having cows ', as गोमान् वेवदसः ॥ वृक्षा अस्मिन् सन्ति = वृक्षवन्त् (व being substituted for म् by VIII 2. 9). as वृक्षवान् पर्वतः ॥ Similarly चवमान्, हवमान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मन्त् and cognate affixes are restricted in their application. For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called चवमान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गोमान् ' having many cows '. (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as ककुत्तावर्त्ती, संखादकी, (3) when praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (नित्ययोग) as, क्षीरिणी वृक्ष ॥ When excellence (अतिशायन) is meant, as चवरीणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (संसर्ग) is meant, as इण्डी, कूची ॥ (7) When the sense of कस्ति ' to be ' is denoted, as अस्मिन्मात् ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

मत्तुप्, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अन्यमस्वर्यविनिवृत्त्यर्थे वचनम् । रस, रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, शब्द, ज्ञेय, भाव, द्रव्यान् । एकाव् । ॥ स्ववान् । गुणमहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895. The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is '.

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sūtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मत्तुप् by the last sūtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मत्तुप् ॥

Note :—How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिको दारकः ॥ These are rare forms. According to Pāṇjali this sūtra is useless. Or the words रस &c, must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i. e रस should mean taste, रूप form. Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिक are valid, meaning शोभायोग्यता ॥ So also रसिको तटः = भावयोगः, here रूप and रस do not mean ' form ' and ' taste ' And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sūtra, and form their derivative in मत्तुप् ॥ See V. 2. 115.

1 रस, 2 रूप, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्ध, 5 स्पर्श, 6 शब्द, 7 ज्ञेय, 8 भाव, 9 द्रव्यान् (गुणमहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम्), 10 एकाव् (स्ववान्) ॥

Gana Sūtra :—The affix मत्तुप् comes after रस &c, when they denote quality.

Gana Sūtra :—So also after words of one syllable. As स्ववान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्वर्थे । १ । ४ । १९ ॥

तान्तसान्ती भसन्ती स्तो मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परे । वसो संप्रसारणम् । विदुष्मान् ॥
 गुणवचनेभ्यो मत्तुपो लुगिष्टः * ॥ शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ती शुक्ल पदः । कृष्णः ॥

1896. The word-form ending in **त्** or in **स्** is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word विदुष्मान् (VI. 4. 131 S. 435). By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred.

Vart:—The affix मत्तुप् is elided after words of quality (गुणवचन), as शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ति: = शुक्ल पदः ॥ कृष्णः, श्वेतः &c.

१८६७ । मातुपयायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

मवर्णावर्णान्तान्मवर्णावर्णोपधायाश्च यवादिभिरजितास्परस्ये मतोर्मस्य व स्यात् । किवान् । ज्ञानवान् । विद्यावान् । लक्ष्मीवान् । यशस्वान् । भास्वान् । यवावेस्तु यवमान् । भूमिमान् ॥

1897. For the **म्** of the affix मत्तु is substituted **व**, if the stem ends in **म्** or **अ** (and **आ**) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in **म्** or having **म्** as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted **व** for the **म्** of मत्तुप् ॥ First after stems ending in **म्**, as किवत् (किवान्). Secondly **म्** penultimate: as लक्ष्मीवान् । Thirdly a stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, as ज्ञानवान्, विद्यावान् ॥ Fourthly **अ** or **आ** in the penultimate as यवस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of यव &c"? Observe यवमान्, भूमिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words,

1. यव, 2. वल्मि, 3. ऊर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृमि, 6. कुञ्जा, 7. वशा, 8. ब्राह्मा, 9. भ्रात्रा ॥

These words either end in **म्** and **अ** or have these as their penultimate. 10. ध्वजि, 11. ध्वजि, 12. सज्जि, These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. S. 3600) 13. हरित्, 14. ककुत्, 15. गरुत्, ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इक्षु, 17. मधु 18. हुन, 19. मण्ड, 20. धुम् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an Akṛtiḡaṇa. Wherever in a word, the **म्** of मत्तुप् is not changed to **व** though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class. In the secondary word नार्मत् (= नृमत् इदं), the **व** change has not taken place, because the **अ** is here a Bāhiranga, the real vowel being **अ** ॥

The word मान् in the sūtra is the Ablative of म, i. e. of म + अ, it is a Samāhāra D ṣṇḍva of these two letters,

१८६८ । भयः । ८ । २ । १० ॥

मयस्तामतेर्मस्य वः स्यात् । अपदान्तत्वान्नअत्वम् । विद्युत्वान् ॥

1898. The व् is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As विद्युत्वान् ॥

१८६९ । संज्ञायाम् । ८ । २ । ११ ॥

मतोर्मस्य वः स्यात् । अहीवती । हुनीवती । सरदीनां चेति दीर्घ ॥

1899. The व् is substituted for म् of मत् when the word so formed is a Name

As अहीवती, हुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120. S 1042.

१९०० । आसन्दीवदष्टीवश्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वश्चर्मण्वती । ८ । २ । १२ ॥

एते षट् सज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते । आसनशब्दस्यासन्दीभावः । आसन्दीवान् ग्रामः । अश्वत्थसन्ने-
वान् । अस्थिशब्दस्याष्टीभावः । अष्टीवान् नाम ऋषिः । अस्थिमानस्य च । चक्रशब्दस्य चक्रीभावः ।
चक्रीवान् राजा । चक्रवानस्य च । कक्ष्यायां सप्तसारणम् । कक्षीवान् ऋषिः । कक्ष्यावानस्य च ।
लवणशब्दस्य रुमण्भावः । रुमण्वान् नाम पर्वतः । लवणवानस्य च । चर्मणो मत्तोपाभावो ग्रास्व च । चर्मण्वती
नाम नदी । चर्मवत्यस्य च ॥

1900. The following six Names are irregularly formed:—*āsandīvat*, *ashthīvat*, *chakrīvat*, *kakshīvat*, *rumanvat* *charmanvatī*.

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् ग्रामः, अस्थिमान् ॥ When not a name we have आसनवान् ॥

2. अष्टीवत् is from अस्थि which is changed to अष्टी ॥ As अष्टीवान् the name of a particular Rishi. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् । 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI 4 2. S. 2559 कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5 रुमण्वत् is the name of a mountain; it is formed from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-ellipsis of न् and its change to ण् ॥ The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

१९०१ । उदन्वानुदधौ च । ८ । २ । १३ ॥

उदकस्य उदन्भावो मतो उदधौ सज्ञाया च । उदन्वान् समुद्र इति च ॥

1901. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea" or a "name".

It is derived from चक्र 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like, तटाक &c.

१६०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ८ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भूः । राजवानर्यन् ॥

1902. Also राजन्वान् when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती भूः ॥ The affix मत् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१६०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

चूडालः । चूडावान् । प्राणिस्थाकिम् । शिखावान्दीपः । वात किम् । हस्तवान् । प्राण्यङ्गादेव, मेह । मेधावान् । मलयस्थरेणैव सिद्धं अन्तोदात्तत्वे चूडालोऽसीत्यादौ स्वरितो वातुदात्ते पदादाविति स्वरि लघुत्वार्थकारः ॥

1903. The affix लच् (लँ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being.

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडाल or चूडावान् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe शिखावान् दीपः 'the crested flame of a lamp'. Why do we say " ending in आ "? Observe हस्तवान्, पदवान्, ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, (and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c that are also found in a living being). Hence there is no affixing of लच् here in मेधावान् " possessed of intelligence "

Every affix is udātta (III. 1. 3), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha. The लच् would have been udātta by III. 1. 3, even without the indicatory च् (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) The employment of this anubandha, however, indicates that this udātta will never be changed into svarita, as other udāttas are by rule VII. 2. 6. S. 3659). As चूडालोऽसि ॥

१६०४ । सिध्मादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

लज्जा स्वात् । सिध्यत् । सिध्यवान् । अन्यतरस्याग्रहणं मत्पुस्तसुखार्थं न तु मत्पुस्तसुखार्थम् । तेनाकारान्तेभ्य इतिङनौ न ॥ वातवन्तबललाटानामुङ् च ॥ * वातूल ॥

1904. The affix लच् comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्मात् or सिध्यवान् ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in this sūtra, causes the employment of the affix मत् in the alternative, It does not mean

that the affix लच् is optional. For were लच् optional, then the affixes इनि and इन् would come by V. 2. 115. S. 1922. after those words of सिष्मादि class which end in अ. But that is not the case.

Note :—The words पारिणि and धमनि lengthen the vowel before म, -3 वाचनीलः धमनीलः ॥

Vari :—The words वत, दन्त, बल, ललाट and गल take the augment ऊङ् before लच्, as वातूलः, दन्तूलः, बलूलः, ललाटूलः, गलूलः ॥

Note :—The words जटा, घटा, कटा, and कला take लच् when censure is meant, as जटालः, घटालः, कटालः and कटालः but जटावास्तापसः when no censure is meant.

Note :—The affix लच् comes after words denoting lower organisms and words denoting disease : as यूकालः, मक्षिकालः, विचर्चिकालः, विपादिकालः मूर्छालः ॥

1 सिध्मः, 2 गड्ढः, 3 मणिः, 4 नाभिः, 5 बीज (जीव), 6 बीणा*, 7 कृष्णः, 8 गन्धपात्र, 9 पांशुः, 10 पार्श्वः, 11 पर्शु (परशु), 12 हनु, 13 सक्तुः, 14 मांसः, 15 पारिणिधमन्योर्दीधेः, 16 वातदन्तवलललाटानामूङ् च 17 जटाघटाकटाकलाः (कटा) क्षपे, 18 पर्णः, 19 उर्वकः, 20 प्रज्ञा, 21 लविकः (लाविक) 22 कर्णः, 23 स्नेहः, 24 क्षीतः, 25 श्यामः, 26 विद्रुः, 27 पित्तः, 28 पुष्कः (छुष्क), 29 पृथुः, 30 वृद्धः, 31 मञ्जुः, 32 मण्डः, 33 पत्रः, 34 अट्टः, 35 कपिः, 36 मण्डुः (कण्डु), 37 मन्थिः, 38 श्री*, 39 कुशः, 40 धारा*, 41 वर्मन्*, 42 पक्ष्मन्*, 43 श्लेष्मन्, 44 पेशः, 45 निष्पाद्, 46 कुण्डः, 47 छुप्रजन्तुपतापयोः 48 मण्डः, 49 संज्ञा, ॥

१६०५ । वत्सांसाभ्यां कामवले । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

आभ्यां लङ्वा स्याद्यथासंख्ये कामवति बलवति चार्थे । वत्सलः । अंसलः ॥

1905. The affix लच comes after the word vatsa and aṇsa, in the sense of “love” and “strength” respectively.

Thus वत्सलः ‘loving the calf, loving, tender’. अंसलः ‘strong, lusty’.

Note :—The word वत्स means ‘calf’. In वत्सल there is no trace of its origin, for it is applied to father, master &c, as वत्सलः स्वामी, वत्सलः पिता &c. The word अंस means ‘shoulder’ but अंसल means ‘strong’. The affix लच् in these cases is not optional but necessary and debars मत्तुप् ॥ In other senses, the matup only is added as अंसवली सौः, अंसवान् दुर्बलः ॥

१६०६ । फेनादिलच । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

आलच् । अन्यतरस्याग्रहणं मत्तुप्सुख्यार्थमनुवर्तते । केनिलः । केनलः । केनवान् ॥

1906. The affix ilach (इलै) as well as lach, comes after the word phena, in the sense of matup : and optionally the affix matup also.

The word च् draws in लच् ; and the word अन्तरस्याम् understood in the sūtra adds मत्तुप् in the alternative. As केनिलः, केनलः and केनवान् ॥

१६०७ । लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः । ५ । २ । १०० ॥

लोमादिभ्यः श। । लोमशः । लोमवान् । रोमशः । रोमवान् । पामादिभ्यो न । पामनः ॥ अङ्गात्क-
स्याणे * ॥ अङ्गमा ॥ लक्ष्म्या अच् * ॥ लक्ष्मणः ॥ विष्मिगिद्युत्तरपक्षोपभाकृतसन्धि * ॥ विद्युजः ।
पिच्छादिभ्यः इलच् । पिच्छिलः । पिच्छवान् । उरसिलः । उरस्वान् ॥

1907. The three affixes *śa* (श), *na* (न), and *ṣa* (इलच्) come in the sense of *matup*, respectively after the words of these three classes i. e. *lomādi*, *pāmādi*, and *pichchhādi* : and the affix *matup* also comes in the alternative.

The affix श comes after *lomādi* words as *लोमशः* or *लोमवान्* 'hairy'. So also *रोमशः* or *रोमवान्* ॥ The affix न comes after *pāmādi* words, as *पामनः* or *पामवान्* 'scabby'.

Vart :—The affix न comes after the word *अङ्ग* in the sense of beautiful, as *अङ्गना* 'the fair one' i. e. a woman.

Vart —The affix न comes after *लक्ष्मी* before which ई is changed to ऋ, as *लक्ष्मीरस्यास्ति* = *लक्ष्मण* ॥

Note :—The words *शाकी*, *पलाली* and *वहू* shorten their final vowel before न as *शाकिनम्* a field, *पलालिनम्*, *वहुणम्* ॥

Vart :—The word *विष्वक्* (विषु + अच्) loses its second member, before न, and the change caused by sandhi (उ into व्) is undone. Otherwise the form would be *विष्वणः* (वक् being elided), as *विष्वज्जितानि सन्ति अस्त्य* = *विष्वज्ज* 'moving variously'.

The affix *ṣa* (इलच्) comes after *पिच्छादि* words, as, *पिच्छिलः* or *पिच्छिवान्* 'broth'; *उरसिलः* or *उरस्वान्* ॥

1 लोमन्, 2 रोमन्, 3 बभ्रु, 4 हरि, 5 गिरि*, 6 कर्क*, 7 कपि, 8 छनि, 9 तह ॥

1 पामन्, 2 वामन्, 3 वेमन्, 4 हेमन्, 5 श्लेष्मन्, कद्र (कद्रु), 7 वाल, 8 सामन्, 9 ऊष्मन्, 10 कृमि*, 11 अङ्गान् कल्याणे, 12 शाकीपलालीवहूणां (शाकीपलालीवहूणां), ह्रस्वत्व च, 13 विष्वगस्त्युत्तरपदलोपश्चात्कृतसंधेः (विषुण), 14 लक्ष्म्या अच (लक्ष्मणः), 15 श्रेष्ठ, 16 पलल ॥

1 पिच्छा (पिच्छ), 2 उरस, 3 ध्रुवक (क्षुवक), 4 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवका), 5 जटाघटाकलाः (जटाघटा कलात्), छेपे, 6 वर्ण, 7 उरक, 8 पङ्क, 9 प्रज्ञा ॥

Note :—The affix *ṣa* comes after *jaṭā*, *ghaṭā*, and *kalā*, when censure is meant, as *जटिलः*, *घटिलः*, *कलिलः*; but *जटावान्*, when no censure is meant.

१९०८ प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चाभ्योः । ५ । २ । १०१ ॥

प्राज्ञो व्याकरणे । प्राज्ञा । श्रद्धा । आर्चः ॥ वृत्तिश्च * ॥ वार्त्तः ॥

1908. The affix *ṇa* (अ) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *prajñâ*, *śraddhâ*, and *archâ* : as well as the affix *matup*.

As *प्राज्ञः* or *प्राज्ञवान्*, *श्रद्धः* or *श्रद्धावान्*, *आर्चः* or *आर्चवान्* ॥

Vart :—So also after *वृत्ति*, as *वार्त्तः* or *वृत्तिमान्* ॥

१९०९ । तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीनी । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

विनीन्योरिकारो लकारपरिचयार्थः । तपस्वी । सहस्री । असन्तस्वाद्यन्तस्वाद्य सिद्धे पुनर्ध्वन-
मजा, बाधा माभूविति । सहस्रास्तु ऋणोऽपि बाधनार्थम् ॥

1909. The affixes *vini* (विन्) and *ini* (इन्) come, with the force of *matup*, after the words *tapas* and *sahasra* respectively.

The final इ in विनि and इनि is for the sake of saving the न् from becoming इत् and thus get elided.

The word तपस् ends in अस्, and therefore by V. 2. 121. S. 1928 it would have taken विनि, similarly सहस्र ends in अ, and by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 it would have taken इनि, it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present sūtra? To this it is replied, that by the next sūtra, these words take the affix अण् also; so that, had there not been this present sūtra, the अण् would have debarred the application of इनि and विनि of V. 2. 115. S. 1922, and V. 2. 121. S. 1928. The affix इन् (V. 1. 115) is also debarred after the word सहस्र though it ends in अ ॥

Thus तपोऽस्यास्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्, nom तपस्वी ॥ Similarly सहस्रिन् nom सहस्री ॥

१९१० । अण् च । ५ । २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ । तापसः । सहस्रः ॥

ज्योत्स्नादिभ्य उपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ ज्यौत्स्न । तामिस्रः ॥

1910 And also अण् (अ) comes after *tapas* and *sahasra*.

Thus तापस, सहस्रः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for two purposes, 1st, the anuvṛitti of अण् runs in the subsequent sūtras, which could not have been done had it been included in the last sūtra, 2ndly, the rule of *yathasankhya* (I. 3. 10 S. 62) would not have applied to the last sūtra, had अण् been read along with विनि and इनि ॥

Vārt —The word ज्योत्स्ना &c are governed by this rule and take अण् As ज्योत्स्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् पक्षे = ज्यौत्स्न पक्षः ॥ Similarly तामिस्र (a kind of hell).

१९११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो घट । शर्करः ॥

1911. The affix *an* comes in the sense of *matup*, after *sikatā* and *sarkarā*.

Thus सैकतो घटः, शर्करं मधु ॥

Note :—These are the examples, when they do not denote a place. In denoting a place they will take इत् and लुप् of the next sūtra.

१९१२ । देशे लुबिलचौ च । ५ । १०५ ॥

चादण् मनुष्यं च । सिकताः सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे सिकताः । सिकतिलः । सैकतः । सिकतावान् । एव शर्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912. When the sense is that of 'a locality', there may take place the *lup*-elision of the affixes denoting *matup*

(with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix *ilach* (इल), as well as *an* and *matup*, after the word *sikatâ* and *sarkarâ*.

By च in the sūtra, अण् and मतुप् are introduced. The लुप् refers to मतुप् and every affix in general. Thus सिकता अस्मिन् विद्यन्ते = सिकता देशः or सिकतिलः, सैकतः or सिकतावान् 'a sandy country'. So also शर्करा देशः or शर्करिलः or शर्करा or शर्करावान् 'a stony locality'.

Note:—Why do we say when meaning a 'locality' ? Observe सैकतः 'a vessel of sand', शर्करा 'honey or sugar'. In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I. 2. 51. S. 1294).

१६१३ । दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५ । २ । १०६ ॥

उन्नता वन्ता सन्त्यस्य वन्तुर । ॥

1913. The affix *urach* (उर) comes after *danta*, denoting 'having projecting teeth'.

Thus दन्ता उन्नता अस्ति सन्ति = वन्तुर । ॥

Note—The words in the sūtra are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative.

Why do we say when the meaning is that of 'projecting'? Observe वन्तावान् 'having teeth'.

१६१४ । ऊषसुविमुष्कमधोरः । ५ । २ । १०७ ॥

ऊषरः । सुषिरः । सुष्कोऽण्डः, सुष्करः । मधु माधुर्यम्, मधुरः ॥ रप्रकरणे खसुखकुञ्जोभ्याः उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ खरः । सुखरः । कुञ्जो हरिश्चतुः, कुञ्जरः । नगपासुपाण्डुभ्यश्च * ॥ नगरम् । पांसुरः । पाण्डुरः । पाण्डुराश्वस्तु अश्वुत्पन्न एव ॥ कच्छा हस्तश्च च ॥ कच्छुरः ॥

1914. The affix *r* comes, after the word *ûsha*, *sushi*, *mushka* and *madhu*, with the force of *matup*.

Thus ऊषर क्षेत्रम् 'a barren soil, impregnated with *ûsha* or salt' सुषिरं काष्ठं 'a perforated wood i. e. containing सुषि or hole' सुष्करः मधु, 'a beast having testicles, or *mushka*' मधुरो गुड 'sweet sugar'.

Note—The word इति shows that the words formed with *r* are names of certain things. Therefore it will not apply here ऊषोऽस्मिन् घटे विद्यते 'there is salt in this pot' we cannot say ऊषरो घटः, nor मधुरो घटः for मध्वस्मिन् घटे विद्यते ॥

Vat:—The affix *r* comes after ख, सुख and कुञ्ज, as खमस्यास्ति कण्ठविवरं मधु = खरः 'an ass, lit. having a wide throat'. सुखमस्यास्ति इति सर्वस्मिन् वक्तव्ये = सुखरः 'talkative', कुञ्जमस्य स्त = कुञ्जरः 'an elephant having tusks'. The word कुञ्ज means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word कुञ्जरः is a common name for all elephants.

Vart :—The affix र comes after नग, पांसु and पाण्डु as नगम् 'a city lit. having trees (naga = tree), पांसुरं पाण्डुरम् ॥ The word पाण्डुरः has no derivative.

Vart :—So also after कच्छु' the vowel being shortened. as कच्छुः ॥

१६१५ । द्युदुभ्यां मः । ५ । २ । १०८ ॥

द्युमः । द्रुमः ॥

1915. The affix म comes after dyu and dru, in the sense of matup.

Thus द्युमः । द्रुमः ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take मतुप् in the alternative.

१९१६ । केशाद्धोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १०९

प्रकृतेनान्यतरस्यामद्वयेन मतुपि सिद्धे पुनर्यद्वयमिति नोः समावेशार्थम् । केशवः । केशी । केशिकः । केशवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते * मणिवो नागविशेषः । हिरण्यवो निधिविशेषः ॥ अर्णवो लोपश्च * ॥ अर्णवः ॥

1916. The affix व comes optionally, with the force of matup, after kēśa.

Though the word अन्यतरस्याम् was understood here from V. 2. 96 S. 1903 (see V. 2. 97), its repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only मतुप् but the affixes इति and ठम् (V. 2. 115 S. 1922) also. Thus we have four forms केशवः, केशा, केशिकः and केशवान् ॥

Vart :—The affix व is seen after other words also. As मणिवः 'a kind of serpent' हिरण्यवः 'a kind of gem', करारवः

Vart :—The final of अर्णस् is elided before व, as अर्णवः

१६१७ । गाण्डियजगारसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११० ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घयोर्व्या तन्मेण निर्देशः । गाण्डिवम् । गाण्डीवम् । अर्जुनस्य धनुः । अजगध विनाकः ॥

1917 The affix व comes after gāṇḍī and ajaga, in the sense of matup, when the word is a Name.

As गाण्डीवं 'the bow Gāṇḍīva of Arjuna'; अजगधं 'the bow Ajagadh of Śiva'. There is shortening also, as गाण्डिवम् ॥ The sūtra is so framed, that the word गाण्डी and गाण्डि are both included.

१६१८ । काण्डाण्डादीरञ्जीरचौ । ५ । २ । १११ ॥

काण्डारः । आण्डीरः ॥

1918. The affixes िर and िरच come in the sense of matup, after the words kāṇḍa and aṇḍa respectively.

Thus कौण्डीरः and अण्डीरः ॥ Another reading has आण्डि and आण्डीरः ॥

१६१९ । रजःकृष्यासुतिपरिषदो बलच् । ५ । २ । ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री । कृषीवलः । वलइति दीर्घः । आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः । परिषद्वलः । पर्वविति पाठान्तरम् । पर्वद्वलम् ॥ अन्यभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * ॥ भ्रातृवलः । पुत्रवलः । शत्रुवलः । वल इत्यत्र संज्ञायां-त्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह दीर्घः ॥

1919. The affix valach (वल) comes, in the sense of matup, after rajas, kṛishi, āsuti, and parishad.

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीवलः कुटुम्बी, आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः, परिषद्वलो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृषि and आसुति takes place by VI 3. 118 S 1040

Note 1.—The affix वलच् comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples. Thus in रजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing.

Varṇi:—The affix valach is seen after other words also As भ्रातृवलः, पुत्रवलः, शत्रुवलः, ॥ The sūtra VI. 3. 118 S. 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words "when it is a name" is understood there. The examples here are not names.

११२० । दन्तशिखारसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

दन्तावलो हस्ती । शिखावलः केकी ॥

1920. The affix valach comes in the sense of matup after danta and śikhā when a Name is formed.

Thus दन्तावलो हस्ती, शिखावलः केकी ॥ The final vowel of दन्त is lengthened before वल by VI. 3. 118 S. 1040.

११२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राभृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मत्स्ये निपात्यन्ते । ज्योतिष उपधातो नञ् प्रत्ययः । ज्योत्स्ना । तमस उपधाया इत्थ रञ् । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीस्वमतन्त्रम् । तमिस्रम् । भृङ्गाविनच् । भृङ्गिणः । ऊर्जसो वलच् । तेन बाधा ना भूविति विनिरपि, ऊर्जस्वी । ऊर्जस्वलः । ऊर्जोऽसुगागम इति वृत्तिस्तु धिन्या । ऊर्जस्वतीतिमदसुत्रेनैवोपपत्तेः । गोशब्दान्निनिः । गोमी । मलशब्दादिनच् । मलिना । ईमसश्च । मलीमसः ॥

1921. The words jyotsnā, tamisrā, śringiṇa, ūrjasvin, ūrjasvala, gomin, malina, and malīmasa are irregularly formed, in the sense of matup and are Names.

They are thus formed. ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना 'moon-light, (the इ being elided), तमस् + र = तमिस्रा 'night'. (इ being added) · it has other genders than feminine as तमिस्र नञ् 'dark sky'. भृङ्ग + इनच् भृङ्गिणः ॥ To ऊर्जस् are added the affixes विनि and वलच्; as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्, ऊर्जस्वल ॥ The Kāśikā derives this by adding the augment असुक् to ऊर्ज् and then affixing वल and इन् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative for there is a form like ऊर्जस् ending in असुन् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive ūrjasvin and ūrjasval, from this ūrjas. गो + मिनि = गोमिन् N. S. गोमी; मल + इमसश्च = मलीमसः ॥

१९२२ । अत इनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ११५ ॥

वण्डी । वण्डिकः ॥

1922. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after nominal stems ending in short अ; and in the alternative matup also comes.

Thus वण्डिन् N S. वण्डी ०। वण्डिकः ॥

Note.—The word अन्यतरस्याम् (V. 2. 96 S. 1903) is understood here also, so we have मतुप्, as वण्डवान्, छत्रवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ' ? Observe खट्वावान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor ठन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and ठन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in kṛit-affixes, after words denoting genus (jāti), and when the construction is that of locative. As स्व and ख form only स्ववान्, खवान्, ॥ Kṛit: as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative; as वण्डा अस्यां सन्ति = वण्डवती शाला ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as kṛit:—कार्यिन्, कार्याकः कार्यिन्, कार्यिकः ॥ Genus (jāti):—तण्डुलिन्, तण्डुलिकः ॥

१९२३ । व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ११६ ॥

व्रीही । व्रीहिकः । न च सर्वेभ्यो व्रीह्यादिभ्य इनिठनाविद्येते । किं तर्हि शिखामालासंज्ञादिभ्य इनि. * । यवखरादिभ्य इकः * । अन्योभ्य उभयम् * ॥

1923. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after the words vṛihi &c; as well as the affix matup.

Thus व्रीहिन् (nom. व्रीही), व्रीहिक, व्रीहिमान्, मायी, मायिक, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all व्रीह्यादि words.

Vārtika —The affix इनि comes after शिखादि sub-division.

Vārtika :—The affix इकन् after यवखरादि sub-division.

Vart :—After the remaining words, both इनि and ठन् (=इकन्) come.

Note.—The शिखादि after which इनि only comes are :—1 शिखा, 2 मेखला, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बलाका, 5 माला, 6 वीणा, 7 वडवा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्मन्, 11 चर्मन्, 12 हस्ता, ॥ The यवखर &c. are the following 1 यवखर, 2 कुमारी, 3 नौ; they take इकन् only. The rest take both. The word व्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sūtra also, why is it then read in this class? The word व्रीहि in the Tundādi class V 2 117, S 1924 does not mean the word-form व्रीहि, but words synonym with it, Thus शालयोऽस्य सन्ति = शालिलः, शाली, शालिकः, शालिमान् ॥ The word व्रीहि preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अशीर्षी and अशीर्षिकः ॥ The remaining words are व्रीहि, माया, शाला, केका, वर्मन्, दण्डा, सज्ञा ॥

१९२४ । तुन्दादिभ्य इलश्च । ५ । २ । ११७ ॥

चाविनिठनौ मतुप् च । तुन्विलः । तुन्वी । तुन्विकः । तुन्वान् । उदर, विचण्ड, यव, व्रीहि । स्वाङ्गाद्विवृद्धौ * ॥ “विवृद्धयुपाधिकास्त्वाङ्गवाचिन इलजादयः स्युः” । विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स कर्णिलः । कर्णी । कर्णिक । कर्णवान् ॥

1924. The affix *ilach* (इल) also comes in the sense of *matup*, after the nominal-stems *tunda* &c.

The force of च is that इनि, उन् and मतुप् also come. As तुन्विकः, तुन्वी, वन्विकः, तुन्ववान् ॥ Similarly उद्विकः, उद्वी, उद्विकः, उद्ववान् ॥

The following is the list of तुन्वादि words 1 तुन्द, 2 उदर, 4 पिचण्ड, 4 षट्, 5 यव, 6 त्रीदि, 7 स्वाहादिवृजौ च ॥

Gapa sūtra :—The affix इलच comes after words denoting parts of one's body, when the largeness (विबुद्धि) of those organs is implied : as विबुद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स = कर्णिलः, कर्णी, कर्णिकः, कर्णवान् ॥

१६२५ । एकगोपुर्वाद् इल नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ११८ ॥

एकशतमस्यास्तीति ऐकशतिकः । ऐकसहस्रिकः । गौशतिकः । गौसहस्रिकः ॥

1925. The affix *than* comes always in the sense of *matup*, after a stem, which in composition is preceded by एक or गो ॥

Thus एकशतमस्यास्ति = ऐकशतिकः, ; गौशतिकः, गौसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—The word नित्यम् 'always', is used in the sūtra to indicate that मतुप् does not come in the alternative. In all the previous sūtras मतुप् came in the alternative.

१६२६ । शतसहस्रान्ताच्च निष्कात् । ५ । २ । ११९ ॥

निष्कात्पराद्यौ शतसहस्रशब्दौ तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्व्यस्यन्मत्वर्थे । नैष्कशतिकः । नैष्कसहस्रिकः ॥

1926. The affix *than* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *śata* and *sahasra*, when they follow after *nishka*.

Thus निष्कशतमस्यास्ति = नैष्कशतिकः, नैष्कसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—But not so after सुवर्णनिष्कशतं, it being never so found in usage.

१६२७ । रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप् । ५ । २ । १२० ॥

आहतं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यः कार्षापणः । प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यो गौः । आदतेति कियः । रूपवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * ॥ हिम्याः पर्वताः । गुण्या ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1927. The affix *yap* (य) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *rūpa*, when stamping (coining) or praise is denoted.

Thus आहतं रूपमस्य = रूप्यः कार्षापणः "a coin having stamped on it the form of some king &c". Similarly प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्ति = रूप्यो गौः 'a handsome bull' The form impressed on a coin &c by hammering &c, is called आहत or stamping.

Why do we say 'when stamping or praise is denoted? Observe रूपवान् 'having form'.

Vart :—The affix च् is seen after other words also, as हिम्या पर्वताः, गुण्या नाम्नाः ॥

१९२८ । अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः । ३ । २ । १२९ ॥

यशस्वी । यशस्वान् । आयावी । मायावान् । व्रीह्यादिपाठादिनिष्ठौ । मायी । मायिक । किमन्तत्वात्कुः । स्रग्धी ॥ आमयस्यापसंख्याय बीधेभ्यः * ॥ आमयावी ॥ भृङ्गवृन्दाभ्यामारकन् * ॥ भृङ्गारकः । वृन्धारकः ॥ कलवर्द्धाभ्यामिगच् ॥ फलिनः । बर्हिणः ॥ हृदयाचालुन्यसत्स्याम् * ॥ इन्वेना मतुप् च । हृदयालुः । हृदयी । हृदयिक । हृदयवान् ॥ शीतोष्णतृप्तेभ्यस्तनसहने * ॥ शीते न सहते शीतालुः । उष्णालुः । स्फासितञ्चीति रक् । तृप्ः पुरोडासः त न सहते तृपालुः । तृप् दुःखामिति माध्वम् * ॥ शिमाचलुः * ॥ हिमे न सहते हिमेलुः ॥ बलालुः * ॥ बल न सहते बललुः ॥ वाताक्षयूहे च * ॥ वात न सहते वातस्य समूहो वा वातलुः ॥ तप् पर्वतरुभ्याम् * ॥ पर्वतः । मरुतः ॥

1928. After a stem ending in अस्, and after mâyâ, medhâ and sraj, comes the affix vini (विन्) in the sense of matup.

Thus यशस् यशस्विन्, यशस्—यशस्विन् N. S. यशस्वी or यशस्वान्, मायावी, मायावान् मेधाविन्, स्रग्विन् ॥ The word माया being included in व्रीह्यादि class, will take इनि, and इन् also V. 2. 116 As मायी मायिकः ॥ The word स्रज् is क्तिन् formed and so ज् is changed to ण् (VIII. 2 62. S. 377) and we get स्रग्विन्, N. S. स्रग्धी ॥

Vart :—The word आमय also should be enumerated, and there is lengthening of the final, both in the sacred and classical literature. As आमायावी ॥

Vart :—The affix आरकन् comes after शृङ्ग and वृन्द् as शृङ्गारकः, वृन्धारकः, ॥

Vart :—The affix इगच् comes after फल and बर्ह; as फलिनः and बर्हिणः ॥

Vart :—So also after हृदय the affix चालु comes optionally: along with इन्, ठन् and मतुप् as, हृदयालु, हृदयी, हृदयिक, हृदयवान् ॥ The च् is इन् by I. 3 7.

Vart :—The affix चालु of the last vârtika comes after शीत, उष्ण and तृप् in the sense of 'not being able to bear that.' As शीते न सहते = शीतालु 'shivering from cold' उष्णालुः तृपालु ॥ the word तृप् is formed from √ तृप् with the affix रक् (unâdi II. 13). It is the name of Puroḍāśa rice cake. According to Mâdhava it means 'pain'.

Vart :—So also after हिम comes the affix एलु in the above sense: as हिमे न सहते = हिमेलु ॥ The affix begins with ए and not ई as the construction of the vârtika may lead one to think (Mâdhava).

Vart :—The affix ञ्जल् in the same sense after बल; as बले न सहते = बललुः (See Sidhmâdi Gana).

Vart :—So also after वात in the sense of 'collection thereof' and 'not being able to bear that' as वातानां समूहः or वाते न सहते = वातलुः ॥ (See sidhmâdi, gana also)

Vart :—the affix तम् comes after पर्व and मरुत् As पर्वतः and मरुतः ॥

Note :—The affix इनि comes after अर्थ in the sense of 'not having that' as अर्थी

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth.' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'rich'. All these are obtained by बहुलः

१९२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सिस्वात्पदत्वम् । ऊर्णाया । अत्र छन्दसीति केचिदुच्यते । युक्तं चैतत् । अन्यथा हि अहं ह्यभोरित्यत्रैवोर्णामहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929. The affix युस् is added to ऊर्णा in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandas).

The स् of युस् makes the word ऊर्ण a पर (I. 4. 16 S. 1252); the result of which is that rules applicable to अ Bha do not apply; e. g VI. 1. 148, S. 1063 by which the final इ or ई अ or आ is elided. Thus ऊर्णाया ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sūtra. This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ūrṇā in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sūtra. The word ūrṇā could have been read along with aham and śubham in V. 2. 140. S. 1946,

१९३० । वाचो ग्मिनिः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930. The affix gmini (ग्मिन्) comes after the word vâch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note:—The affix is not ग्मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाडग्मिन् by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116 Vart.

१९३१ । आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

कुत्सितं इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ कुत्सितं बहु भाषते वाचालः । वाचाटः । यस्तु सम्यग्बहु भाषते । स वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931. The affixes âlach (आलै) and âtach (आटै) come, in the sense of matup, after vâch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars ग्मिन् ॥ Thus वाचालः 'garrulous', वाचाटः ॥

Vart:—These affixes come when contempt is expressed. An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose. He will not be called वाचालः or वाचाटः ॥

१९३२ । स्वामिन्मैश्वर्ये । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

ऐश्वर्यवाचकास्त्वहं इत्यन्मैश्वर्ये स्वामिन् ॥

1932. The irregularly formed word svâmin denotes 'Sir or Lord'.

The affix **आमिन्** comes in the sense of lordship after the word **स्व** meaning 'lord'. Thus **स्वमस्यास्ति = ऐश्वर्यमस्यास्ति = स्वामिन्** ॥

Note.—Why do we say when meaning 'Sir' **Observe, स्ववान्** ॥

१६३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । १२७ ॥

अर्शस्यस्य विद्यन्ते अर्शसः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933 The affix **ach (अँ)** comes in the sense of **matup**, after the word **arśa &c**

Thus **अर्शासि अस्य विद्यन्ते = अर्शसः** ॥ The **Arśadi** is an **Ākṛitigana**.

Note.—After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix **अच्** when defect is meant. As **खड्गः पार्श्वस्यास्ति = खड्गः । काण.** ॥ So also after words denoting color, as **शुक्लोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्ल पद** ॥

1 **अर्शस्**, 2 **उरस्**, 3 **तुन्व**, 4 **अतुर**, 5 **फलित**, 6 **अटा**, 7 **चटा**, 8 **घटा**, 9 **अघ** (अभ्र)
10 **कर्दम**, 11 **आम्ब**, (आम) 12 **लवण**, 13 **स्याङ्गाङ्गीनात्**, 14 **वर्णीत्** । **आकृतिगण** ॥

१६३४ । द्वन्द्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनि । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

द्वन्द्वः । कटकवल्लयिनी । शङ्खनूपुरिणी । तपतापो रोगः । कुष्ठी । किलासी । गच्छं निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । प्राणिस्थादिकम् । पुष्पफलवाग्घटः । प्राण्यङ्गात्र ॥ पाणिपादवती । अत इत्येव । शिबकललादिकावती । सिद्धे प्रत्यये पुनर्निधन उनादिनाधनार्थम् ॥

1934. The affix **ini (इन्)** comes, in the sense of **matup**, after a **dvandva** compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being.

Thus **Dvandva**—**कटकवल्लयिनी** 'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', **शङ्खनूपुरिणी** 'a woman having *sankha* and *nūpura* ornaments' So after diseases, :—**कुष्ठी** 'a leper', **किलासी** 'a white leper' So after names of faults,—**ककुदावर्ती**, **काकतालुकी** ॥

Why do we say 'when found in 'a living being?' Observe **पुष्पफलवान् वृक्षः** ॥

Vārtika :—The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body : as, **पाणिपादवती** ॥ The words **अतः** V. 2 115, S. 1922 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in **अ**; as **शिबकललादिकावती** ॥ Though the **Dvandva** compound &c. ending in **अ**, would have taken **इनि** by V 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present sūtra shows that the **Dvandva** compounds &c, take only **इनि**, and not **इन्** &c.

१९३५ । चातातीसाराभ्यां कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२९ ॥

चादिनि । वातकी । अतीसारकी ॥ रोगे चायामिष्यते * । नेह । वातवती युद्धा ॥ पिशाचका * ॥

1935. The augment kuk (क्) comes before इनि, after the words vâta and atisâra.

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sūtra ; the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment. Thus वातकी, अतिसारकी ॥ Another reading is असीसारकी ॥ *Ishti*. This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases. Otherwise, वातवती सुहा ॥

Vdt :—So also after पिशाच, as पिशाचकी वैश्वय 'the Kubera'.

१६३६ । वयसि पूरणान् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

पूरणमत्ययान्तान्तत्वे इनिः स्याद्वयसि धोले । मासः सवस्सरो वा पञ्चमोऽस्यास्तीति पञ्चमी षट् । उन्वाधनार्थमिदम् । वयसि किम् । पञ्चमवान् मासः ॥

1936. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted.

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्यास्ति मासः सवस्सरो वा = पञ्चमिन् 'five months or years old', as पञ्चमी षट् ॥ By V. 2. 115 S. 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words ; the present sūtra is a restrictive rule teaching that षट् does not come in this sense.

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, पञ्चमवान् मासरागः ॥

१६३७ । सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । १३१ ॥

इनिर्मत्वर्थे । सुखी । दुःखी । मालाक्षेपे ॥ माली ॥

1937. The affix ini comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of matup, after the words sukha &c.

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी ; दुःखी &c. When censure is implied, then इन् comes after माला, to the exclusion of मतुप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखादि words :—

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 कृत्, 4 कृच्छ, 5 आश्व (आश), 6 अक्ष, 7 अलीक, 8 कदण (कदणा) 9 क्षोभ, 10 प्रतीप (प्रमीप), 11 बीज, 12 इल, 13 माला क्षेपे, 14 कृपण, 15 प्रणय (प्रणाय), 16 वक्ष, 17 कक्ष ॥ *Ganasūtra*, After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure',

Thus मालिन्, N S. माली ॥

१६३८ । धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताश्च । ५ । २ । १३२ ॥

धर्मोद्यन्तादिनिर्मत्वर्थे । ब्राह्मणधर्मः । ब्राह्मणशीली । ब्राह्मणधर्णी ॥

1938. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in dharma, śīla, and varṇa.

Thus ब्राह्मणार्ता धर्म = ब्राह्मणधर्मः, सोऽस्यास्ति = ब्राह्मणधर्मः ॥ ब्राह्मणशीलिन्, ब्राह्मणधर्णिन् ॥

१६३६ । हस्ताजातो । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥

हस्ती । जातो किम् । हस्तवान्पुरुषः ॥

1939. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *hasta*, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed.

Thus हस्तोऽस्यास्ति = हस्तिन् N. S. हस्ती 'an elephant'. Why do we say when meaning a जाति 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुषः ॥

१६४० । वर्णाब्रह्मचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥

वर्णी ॥

1940. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *varna*, when the word so formed means a *Brahmachârin*.

Thus वर्णिन् 'a Brahmachârî'. Nom. Sing वर्णी ॥

Note.—The first three वर्ण or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with a sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are so called. When the meaning is not of Brahmachârî we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । पद्मिनी । देशे किम् । पुष्करवान्करी ॥ बाहुरुपूर्वपदाबलात् * ॥ बाहुवली । ऊरुवली ॥ अर्धदेश * ॥ सर्वधनी । सर्वबीजि ॥ अर्थाच्चासन्निहिते * ॥ अर्थी । सन्निहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ नदन्ताय * ॥ आन्यार्थी । हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1941. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *pushkara* &c, when the word so formed denotes a locality

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', पद्मिनी &c. Why do we say when 'locality' is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान् करी ॥

Vart.—The affix इन् comes after बल preceded by बाहु or ऊरु, as बाहुवलिन् ऊरुवलिन् ॥

Vart.—So also after words preceded by सर्व; as, सर्वधनिन्, सर्वबीजिन्, सर्वकेशी नदः ॥

Vart.—So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near'; as अर्थिन् meaning अर्थोऽसन्निहितोऽस्य 'wanting wealth'. Otherwise अर्थवान् 'having wealth'.

Vart.—So also after a compound ending in अर्थ, as धान्यार्थी, हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1 पुष्कर, 2 पद्म, 3 ऊरुवलि, 4 समाल, 5 कुसुद, 6 नद, 7 कवित्थ, 8 बिस, 9 मृणाल, 10 कर्षण, 11 शालुक, 12 विगर्ह, 13 करिष, 14 शिरीष, 15 यवास, 16 प्रवाह (प्रवास), 17 हिरण्य, 18 केव, 19 कलोल, 20 नदः, 21 सरग, 22 पङ्कजः, 23 सरोजः, 24 राजीवः, 25 नालीकः, 26 सरोरुहः, 27 पुदक, 28 अरविन्दः, 29 अम्भोजः, 30 गङ्गा, 31 कमलः, 32 पयस्, 33 वयसः ॥

१६४२ । बलादिभ्योमतुवन्त्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १३६ ॥

बलवान् । बली । उत्साहवान् । उत्साही ॥

1942. After the nominal-stems bala &c, comes the affix matup optionally, as well as ini.

The affix इनि will come in the alternative. Thus बलवान् or बली (Nom. of बलिन्); उत्साहवान् or उत्साही (Nom. of उत्साहिन्) ॥

1 बल, 2 उत्साह, 3 उत्सास (उत्साव), 4 उत्सास*, 5 उत्सास, 6 शिखा*, 7 कुल, 8 खूडा*, 9 धूल*, 10 कूल*, 11 आश्राम, 12 व्याश्राम, 13 उपश्राम, 14 आरोग, 15 अवरोग, 16 परिणाम, 17 युद्ध, 18 उद्गम, 19 शिखावल, 20 गूगमूल, 21 वृक्ष ॥

१६४३ । संज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम् । ५ । २ । १३७ ॥

मन्मन्ताभ्यान्ताद्येनिर्मत्वर्थे । प्रथिमिनी । शमिनी । होमिनी । सोमिनी । सज्ञायां किम् । सोमवान् ॥

1943. After a nominal-stem ending in मन् or म comes the affix ini, in the sense of matup, when the whole word so formed means a name.

Thus प्रथिमन् + इनि = प्रथिम + इन् (VI 4. 144, S 679) = प्रथिमिन् fem. प्रथिमिनी ॥ So also शमिनि ॥ Similarly होम, होमिनी, सोम, सोमिनी ॥ Why do we say, 'when meaning a name'? Observe, सोमवान् ॥

१६४४ । कंशभ्यां वमयुस्तितुनयसः । ५ । २ । १३८ ॥

कशमिति सान्तौ । कशित्युक्कसुखयोः । शमिति सुखे । आभ्यां सप्त प्रत्ययाः स्युः । युस्वसोः सकार पदव्यर्थः । कंशः । कभः । कंयुः । कतिः । कंतुः । कतः । कंयः । शवः । शंभः । शंदः । शंतिः । शतुः । शतः । शयः । अनुस्वारस्य वैकल्पिकः परसवर्णः । वकारश्चकारपरस्यानुनासिकौ वयो ॥

1944. The seven affixes va, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta and yas, come in the sense of matup, after कम् 'water and happiness', and शम् 'happiness'.

Thus कवः, कभः, कंयुः, कन्ति, कन्तुः, कन्तः, कंयः, शवः, शम्भः, शंदुः, शन्तिः, शन्तुः, शन्तः, शंय ॥

The व् in युस् and यस्, make the stem, a Pada (I. 4. 16 S. 1252), the result of which is that न of कम् and शम् is changed into Anusvāra before these two affixes by VIII 3 23. S 122. When denoting a Name, the forms will be कम्बः and शम्ब ॥ The anusvāra is optionally changed to a nasal homogenous to the class that follows. The va and ya become nasalised when preceded by an anusvāra. (Thus the first affix is व va and not व् ba as given in the Kāśikā].

१६४५ । तुन्निवलिचटेर्भः । ५ । २ । १३९ ॥

वृक्षा नाभिस्तुन्नि । मूर्ध्न्योपधोऽयमिति माधवः । तुन्निम् बलिम् । बलिम् । पामादिशादुत्ति-
नोऽपि ॥

1945. The affix bha (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after tundi, vali and vaṭi.

Thus तुन्दिभः, 'having a protuberent belly', बलिभः and वटिभः ॥ Another form is वतिनः, because वति is included in the Pāmādi class V. 2. 100 S. 1907. The forms तुन्विलः &c, are valid by V. 2. 117 S. 1924.

१६४६ । अहंशुभमोर्युस् । ५ । २ । १४० ॥

अहमिति नान्तमव्ययमहङ्कारे । शुभमिति शुभे । अहयुः अहङ्कारवाच् ॥ शुभयुः शुभान्वितः ॥

1946. The affix yus (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words aham 'pride', and the indeclinable ubham 'good'.

Thus अहयुः = अहङ्कारवाच्, 'selfish, haughty', शुभयुः = कल्याणवान् ॥ 'auspicious'. The स् of युस् makes the words अहम् and शुभम्, Padas; and अ is changed into Anusvāra (I. 4. 16, VIII. 3 23). See V. 2. 123.

Here ends the chapter on Matup-affixes.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्दिशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES

१६४७ । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

विकृतादेभ्य इत्यतः प्राग्प्रक्षयमाणाः प्रत्यया विभक्तिसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ अयं स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः ॥
समर्थानामिति प्रथमादिति च निवृत्तम् । वेति स्वतुवर्तत एव ॥

1947. The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V. 3. 27. S. 1974. (exclusive) are called Vibhakti.

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i. e. they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation. The rule IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else.

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिक, the anuvṛtiti of समर्थानाम् and प्रथमाद् of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 does not apply to them. The word च of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कृत or कस्मान्, कुच or कस्मिन् ॥

Note.—Thus V. 3. 7 S. 1953 declares, that after the words किम् in the ablative there is the affix तस्मिन्, as कृतः ततः वतः ॥

Note :—The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to debar the elision of final स् and न् of the affixes as इत् (I. 3. 4. S. 190). Thus in the affix द्वासीन् V. 3. 18, S. 1967 न् is not इत्, had it been so, rule I. 1. 47 would have applied : (b) to regulate the accent of इवन्, thus इवन् + तस्मिन् = इवैः here by VI. 1. 171. S. 3717 the affix तस्मिन् becomes udātta by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ल (VI. 1. 193 S. 3676) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of ल्यप्, that is, the rules given in the Sūtras VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and those that follow. Thus ल्यद् + तस्मिन् = ल्यतः, the द् being replaced by न् by VII. 2. 102. S. 265.

१६४८ । किस्सर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्वयादिभ्यः । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

किम् सर्वनाम्नो बहुवचनमिति प्राग्दिशोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1948. These Prāgdiśīya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanāma, and after bahu ; but not after dvi &c.

The words द्वि &c. though सर्वनाम are exempted Thus कृषः, कुतः, यतः, यत्र, बहुतः, बहुयः ॥

Note.—Why do we say अद्वय्यादि 'not द्वि &c. Observe द्वाभ्याम्, त्रयोः ॥ Why do we say किम् &c? Observe वृक्षात्, वृत्ते &c. The word किम् is a सर्वनाम, but it being included in the द्रव्यदि class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned.

Note.—The word बहु here is 'a Sankhya.' Therefore, the affix does not apply here, चर्होः स्रपात्, बहु स्रवे ॥

१६४९ । इदम् इत् ॥ ५ । ३ । ३ ।

प्राग्दिशिथे परे ॥

1949. For idam, there is the substitute इत् (इ), when a Prâgdiśīya affix follows.

The word प्राग्दिशः is understood here also. The इत् of इत् is indicative of the substitution of the whole (I. 1. 55). Thus इदम् + इत् V. 3. 11, = इद ॥

१६५० । एतेतौ रथोः ॥ ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इदम् शब्दस्य एत इत इत्यादेशौ स्तो रेकाशौ धकारादौ च प्राग्दिशिथे परे । इतोऽपवादः ॥

1950. The substitutes एत and इत come in the place of idam, when 'a Prâgdiśīya affix beginning with र and थ respectively follows.

This debars इत् ॥ The इत् in र is for the sake of euphony. Thus इदम् + हिल् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 16). इदम् + यत् = इत्थम् (V. 3. 24).

१६५१ । एतदोऽन् ॥ ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः ॥ एतत् ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रथोः ॥ अन् ॥ एतत् इत्येव । अनेकान्धास्त्वर्वादेशः । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

1951. The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prâgdiśīya affix follows.

Note.—According to Kâsika the substitute is अत् । The अत् of अत् causes the replacement of the whole (I. 1. 55 S 45). According to Patanjali the substitute is 'अन् and not अत् ॥ Thus एतद् + तसिन् = अत्तः V. 3. 7 S, 1958 ; अत् V. 3. 10.

This sūtra must be divided into two, (1) एतत्, and (2) अन्, the meaning being. (1) The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with र् and थ respectively follow, as एतद् + हिल् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 21. S 1969) एतद् + यत् = इत्थम् ॥ The थ must be the थ of यत् which comes after idam (V. 3. 24 S 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the थ of थार्ह (V. 3. 23 S 1971) before which the substitute will be अत् ॥ The word एतद् will take यत् by the implication of this rule. The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prâgdiśīya affixes As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad. Thus एतद् + तसिद् = अन् + तस् = अतः (the न is elided by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236).

१६५२ । सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि । ५ । ३ । ६ ॥

प्राग्दिशीयो एकाराद्यौ प्रत्यये परो सर्वस्य सो वा स्यात् ॥

1952. The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a प्राग्दिशीया vibhakti beginning with द् ॥

Thus सर्वदा or सदा ॥ When the affix is not प्राग्दिशीया, there is no substitution : as, सर्वे ददाति = सर्वदा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇī who gives all'.

१६५३ । पञ्चम्यारतसिद् । ५ । ३ । ७ ॥

पञ्चम्यन्तेभ्यः किमाविभ्यस्तसिद् स्याद् ॥

1953. The affix तसि (तस्) comes after the word, किम् a sarvanāma, and bahu, when ending in the ablative case : but not after dvi &c

As किम् + तसिद् = कु + तस् ॥ The following sūtra changes किम् into कुः ॥

१९५४ । कु तिहोः । ७ । २ । १०४ ॥

किम् कुः स्यात्तदौ द्वौ च विभक्तौ परतः । कुतः । कस्मात् । अतः । ततः । अतः । इतः । अद्भुतः । बहुतः । द्वावेस्तु । द्वाभ्याम् ॥

1954. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः = कस्मात् ॥ कुतः, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7. S. 1961 and 1953). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥ So also अतः, ततः, अतः, इतः, अद्भुतः, बहुतः ॥ But not after द्वि &c As द्वाभ्याम् ॥

१६५५ । तसेश्च । ५ । ३ । ८ ॥

किंसर्वनामबहुभ्यः परस्य तसेस्तसिन्नादेशः स्यात् । एकारार्थे विभक्त्यर्थे च वचनम् ॥

1955. The affix तसि (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V. 4. 44, 45 S. 2111 and 1221) when kim, a sarvanāma, and bahu follow.

This substitution is for the sake of accent, and for giving it the designation of vibhakti. Otherwise तस् (V. 4. 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a प्राग्दिशीया affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so यत् &c cannot be changed to य when तसि will be added (VII. 2. 102 S. 265). So we can never get the form यत् as in the sentence यतोऽवगच्छति ॥

१६५६ । पर्याभिभ्यां च । ५ । ३ । ९ ॥

आभ्यां तसिद् स्यात् ॥ सर्वोभ्यामभिभानेव * ॥ परितः । सर्वत इत्यर्थः । अभितः । समवत इत्यर्थः ॥

1956. The affix तसि comes after pari and abhi also.

Vārtā :—This affix comes when परि means 'all', and अभि means 'both'. Thus परितः = सर्वतः ; 'all round', अभितः, उभयतः 'on both sides'.

१६५७ । सप्तम्यास्त्रल् । ५ । ३ । १० ॥

कुत्र । यत्र । तत्र । बहुत्र ॥

1957. The affix tral (त्र) comes after kim, a sarvanāma, and bahu, when ending in a locative.

Thus कुत्र (VII 2 104 S, 1954) 'where', तत्र (VII. 2. 102. S. 265) 'there', बहुत्र 'in many places'

१९५८ । इदमो हः । ५ । ३ । ११ ॥

त्रलोऽपवादः । इषादेशः । इह ॥

1958 The affix ह comes after इदम् ending in the locative.

This debars त्रल् ॥ Thus इह (V 3 3. S. 1949) 'here'.

१६५९ । किमो ऽत् । ५ । ३ । १२ ॥

वाच्यहणमपक्रुष्यते । सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽद्वा स्यात्पक्षे चल् ॥

1959. The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix tral.

We must draw forward the word वा 'optionally' from the sūtra after the next. So that this sūtra is an optional one. Thus किम् + अत् ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which किम् is replaced by क् ॥ In the other alternative चल् also comes, as कुत्र ॥

१६६० । क्वाति । ७ । २ । १०५ ॥

किम् क्वादेशः स्यादति । क् । कुत्र ॥

1960. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As क् । So also कुत्र ॥

Note :—The substitute कु of VII 2. 104. S. 1954, before the affix अ would have become क्, but it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽङ्गत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

१६६१ । वा ह च ऋण्डसि । ५ । ३ । १३ ॥

कुह स्यः । कुह जग्मथुः ॥

1961. Optionally the affix ह also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative : as well as the other affixes.

As in the Rīg Veda VIII. 62. 4 : कुहस्य कुहजग्मथु कुहस्येनेव पेत्तथुः ॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles'?

१९६२ । एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतदोऽश् स्यात्सचानुदान्तस्त्रतसो. परतः सौ चानुदात्तौ स्तः । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे
सुखं वसामः । अथोऽत्राधीनहे । अतो न गन्तारः स्म ॥

1962. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes अ (V. 3. 10. S. 1957) and तस् (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) follow, and the affixes अ and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented).

Thus अश् ' here ', and अतस् ' hence ', in the following :—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः ; अथो अश् अधीनहे । ' We live in this (etasmin) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra) ' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीस्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीस्व । ' Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar '. By rule V. 3. 5. S. 1951 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद् ; its repetition here is to indicate that the अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीतरविभक्त्यन्तादपि तत्सिलादयो दृश्यन्ते । दक्षिमण्णज्जववादियोग एव । स भवान् । ततो भवान् । तत्र भवान् । त भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तत्र भवन्तम् । एव शीर्षायुः । देवानां मिथः । आयुष्मान् ॥

1963. The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative.

That is to say, the affixes तस्मिन्, चल्, च &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case. By the employment of the expression ' are seen ', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवान् ' Your Honor ', शीर्षायुः ' long-lived ', आयुष्मान् ' having long life ', and देवानां मिथः ' the beloved of the Gods '. Thus :

Nom ततो भवान् or तत्र भवान् = स भवान् ॥

Aco. तत्र भवन्तम् or ततो भवन्तम् = ते भवन्तम् ॥

Ins तत्र भवता or ततो भवता = तेन भवता ॥

Dat. ततो भवते or तत्र भवते = तस्मै भवते ॥

Abt. ततो भवतः or तत्र भवतः = तस्माद् भवतः ॥

Gen. ततो भवतः or तत्र भवतः = तस्य भवतः ॥

Loc ततो भवति or तत्र भवति = तस्मिन् भवति ॥ *

Similarly with the words शीर्षायुः, आयुष्मान् and देवानां मिथः ॥

१९६४ । सर्वैकान्यकियत्तदः काजे दा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यः कालार्थेभ्यः स्वार्थे वा स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा । सर्वदा । एकदा । अन्यदा । कदा । यदा । तदा । काले किम् । सर्वत्र देशे ॥

1964. After sarva 'all', eka 'one', anya 'other', kim 'what', yad 'which', and tad 'that', when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, the words being in the locative case.

The word सप्तम्याः V. 2. 10 S. 1957 is understood here and not the word इतराभ्यां of the last. This debars अल् ॥ Thus सदा or सदा (V. 3. 6 S. 1952) 'at every time' or 'always', एकदा 'once', अन्यदा 'at another time', कदा (VII. 2. 103 S. 342) 'when', यदा 'when', तदा 'then'.

Why do we say काले 'when time is denoted'? Observe सर्वत्रदेशे where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not दा, because the sense is 'in every place' or 'every where'.

१९६५ । इदमोर्हिङ् । ५ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तात्काले इत्येव । इत्यापवादः । अस्मिन्काले एतर्हि । काले किम् । इह देशे ॥

1965. After idam 'this', ending in the locative case, comes the affix र्हिङ् when time is denoted.

The words सप्तम्याः and काले are understood. This rhl debars हाः । The ङ् of र्हिङ् is for accent. Thus अस्मिन् काले = एतर्हि (V. 3. 4 S. 1950) 'at this time'. Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe, इह 'in this place', as इह देशे ॥ See V. 3. 4 S. 1950

१९६६ । अधुना । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इदम् सप्तम्यन्तात्कालवाचिनः स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्ययः स्यात् । इङ् । यस्येति लोपः । अधुना ॥

1966. After idam ending in the locative case, comes the affix अधुना, when time is denoted.

Thus इदम् + अधुना = इ + अधुना (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) = ० + अधुना (S. 311) = अधुना ॥ According to Kāśikā अस्मिन् काले = अधुना 'at this time', अङ् is substituted for इङ् and, धुन affix is added.

१९६७ । दानीं च । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

इदानीम् ॥

1967. The affix dānīm also comes after idam, ending in the locative, and denoting time.

Thus अस्मिन् काले = इदानीम् (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८ । तदो दा च । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥

तदा । तदानीम् । तदोदात्तचनमनर्थक विहितत्वात् ॥

1968. After tad, ending in the seventh case, when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, and also dānīm.

The दानीम् is read into the sūtra by force of the word च 'also'. Thus तास्मिन् काले = तदा or तदानीम् 'at that time'. *Vart* — This sūtra, so far as it ordains दा after तद् is useless, because the word तद् already takes दा by V. 3 15.

१९६९ । अनद्यतनेर्हितन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

कहिं । कदा । यहिं । यदा । तहिं । तदा । एतस्मिन्काले एतहिं ॥

1969. The affix rhil comes optionally, in denoting time not of the current day, after the words 'kim' the sarvanāma, and bahu &c.' in the 7th case.

The anuvṛtti of क्वसि is not read into this sūtra. This is a general rule. Thus कहिं or कदा, (VII. 2. 103 S. 342), यहिं or यदा, तहिं or तदा, एतहिं ॥

१९७० । सद्यःपरुत्परार्यैषमः परेद्यव्यद्य पूर्वद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः । ५ । ३ । २२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । समानस्य सभावो व्यञ्ज्यः चाहनि* । समानेऽहनि सद्यः । पूर्वपूर्वतरयोः पर उदासीय प्रत्ययौ वत्सरे* । पूर्वस्मिन्वत्सरे परतु । पूर्वतरे वत्सरे परारि ॥ इदम् वञ्च समसण् प्रत्ययश्च संवत्सरे* । अस्मिन्संवत्सरे ऐषमः । परस्मादेव्यहनि* । परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यवि । इदमोऽद्य व्यञ्ज्यः* । आस्मिन्नहनि अद्य । पूर्वादिभ्योऽह्न्योऽह्न्येद्युत्* । पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि पूर्वद्यु । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि अन्यद्यु । उभयोरह्नोरुभयद्यु ॥ शुभोभयाह्न्यक्तव्यः* ॥ उभयद्यु ॥

1970. The following words are anomalous, sadyah, parut, parāri, aishamas, paredyavi, adya, pūrvedyus, anyedyus, anyataredyus, itaredyus, aparedyus, adharedyus, ubhayedyus, and uttaredyus.

The words सप्तम्या. and काल are understood here. The base, the substitute, the affix, the particular time &c, must all be deduced from these forms. *Vart* :—सद्यः is formed from समान, by substituting स for समान, and adding व्यञ्ज्य; in the sense of 'a day'. समानेऽहनि = सद्यः 'the same day'. *Vart* :—The पूर्व and पूर्वतर are replaced by पर, and then उन् and वारि are added, in the sense of 'a year'. Thus पूर्वस्मिन् संवत्सरे = परतु 'last year'. पूर्वतरे संवत्सरे = परारि 'the year before last'. *Vart* :—The इदम् replaces इदम्, and समसण् is added, in the sense of 'year'. अस्मिन् संवत्सरे = ऐषमः 'during this year'. *Vart* :—To पर is added एव्यदि in the sense of 'a day' as, परस्मिन्नहनि = परेद्यवि 'the other day'. *Vart* :—The अद्य replaces इदम् and व्यञ्ज्य is added in the sense of 'a day'. Thus सद्यहनि = सद्यः 'to day'. *Vart* :—To पूर्व, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, उभय

उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एद्युस्, in the sense of 'a day' as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वेषु 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येषु 'on the following day', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्यतरेषु 'on either of two days', इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेषु 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेषु 'on the following day' अधरस्मिन्नहनि = अधरेषु 'on a previous day' उभयोरहो = उभयेषु 'on both days'. *Vdt.*—So also उभयद्युस् is formed by dyus added to ubhaya.

१९७१। प्रकारवचने थाल् । ५ । ३ । २३ ॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्यान्त्यास्वार्थे । तेन प्रकारेण तथा । यथा ॥

1971. The affix thâl (था) comes, after the words kim &c V. 3. 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being.

The sūtra V. 3. 2, S. 1948 is to be read into this. The anuvṛtti of सप्तम्या and काले ceases. The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c. Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner' Similarly यथा ॥

Note:—The affix जातीयर् taught in V. 3. 69 S. 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that jātiyar applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवान्) while thâl denotes mode itself. Therefore, one does not debar the other, so that we have forms like तथाजातीय . and यथाजातीयः ॥

१९७२। इदमस्थमुः । ५ । ३ । २४ ॥

थालोऽपवादः । एतदपि वाच्यः * ॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्यम् ॥

1972. After idam comes the affix thamu (थम्) in the same sense i. e. in denoting manner.

Vdt.:—It comes after etad also. This debars थल् ; thus —अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इत्यम् V. 3. 4, S. 1950 'in this manner.' The उ in यमु protects the म् from becoming इत् (See I. 3. 4. S. 190).

१९७३। किमथ । ५ । ३ । २५ ॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम् ॥

1973. Also after kim, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how?'

Here ends the chapter on Prāgdiśīya affixes.

अथ तद्धितप्राग्वीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SVĀRTHIKA AFFIXES.

१६७४ । दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । ५ ।

३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यो दिगिरूढेभ्यो दिग्देशकालवृत्तिभ्यः स्वार्थेऽस्तातिप्रत्ययः स्यात् ॥

1974. After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix astāti (अस्तात्) without change of sense.

Note :—The word दिक् शब्दाः means 'words denoting directions'. Thus पुरस्तात्, has all these three significations in the following sentences, पुरस्ताद्वसति 'he lives eastward', पुरस्तादागतः 'he came from east' पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम् 'It was delightful previously'. Similarly with अधस्तात् ॥ For further explanation see S. 1977 below.

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैवाम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तात्यर्थेऽतिप्रत्ययः स्यात्तद्योगे चैषां क्रमात्पुर, अध, अव, इत्यादेशाः स्युः ॥

1975. After pūrva, adhara and avara comes the affix asi (अस्) in the sense of astāti; and pura, adh, and av are their respective substitutes before this affix.

Note .—The word अपञ्चम्याः does not govern this sūtra. Thus पुरो वसति, पुर आगतः, पुरो रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधम् and अवम् with वसति, आगत and रमणीयम् ॥ As अधोवसति, अध-आगतः, अधोरमणीयम्, अधोवसति, अवआगत and अवोरमणीयम् ॥ See S 1984.

१६७६ । अस्ताति च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

अस्तातो परे पूर्वादीनां पुरादयः स्युः । पूर्वस्यां पूर्वस्याः पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुरः पुरस्तात् । अधः अधस्तात् । अवः । अवस्तात् ॥

1976. The same substitution takes place when the affix astāti (अस्तात्) follows.

That is पुर for पूर्व, अध् for अधर and अव् for अवर ॥ Thus पुरस्तात् or अधस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति or आगतः or रमणीयम् ॥

१९७७ । विभाषावरस्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवरस्यास्तातो परेऽव् स्याद्वा । अवस्तात् । अवरस्तात् । एवं देशे काले च । विक्षी रूढेभ्यः किम् । ऐन्द्र्या वसति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यः किम् । पूर्वं धाम गत । दिगादिवृत्तिभ्यः किम् । पूर्वस्मिन् गुरौ वसति । अस्ताति चेति ज्ञापकादस्तिरस्ताति न बाधते ॥

1977 The substitution of अव् for अवर is optional when astāti follows.

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory. As अवस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति. आगत, or रमयिष्य ॥

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe ऐन्द्र्या वसति, 'He lives in the Aindra direction'. Here ऐन्द्री is a secondary word denoting eastern direction. Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe पूर्वम् आमे गत. ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe पूर्वास्मिन् गुरौ वसति 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'.

Note:—This affix is a स्वार्थिक affix, like the affixes taught previously. The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction, and not derivative words like ऐन्द्री &c. which also denote direction.

The sūtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix अस्ताति V. 3. 27 S. 1974 is not debarred by अस् after these words.

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातिरपवादः । वक्षिणतः । उत्तरतः ॥

1978. After dakṣiṇā and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch. (अतस्) ॥

This debars अस्ताति ॥ Thus वक्षिणतः । उत्तरतः ॥

Note:—The word वक्षिणा can never refer to time, so with regard to it direction and locality are only taken. The अ of अतसुच् is for the sake of differentiating this affix from तस् in sūtras like II. 3. 30.

१९७९ । विभाषापरावराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परतः । अवरतः । परस्तात् । अवरस्तात् ।

1979. Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astāti.

Thus परतः or परस्तात् ॥ So also अवरस्तात् or अवरतः ॥

१९८० । अञ्चलुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्चल्यन्तादिक्रशब्दावस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् तद्धितलुकि ॥ प्राच्यां प्राच्याः प्राची वा दिक् प्राक् । उदक् । एवं देशे काले च ॥

1980. After words of direction ending in अञ्च्, there is Ink-elision of the affix astâti

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक्: as प्राच्यां विशि वसति = प्राग् वसति, प्रागागतः, प्रागमणीयम् ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I. 2 49 S 1408 So also उक् 'in the north'. Similarly when locality or time is denoted.

१६८१ । उपर्युपरिष्ठात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तातेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्यापदेशः स्याद्विपरिष्ठातिलौ च प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्ठाद्वा वसति । आगतो रमणीय वा ॥

1981. The words upari and uparishtât are anomalous in the sense of astâti

, These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप, and adding the affixes लि and रिष्ठात् ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वायां विशि वसति = उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागतः उपरि रमणीयम् ॥ उपरिष्ठाद्वासति, उपरिष्ठादागत, उपरिष्ठाद्वरमणीयम् ॥

१६८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चभाव आतिश्च प्रत्ययोऽस्तातेर्विषये ॥

1982. The word paśchât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti.

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix आति ॥ As अपरस्यां विशि वसति = पश्चाद्वासति, आगतः, रमणीयम् &c

Note :—So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into paścha and âti is added, As दक्षिणपश्चात्, उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note :—So also when अर्ध follows such a compound, apara is changed into paścha ; as, दक्षिणपश्चार्धः, उत्तरपश्चार्धः ॥

Note :—Apara is changed into paścha, when followed by ardha, and not preceded by any other word. As, पश्चार्धः ॥

१९८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983. To the words uttara, adhara and dakshina is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti.

Thus उत्तरस्यां विशि वसति = उत्तराद्वासति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१६८४ । एतन्न्यतरस्यामद्वारेऽपञ्चम्याः । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एतद्व्या स्यात्तद्व्यवधिमतो सागीप्ये पञ्चम्यन्तं विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । पक्षे यथास्व प्रत्ययाः । इह क्वचिदुत्तरादीननुवर्त्य दिक्शब्दमात्रादेनपमाहुः । पूर्वोण प्राप्तम् ॥ अपरेण प्राप्तम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एन) comes optionally, (after the words *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakshina* in the sense of *astâti*), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix

Note —The affix *अस्तति* and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative. The एनप् comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative. The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरतो वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधरेण, अधरात् अधस्ताद् वसति &c, so also दक्षिणेन, दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो, वसतः &c, 'He lives near by in the north-ward or southward' Why do we say when not denoting distance? In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः, अधस्ताद्, उत्तरात् । Observe उत्तराद् वसति he lives far away in the north' Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तराद्गतः 'come from the north'

Note :—The word अपञ्चम्याः governs all the succeeding sūtras upto V. 3 39, exclusive.

Some do not read उत्तर &c. into this sūtra according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction. As पूर्वञ्च माम्, अपरेण माम् (II. 3. 31) The ए in enap is for the sake of accent (II. 1. 4. S. 3709).

१९८५ । दक्षिणादाच् । ५ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अस्ततिर्बिषये । दक्षिणा वसति । अपञ्चम्या इत्येध । दक्षिणाद्गतः ॥

1985. The affix ach (आ) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astâti*, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

The word अदूरे of the last sūtra is not read into this though the word अपञ्चम्याः governs it. Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत आगतः in the ablative.

Note :—The च् in आच् is not for the sake of accent (VI. 1 163 S 3710) for the simple affix आ would be udâta by the general rule III 1 3. S. 3708 The च् serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sūtra II. 3. 29 S. 595.

१९८६ । आहि च दूरे । ५ । ३ । ३७ ॥

दक्षिणाद् दूरे आहि स्यात् आदाच् । दक्षिणाहि । दक्षिणा ॥

1986 The affix âhi (आहि) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astâti*, as well as âch, when the reference is to a distant limit.

We draw in the affix आच् by force of the word च 'and'.

Thus दक्षिणाहि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south'.

Note.—Why do we say दूरे when the adverb denotes a distant limit? Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्याः governs this also, as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१६८७ । उत्तराच्च । ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तराहि । उत्तरा ॥

1987. The affixes आच् and आहि come after uttara in the sense of astāti; when the reference is to a distant limit.

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तराहि वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ "He lives far away in the north, or the northward far away is pleasant".

Note —But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेण प्रयाति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्याः governs this also as उत्तराशगतः ॥

१६८८ । संख्याया विधार्थे धा । ५ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे वर्तमानात्संख्याशब्दात्स्वार्थे धा स्यात् । चतुर्थी । पञ्चधा ॥

1988. The affix dhâ (धा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action.

Note :—The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning. Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action

Thus एकधा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once'. द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice' Similarly त्रिधा चतुर्थी पञ्चधा ॥

१६८९ । अधिकरणविचाले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

द्रव्यस्य संख्यान्तरपारणे संख्याया धा स्यात् । एकं राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु ॥

1989. The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances.

Note :—The word संख्यायाः is understood here. The word अधिकरणम् means 'matter, stuff, substance'. विचाल 'change in numbers'. Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one.

Thus एक राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु 'divide one heap into five'. Similarly अनेकम् एकधा कुरु "make these many heaps into one".

१९९० । एकाङ्ता ध्यमुअन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एकभ्यम् । एकधा ॥

Thus एकधा रागि कुरु or ऐकधय कुरु; एकधा भुङ्क्ते or ऐकधय भुङ्क्ते ॥

१६६१ । द्वित्रयोश्च धमुञ् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

Thus विधा or वैधम्, त्रिधा. or त्रैधम् ॥

१६६२ । पञ्चाङ्ग । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

Thus वेधा (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) or वैधम् or विधा. वेधा वैधम् or विधा ॥

कृत्स्नितो भिषक् भिषक्प्राज्ञः ॥

१६६४ । पुराणाद्भागे तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो भागो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । स्वरे विशेष ॥ तीयादीकक स्वार्थे वाच्यः ॥ देवरीयाः ।
द्वितीयः । तार्तीयिकः तृतीय ॥ न विद्यायाः * ॥ द्वितीया । तृतीया । विद्येत्येय ॥

1994. After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in *tīya*, comes the affix **अन् (अ)** (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant

This sūtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which **अन्** is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent. Thus द्वितीयः (V. 2. 54. S. 1854) has udatta on ती (III. 1. 3. S. 3708) but when **अन्** is added, the accent falls on द्वि (VI. 1. 197. S. 3686). Thus द्वितीयो भाग = द्वितीयः 'the moiety'. Similarly तृतीयः 'the one-third'.

Note :—Why do we say when 'part' is meant? Otherwise, there is no change in accent. The affix तीय always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the तीय in words like मुख्यतीय is not significant as it is not an affix. The employment of the word पुराण in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sūtra. Its anuvṛtti, however, runs in the other sūtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here.

Vat :—The affix ईकक् is added to words ending in तीय, without changing the sense. As द्वितीयिकः, तार्तीयिकः, in the same sense as द्वितीयः and तृतीयः ॥

Vat :—But not so, when the word ending in तीय refers to विद्या ॥ As द्वितीया विद्या, तृतीया विद्या ॥

१९६५ । प्रागेकादशभ्योऽछन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूरयप्रत्ययान्ताक्रान् । चतुर्थः । पञ्चमः ॥

1995. After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix **अन्**, the word retaining its denotation, when a 'part' is meant : but not so in the Chhandas

This is for accent also. Thus चतुर्थः, पञ्चमः, सप्तमः, नवमः, दशमः ॥

Note :—Why do we say प्रागेकादशः 'before eleven'? Observe एकादशैः, द्वादशैः no change of accent (VI 1. 223. S. 3734) Why do we say 'not in the Chhandas'? Observe, पञ्चममिन्द्रियस्यापाक्रान्त (पञ्चम has acute on the final being formed by ड् preceded by न् V. 2. 48, 49 S. 1849, 1850).

१९६६ । षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां अ च । ५ । ३ । ५० ॥

षाडन् । षष्ठो भागः षाष्ठः । षष्ठः । आष्टमः । अष्टमः ॥

1996. The affix ण (अ) also comes as well as **अन्** after shasṭha and asṭama, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the Chhandas.

The words भागे and अछन्दसि are understood here. By च, the affix अन् is included. Thus षष्ठः or षाष्ठः, अष्टमः or आष्टमः ॥

१९६७ । मानपञ्चङ्गयोः कन्लुको च । ५ । ३ । ५१ ॥

षष्ठाष्टगणव्यां क्रमेण कन्लुको स्तो माने पञ्चङ्गे च वाच्ये । षष्ठको भागः मानं चेत् । अष्टमो भागः पञ्चङ्गं चेत् । अस्य अने वा लुक् । चकाराद्यथादात्मन् । षष्ठः । षाष्ठः । अष्टमः । आष्टमः । महावि-
भाषया सिद्धे लुक्वचन पूर्वच जानी नित्यादिति ज्ञापयति ॥

1997. After the words *śaṣṭha* and *asṭama* there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक् elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called *māna* or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively.

The word मान means a grain weight (ब्राह्मि पारमितं सुवर्णं) ॥ That is to say, कन् comes after षष्ठः when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed; and लुक् comes after अष्ट when a part of पञ्चङ्ग is denoted. Thus षष्ठको भागः 'a sixth of a grain measure' अष्टमो भागः 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast' The लुक् here takes the place of the affix अ as well as अन् ॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed as षाष्ठः or षष्ठः, आष्टमः or अष्टमः ॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply.

Though under the Great Option (IV 1. 82. S 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk elision herein taught indicates by implication, that the अ and अन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option. See also V. 3. 1. S 1947

१९६८ । एकादाकिनिष्ठासहाये । ५ । ३ । ५२ ॥

आत्कन्लुको । एक । एकाकी । एककः ॥

1998. After the word *eka*, comes also the affix *âkinich* (आकिन्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'.

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect the elision being of कन् or आकिनिच् ॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एककः or एकः ॥

Note —By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone'. एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च, प्रथमे, केषले, तथा ॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽल्लेप, संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनौ, and the plural एकाकिनः ॥

१९६९ । भूतपूर्वे चरच् । ५ । ३ । ५३ ॥

आत्मो घृतपूर्वः आत्मचर ॥

1999. The affix चर (with the feminine in ऊर्णि) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'.

The word भूतपूर्व is a compound of पूर्व and भूतः the compounding being by सुप्रसृपा, and denotes something done in a past time. Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्व = आढ्यचर ‘once opulent’

Note :—The २ indicates that the feminine will be in ऊीप्, as, आढ्यचरी ॥ The च् is not इत् in चरद् though required by I 3 7 S. 189 This proves that चुड rule is antya. The sūtra V 2 18. S. 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word भूतपूर्वः, but then खञ् would have debarred चरद् which is, however, not intended.

२००० । षष्ठ्या रूप्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताभूतपूर्वस्यै रूप्यः स्याच्चरद् च । कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौ कृष्णरूप्यः । कृष्णचरः । तसिलाविषु रूप्यस्यापरिगणितत्वात् पुवत् । शुभाया भूतपूर्वः शुभारूप्यः ॥

2000. After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix रूप्य, and also चरद्, in the sense of ‘having belonged formerly to somebody’.

The word भूतपूर्व here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sūtra. Thus कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौ = कृष्णरूप्यः ‘the cow that formerly belonged to Kṛṣṇa’. Similarly देवदत्तचरः ॥ The affix रूप्य not being included in tasilādi class of sūtra VI 3. 35. S. 836 does not cause the masculinisation. Thus शुभाया भूतपूर्व = शुभारूप्यः and not शुभरूप्यः ॥

२००१ । अतिशयने तमविष्ठनौ । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

अतिशयविशिष्टार्थवृत्तेः स्वार्थे एतौ स्त । अयमयमतिशयेनाढ्यः आढ्यतमः । लघुतमो लघिष्ठः ॥

2001. When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes तमप् (तम्) and इष्ठन् (इष्ठ), after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation.

Note :—These affixes form the superlative degree. The word अतिशयन is an irregular form of अतिशयन, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive. The स्वार्थिक affixes sometimes qualify the sense of the primitive.

Thus आढ्यतमः = सर्व इमे आढ्याः, अयमयमतिशयेनाढ्यः ‘the richest’ i. e. ‘these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches’ Similarly षट्—षट्ठिः, दृक् — दृक्ठिः, लघु—लघिष्ठः (VI. 4. 155. S. 1786)

Note :—When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also as श्रेष्ठ, though a superlative, forms श्रेष्ठतमः ॥ As वेधो वः सविता प्रापयतु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे । युधिष्ठिरः श्रेष्ठतमः कुशगामिति ॥

२००२ । तिङ्श्र । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

तिङ्श्रान्तिशये चोत्प्रे तमप् स्यात् ॥

2002. So also after a finite verb, comes the affix tamap, when ‘surpassing’ is meant.

By the next sūtra, the affix तमप् gets the designation *gha* च ॥

Note —By उच्चाप्रातिपदिकान् IV. 1. 1. S. 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem ; they would not have come after verbs, hence this sūtra. Thus पचतितमाम् (the गाम् is added by V 4 11, S. 2004) = सर्व इमे पचन्तीति. अयमेवामतिशयेन पचति, 'he cooks surprisingly' अल्पतितमाम् &c. The affix इष्टम् never comes after a verb, as by V. 3. 68 S. 2006 it is restricted to adjectives

२००३ । तरतमपौ घः । १ । १ । २२ ॥

एतौ घसंज्ञौ स्तः ॥

2003. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ ॥

As this affix is *gha*, the next sūtra applies.

२००४ । किमेत्तिङ्गव्ययधादांश्च ब्रुव्यप्रकर्षे । ५ । ४ । ११ ॥

किम् एतन्तात्तिङोऽव्ययाच्च यो घस्तदन्तादासु। स्यान्न तु ब्रुव्यप्रकर्षे । कितमाम् । प्राहृतमाम् । पचतितमाम् । उच्चैस्तमाम् । ब्रुव्यप्रकर्षे तु उच्चैस्तमस्तह ॥

2004 To the affix तर and तम (घ 1. 1. 22. S. 2003) ordained to come after the word किम् (V. 3. 55. S. 2001) or after a word ending in ण (VI. 3. 17. S. 975) or after a finite verb (V. 3. 56. 57. S. 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix *âm* (आम्), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality).

Note :—The घ or तरप् and तमप् affixes are employed for comparison (प्रकर्षे 'excess') of adjectives and adverbs. This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives. i. e. when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun. The ब्रुव्य denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c, it is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of excess or comparison. The prohibition in अद्ब्रुव्यप्रकर्षे therefore really relates to the *quality* of a substance, i. e. to adjectives. ब्रुव्यस्याव्ययपदेशश्च न विना भेद हेतुना । प्रकर्षोऽपि व्यति नपि शब्दस्यापेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus कितराम् or कित्तमाम् "how excessively", प्राहृतराम् or प्राहृतमाम्, पच-तितराम् or पचतितमाम् "he cooks surprisingly", उच्चैस्तराम्, उच्चैस्तमाम् "more or most loftily or loudly".

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the *âm* गाम् is-not added. As उच्चैस्तमः स्तह "a most lofty tree".

२००५ । द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरवीयसुनौ । ५ । ३ । ५७ ॥

द्वयोरेकस्यातिशये विभक्त्ये चोपपदे सुतिङ्कन्तापेतौ स्तः । पूर्वयोरपवादः । अयमनयोरतिशयेन लघुर्लघुतरः लघीयाम् । उदीच्याः प्राच्येभ्यः पद्मतरः । पदीयांस ॥

2005. The affixes tarap (तर) and iyasun (इयस्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or a finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada). is to be distinguished from another.

Note 1—The word द्विवचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two विभक्त्य is irregularly formed by यत्, and means 'that which is to be distinguished or differentiated'.

This debars तमप् and इष्टन् ॥

The rule of यथास्तख्य (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply here. First to take an example of द्विवचन or when comparison is between two things thus: द्वाविमावाक्यौ, अयमनयोरतिशयेन = आक्यतरः 'both are rich, but he is richer amongst the two' So also लघुतरः and लघीयान् ॥

Similarly सुकुमारतरः, पञ्चनितरा जल्पनितराश्च (V. 4. 11. S 2004): or with इयस्युन् as द्वावसौ पद्व अयमनयोरतिशयेन पद्व. = पदीयान् 'more skilful of the two', लघीयान् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभक्त्ये चोपपदे: e when a word in construction is to be differentiated' thus माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आक्यतराः 'The men of Mathurā are richer than those of Pāṭaliputra' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used.

Similarly so also वरीच्या प्राच्येभ्यः पदुतरा "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पदीयांसः लघीयांसः ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons.

२००६ । अजादी गुणवचनादेव । ५ । ३ । ५८ ॥

इष्टनीयसुनौ गुणवचनादेव स्त । प्रथिष्ठः । प्रथीयान् । नेह । पाचकतर । पाचकतमः ॥

2006. The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. ईयस् and इष्ट) are added only after words denoting attributes.

Thus प्रथिष्ठः प्रथीयान् ; but not after words like पाचक &c. there we have पाचकतरः, पाचकतमः ॥

Note :—The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the affixes, and not of the primitives. Thus पदुतरः, पदुतमः are also valid forms

२००७ । तुष्टन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ५९ ॥

तृप्तृजन्ताविष्टनीयसुनौ स्तः ॥

2007. These affixes ishṭhan and iyasun come in the Chhandas after a nominal stem ending in तृ ॥

The तु is ablative of तृ which includes both तृन् and तृष् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्ठेमेयः सु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

तृताहस्य लोपः स्याद्विष्ठेमेय सु परषु । अतिशयेन कर्ता करिष्ठ । शेहीयसी धेनु ॥

2008. The affix त is elided before the affixes इष्ठन्, इमनिच् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्ठ, विजयिष्ठ, बहिष्ठ, शेहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix तृ is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (दि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules

Thus अतिशयेन कर्ता = करिष्ठ. (कर्तृ + इष्ठन् = कर् = इष्ठ by VI. 4. 154, S. 2008 तृ is elided). As आसृति करिष्ठ शेहीयसी धेनु ॥ By the Vārtika under VI, 3 35 S. 836 शाहन्ना is changed into masculine शेहिन् and then ईयस् is added by VI. 4. 145 S. 2008).

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य अ । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य आदेशः स्यादजाधो ॥

2009. For प्रशस्य is substituted अ, when these affixes iṣṭhan and īyasun follow.

Then applies the following.

२०१० । प्रकृत्यैकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्टाद्विष्ठाकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठः । श्रेयान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् ॥

Thus श्रेष्ठः and श्रेयान् ॥

२०११ । ज्य च । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य ज्यदिश स्याद्विष्ठेयसो । ज्येष्ठः ॥

2011. For praśasya, ज्य is also substituted before these two affixes.

As ज्येष्ठः ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ४ । ६ । १६० ॥

आदिः परस्य । ज्यायान् ॥

2012. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस् after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥

Note 1.—ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 8. 61. S. 2011.

२०१३ । वृद्धस्य च । ५ । ३ । ६२ ॥

क्यारेण. स्यारजायोः । ज्येष्ठः । ज्यायान् ॥

2013. ज्य is also substituted for वृद्ध, when ishthan and iyas follow.

Thus ज्येष्ठ 'the oldest', ज्यायान् 'the older'.

Note:—By VI. 4 157, S 2016 कर्षि is also substituted for वृद्ध and we have कर्षीष्ठः and कर्षीयान् also. The word वृद्ध though not a gunavachana, takes these affixes by the implication of this sūtra.

२०१४ । अन्तिकबाहयोर्नेदसाधौ । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

अजायोः । नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः । साधीयान् ॥

2014. For अन्तिकः is substituted नेद, and for बाह is साध, when these affixes follow.

Thus नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः and साधीयान् ॥

२०१५ । स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रधुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः । ६ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते पूर्वस्य च गुण इषादिषु । स्थविष्ठः । दविष्ठः । यविष्ठः । ह्रसिष्ठः । क्षेपिष्ठः । क्षोविष्ठः । एषमीयन् । ह्रस्यक्षिप्रधुद्राणां पृथ्वादिस्वात् ह्रसिमा । क्षेपिमा । क्षोपिमा ॥

2015. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guna is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र and धुद्र ॥

That is ल, र, वन् and व and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; दविष्ठः दवीयान्; यविष्ठः, यवीयान्; ह्रसिष्ठः, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, and धुद्र are read in Pīthvādī class and take 'Iman' affix (V 122 S. 1784). क्षोविष्ठः, क्षोवीयान्, क्षोदिमा ॥ Why do we say पर in यणादिपरं 'the last semivowel'? The first semivowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i. e. य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

२०१६ । प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुवहुलगुरुवृक्षतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फचर्वेहि-
गर्वेर्नित्रब्द्राघिवृन्दाः । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

प्रियाचीना क्रमाध्याय. स्थुरिष्ठादिषु । प्रेष्ठः । स्तेष्ठः । स्फेष्ठः । वरिष्ठः । वदिष्ठः । गरिष्ठः । वार्वेष्ठः । चविष्ठः । द्राधिष्ठः । वृदिष्ठः । एषमीयन् । प्रेथान् । प्रियोरुवहुलगुरुवीर्णाणां पृथ्वादिस्वात्प्रेमेत्यादि ॥

2016. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, चर् for उरु, वृह् for वहुल, गृ for गुरु, वर्ध् for वृक्ष, तृप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and धृन् for धृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ट, प्रेमा, प्रेयान् ; स्थिर, स्थेष्ट, स्थेयान् स्थेना, स्फिर, स्फेष्ट, स्फेयान् ; उरु, वरिष्ठ, गरिमा वरीयान्, बहुल, बहिष्ठ, बहीयान् बहिना, गुरु, गरिष्ठ, गरीयान् गरिमा, वृद्ध, वर्धिष्ठ, वर्णीयान् ; वृष, अपिष्ठ, अपीयान् ; दीर्घ, द्राधिष्ठ, द्राधीयान्, द्राधिमा ; वृन्धारक, वृन्धिष्ठ, वृन्धीयान् ; ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvādi class and take इमन् (V. 1. 122 S. 1784) while others do not.

२०१७ । अहोलोपो भू च अहो । ६ । ४ । १५८ ॥

अहो पर्योरिमेयसोर्लोपः स्वादिष्टोश्च भुरादेशः । भूमा । भूयान् ॥

2017. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥

Note :—In the case of इष्ट, the following sūtra 2018 will apply. Under I 1. 54 and 67. अहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz इ or ई, in this case बहु belongs to the Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. 1. 122 S. 1784) The repetition of अहो is for the sake of pointing out the athān for which the word भू is to be substituted otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

२०१८ । इष्टस्य यिट् च । ६ । ४ । १५९ ॥

अहोः परस्य इष्टस्य लोपः स्यात् यिडागमश्च । भुविष्ठः ॥

2018. After बहु the augment यिट् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भुविष्ठ ॥

Note —This augment यिट् debaras the lopa substitution of the last sūtra in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिट् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being भू ॥ Or इष्ट may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ the augment यि may be added.

२०१९ । युवाल्पयोः कनन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

एतयोः कनादेशी वा स्वादिष्टेयसो । कनिष्ठः । कनीयान् । पक्षे यविष्ठः । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019. Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted or युचन् and अल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठ, कनीयान् or यविष्ठ, यवीयान् । similarly अल्पिष्ठ, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठ, कनीयान् ॥ सर्वइमे युवान्, अयमेवामतिशयेन कनिष्ठः । द्वाविमौ युवानौ अयमवयोरतिशयेन, कनीयान् । यविष्ठः । यवीयान् । सर्वइमऽल्पा । अयमेवामतिशयेन, कनिष्ठः । उभाविमावल्पावयवयोरतिशयेन कनीयान् अयमस्मत्कनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठः अल्पीयानीति वा ॥

२०२० । विन्मतोर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

विनो मत्पञ्च लुक् स्वादिष्टेयसोः । अतिशयेन सङ्गी । सजिष्ठः । सजीयान् । अतिशयेन त्वग्मन् स्वविष्ठ । स्ववीयान् ॥

2020. The affixes विन् and मन् are luk-elided, when ishthan and iyasun follow.

Thus सन्विन्—सजिष्ठः, सजीयान् ; स्वन्वन्—स्वचिष्ठः, स्वचीयान् ॥ सर्वहमे सन्विणः, अथ-
नेषामतिशयेन, सजिष्ठः । उभाविमौ सन्विणौ, अथमनयोरतिशयेन, सजीयान् । अथमस्मात् सजीयान् । सर्वहमे
स्वन्वन् अथनेषामतिशयेन, स्वचिष्ठः । उभाविमौ स्वन्वन्तौ, अथमनयोरतिशयेन, स्वचीयान् । अथमस्मात्स्व-
चीयान् ॥

Note:—This sūtra is a jñāpaka or indicator that words ending in विन् and मन् or वन् form their comparative and superlative degrees by adding ईयस् and इष्ठन् ॥

२०२१ । प्रशंसायां रूपम् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुवन्तातिङन्ताश्च । प्रशस्तः पदुः पदुरूपः । प्रशस्त पचति पचतिरूपम् ॥

2021. The affix रूपम् (रूप) comes, without change of connotation, after a stem (nominal or verbal) denoting praise.

Note:—The word प्रशंसा means 'praise', and it qualifies the sense of the primitive; i. e. when the sense of the primitive is that of 'praise', then रूपम् is added. As a general rule the स्वार्थिक affixes, which do not change the denotation of the word, serve the purpose of prominently bringing forward one particular meaning out of the several meanings possessed by a primitive.

Thus प्रशस्तः पदुः = पदुरूपः 'a celebrated artist'. So also याज्ञिकरूपः ॥

The affix comes after a verbal word ending in तिङ्, for the word तिङ्श्च V 3. 56, S. 2002 is understood here also. Thus पचतिरूपम्, पचतारूपम् or पचन्ति-
रूपम् 'who is celebrated, who two are celebrated or who all are celebrated in cooking'. These words पचतिरूपम् &c cannot take dual or plural; because the action denoted by the verb is only one, not many. These words are always in the neuter gender, by the general usage of the people.

२०२२ । ईषदसमाप्ति कल्पदेश्यदेशीयरः । ५ । ३ । ६७ ॥

ईषदूतो विद्वान् विद्वत्कल्पः । यशस्कल्पम् । यजुःकल्पम् । विद्वदेश्यः । विद्वदेशीयः । पचतिकल्पम् ॥

2022. The affixes कल्पम् (कल्प्), देश्य, and देशीयर् (देशीय) come after a nominal or a verbal stem which connotes a slight incompleteness.

The word समाप्ति means 'fulness of objects'. A little non-fulness is called ईषदसमाप्ति ॥ Thus विद्वत्कल्पः, यशस्कल्पम्, यजुःकल्पम्, विद्वदेश्यः or विद्वदेशीयः 'a clever but slightly incomplete' i. e. 'tolerably clever'. So also after verbs, as पचतिकल्पम्, &c.

२०२३ । विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात् । ५ । ३ । ६८ ॥

ईषदसमाप्तिविशिष्टेऽर्थे सुवन्ताष्टुडुष्ठा स्यास्तच्च प्रागेव न तु परत् । ईषदूतः पदुर्बहुपदुः । पदुकल्पः ।
सुपः क्लिप् । यजतिकल्पम् ।

2023. Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before : when the sense is slight incompleteness

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added *after* a word. The affix बहुच् however is added *before* the word. The च् of बहुच् indicates that the udātta will fall on the final vowel of the word. See VI. 1. 163, S 3710. Thus बहुपटुः 'a tolerably skilful person'. By the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the affixes कल्प &c also come as पटुकल्प ॥ Why do we say सुप 'to a noun ending in a case-affix i. e. a declined noun'. For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (तिङन्त) ॥ As यजतिकल्पश्च ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जातीयर् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

प्रकारवति चायम् । यात् तु प्रकारमात्रे । पटुप्रकार पटुजातीयः ॥

2024. The affix जातीयर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'.

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality'. When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचनः ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive. The affix जातीयर् and the affix यात् V 3 23, S 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जातीयर् denotes प्रकारवान्, the other denotes प्रकारमात्र i. e. merely प्रकार ॥

Thus पटुजातीयः 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'.

Note :—The above Sūtra may, therefore be translated in these words also, "the affix जातीयर् has the sense of "belonging to the class of" "being of the nature of".

२०२५ । प्राग्विवात्कः । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

इवे प्रतिकृतावित्यतः प्राक् काधिकारः ॥

2025. The affix ka (क) governs all the sūtras, as far as "ive pratikritau" (V. 3. 96 S. 2051).

Note —Properly speaking क extends only upto V. 3. 86, S. 2041. Thus in the sūtra अज्ञाते V 3 73 S 2028 the word क must be supplied to complete the sense As अज्ञात, सर्वभक्तेः ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (तिङन्त), but the affix अकच V 3, 71 S 2 26 comes after such verbs. In other words, the phrase तिङन्त V. 3. 56, S 2002 should be connected, by way of anuvṛtti, with the next sūtra, and not with this.

२०२६ । अव्ययसर्वनामकच् प्राक् देः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

तिङन्तेत्यनुवर्तते ॥

अस्मकद् which are then declined as Pronominals. But in the examples स्वयका, मयका, स्वयकि, मयकि, the affix अक् is added to स्वय, मय (the Instrumental case of युष्मद् and अस्मद्), and स्वयि and मयि the Locative singular of the same.

Vart.—The ffix अक् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prātīpadika when a case-affix beginning with मो, स or न follow.

Vart.—The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases.

Vart.—The affix कान् is added to the Indeclinable तूष्णीम् ॥ The न् is Indicatory, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (I, I. 47 S 37). As तूष्णी + का = तूष्णीकान्, as तूष्णीकानास्ते, तूष्णीकां तिष्ठति 'he remained silent'

Vart.—When, however, the meaning is 'that whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the न् of तूष्णीम् is elided. As तूष्णीक 'a taciturn'.

The phrase तिङ्श (V. 3 56. S 2002) being understood here, the affix अक् comes after finite verbs also. As पचति—पचतकि । जल्पति—जल्पतकि ॥

२०२६ । कुत्सिते । ५ । ३ । ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वकः ॥

2029. The above affixes come when the thing is spoken of as contemptible.

Thus अश्वक 'a sorry horse'.

२०३० । संज्ञायाम् कन् । ५ । ३ । ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् स्यात्तदन्तेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । शृङ्गकः । रथकः । स्वरार्थे वचनम् ॥

2030. The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sūtra is understood here also. This कन् debars क ॥ शृङ्गकः । रथकः ॥ The difference between कन् and क is in the accent. (VI. I. 197 S 3686).

२०३१ । अनुकम्पायाम् । ५ । ३ । ७६ ॥

पुत्रक । अनुकम्पितः पुत्र इत्यर्थः ॥

2031. The above affixes come when compassion is denoted.

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment'. Thus पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child'

२०३२ । नीतौ च तद्युक्तात् । ५ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सामानादिरूपयो नीतिस्तस्या गम्यमानायामनुकम्पायुक्तातकपत्ययः स्यात् । इत्त ते धानका ।
युङ्का । एहकि । अद्भकि । पूर्वणानुकम्पयमानास्त्ययः । अनेन तु परम्परासंबन्धेऽपीति विशेषः ॥

2032. Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown.

The word नीति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and 'punishment'. तयुक्तात् means 'joined with that', i. e. with gift compassion &c. In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion. Thus, इत्त ते धानका: 'alas! here are barley for you'. एहकि, अद्भकि 'O-dear! come and eat'. (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him. Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want) In the last Sûtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity. In the present sûtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of इ 'to go' with the upasarga आ ॥

२०३३ । बह्वचो मनुष्यनामघञ्वा । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रप्रत्ययविषये ॥

2033. The affix thach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कन् also. As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्त = देविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V. 3. 83. S. 2035). When कन् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तकः ॥ Similarly याज्ञिकः or यज्ञदत्तकः ॥

Why do we say बह्वचः 'after a polysyllable?'. Observe इत्तकः । युप्तकः ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name? Observe मद्रबाहुकः भद्रबाहुकः, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (मद्रौ बाहु यस्य), or these are names of quadrupeds.

२०३४ । घनिलचौ च । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तत्रैव ॥

2034. Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

Note :—The force of च् is that the other affix क् also comes, as well as ठच् ॥ Thus from देवदत्त we have: देवियः, देविलः, देविकः, देवदत्तकः (V. 3. 89. S. 2085).

२०३५ । ठाजादावूर्ध्वद्वितीयादचः । ५ । ३ । ८३ ॥

अस्मिन्प्रकरणे यद्योऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतेर्द्वितीयादच ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लुप्यते । अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तो देविकः । देवियः । देविलः, देवदत्तकः । अनुकम्पितो वायुदत्तो वायुदत्तकः । इमहयमुक्तौ द्वितीयस्य कविधानार्थम् । वायुकः । पितृकः ॥

चतुर्थ्यादच ऊर्ध्वस्य लोपो वाच्यः * ॥ अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पति दत्तो, बृहस्पतिकः ॥

अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ देवदत्तकः ॥ देवकः ॥

लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च * ॥ वक्तिकः । दत्तियः । दत्तिलः । दत्तकः ॥

विनापि प्रत्ययं पूर्वोत्तरपादयोर्वा लोपो वाच्यः * ॥ देवदत्तः । दत्तः । देवः ॥ सत्यभामा । भामा ।

सत्य ॥

उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च * ॥ भानुदत्तः । भानुलः ॥

ऋयर्णादपि * ॥ सवित्रियः । सवितृलः ॥ ल इति लोपः सज्ञा प्राच्यम् ।

चतुर्थ्यादनजादौ च लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च ॥

अप्रत्यये तथैवेष्ट उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च ॥ १ ॥

2035. When *tha* (V. 3. 78 S. 2033) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel (V. 3. 79, 80 S. 2034, 2036) taught above, follows, there is elision of all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word लोप is understood here from V. 3. 82. S. 2039. The word ऊर्ध्वश्च indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided (by I. 1 54. S. 44). The illustrations have been given above. Thus देवदत्त + इक; here all the letters after the च of देव should be elided : as देविकः, so also देवियः, देविलः ॥

The affix ठ is replaced by इक् or क् (VII. 3. 50; 51), hence its special mention in this sūtra. For had it not been used, the sūtra would have run thus. 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक् substitute of ठ, but not to क् substitute of ठ which comes after words ending in च, ऋ, लृ, इन् and उन् ॥ But it is intended that क् (and not इक्) substitute of ठ should be added to words whose second syllables end in इक् (च or क्) vowels. If it be said that इक् substitute of ठ would be sufficient for words like वायुदत्तः &c. also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables; and when such syllables are elided, क् would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक्, which we can do by the rule of sthānivat; we say, it is not so. For if it were the case, we should add the क् substitute and not इक् in the following, मयित् + ठक् (VI. 4. 51 S. 2313) = मयित् + ठक् (VI. 4. 148. S. 311). because, after elision, मयित् ends with .

But we know that क is not added but हक, and we have मथितिकः ॥ Hence the employment of ण in the sūtra is proper as वायुवत्—वायुक, पितृवत्—पितृक ॥

Vart:—It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases. As अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पतिवत्—बृहस्पतिक, बृहस्पतियः, बृहस्पतिलः ॥

Vart:—When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional. Thus देववत् + कन् = देववत्तक or देवक; यज्ञवत्तक. or ज्ञयकः ॥

Vart:—There is elision of the first term, when these affixes इच्छ् &c. denoting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow. Thus इत्तिक, वत्तिल, वत्तियः, वत्तक from देववत्त or यज्ञवत्त or वायुवत्त &c-

Vart:—The diminutive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name. Thus वत्तः or देव from देववत्त, सत्यभामा—भामा or सत्या ॥

Vart:—The affix ल is replaced by ल after a word ending in उ as, भातुलः from भातुवत्त, वसुलः—वसुवत्त. ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients.

Vartika.—So also after a word ending in ऋ as सवितृल or सवितृय ॥

२०३६ । आचामुपादेरडज्वुचौ च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात्पूर्वविषये अडच् वुच् एतौ स्तः । आद्यथाप्राप्तम् । आचौ ध्वजं पूजार्थम् । अनुकम्पित उपेन्द्रवत्तः उपड । उपकः । उपिक । उपियः । उपिलः । उपेन्द्रवत्तकः । षड् रूपानि ॥

2036. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes adach (अड) and vuch (अक) also come after a human-name beginning with the word उप ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come. The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz. compassion or courtesy. Thus from the word उपेन्द्रवत्त, we have, 1. उपेन्द्रवत्तक (kan), 2. उपिक (thach), 3. उपिलः (ilach), 4. उपियः (ghan), 5. उपकः (vuch), 6. उपड (adach) The shortened forms are by V. 3. 83 S. 2035. In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened. The word आचौ is used as a sign of respect (pujārtha), for the word वा was understood in the aphorism by anuvritti from V. 3. 78.

२०३७ । जातिनाम्नः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यनाम्न इत्येव । जातिशब्दो यो मनुष्यनामधेयस्तस्मात्कन्यावत्तुकम्पायां नीतो च । सिंहकः । शरभकः । रासभकः ॥ द्वितीय संध्यन्तरं चेत्तदशदेर्लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अनुकम्पितः कहोड कहिकः ॥ एकाक्षरपूर्वपदानामुत्तरलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वागाशीर्वित्तः वाचिकः । कथ षड्द्वयवित्तः षडिक इति ॥ षषष्ठाजातिवचनात्सिद्धम् ॥

2037. The affix kan क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea : when compassion, or courtesy is meant.

The word manushya nāmnaḥ of S. 2033 is understood here.

The जातिनामन् are words like व्याघ्र &c. which are well-known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor. The anuvṛitti of बहुच does not extend to it. This is a general rule. Thus सिंहकः, शरभकः, एसभकः ॥ The word वा being understood in this sūtra, the previous affixes also come, as सिंहिलः ॥ The word नामन् is used along with जाति, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form जाति (I. 1. 68).

Vart —When the second vowel is ओ, औ, ए, or ऐ, then this is also elided. As लहिकः from लहोड, कदिकः from कहोड ॥

Vart :—When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member as वाचिकः from वागाशीवत्तः (the ग् changed back to च् because the stem is now भ and not पद् and rule VIII, 2. 39 S 84 does not apply). So also स्तुषिकः स्वाचिकः ॥ The form षडिक (and not षडिकः from षट्) is an exception. It is diminutive of षडङ्गुलिदन्तः ॥

२०३८ । शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्थमादीनां तृतीयात् । ५ । ३ । ८४ ॥

एषां मनुष्यनाम्नां षाज्जौ परे तृतीयादच ऊर्ध्वं लोप स्यात् । पूर्वस्थापवादः । अनुकम्पितः शेवलदन्तः शेवलिकः । शेवलियः । शेवलिकः । सुपरिकः । विशालिकः । वरुणिकः । अर्थमिकः ॥

2038. There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with Śeṣala, Supari, Viśāla, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, when the above affixes tha or those having an initial vowel follow.

This debars the previous sūtra. Thus अनुकम्पितः शेवलदन्तः = शेवलिक, शेवलियः, शेवलिल, सुपरिक, सुपरिय, सुपरिल. from सुपरिदन्तः, so also विशालिक, विशालियः, विशालीलः, वरुणिक, वरुणिय, वरुणिल, अर्थमिक, अर्थमिय and अर्थमिल ॥

२०३९ । अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च । ५ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अजिनान्तान्मनुष्यनाम्नोऽनुकम्पायां कन् तस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः । अनुकम्पितो व्याघ्रजिनो । व्याघ्रकः । सिंहकः ।

2039. The affix kan(क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in अजिन, and this second member is elided before the affix.

The words कन् and मनुष्यताम्न are understood in this sūtra. Thus व्याघ्रक from व्याघ्राजिन. and सिंहक from सिंहाजिन ॥ Vyāghrājina and Sinhājina are names of men.

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्पं तैल तैलिकम् ॥

2040. The above-mentioned affixes क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything.

Thus अल्पं तैल = तैलिकं ' a little oil.'

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षकः ॥

2041 The above mentioned-affixes (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive.

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or 'long'. Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्ष. = वृक्षकः ' a small tree'.

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वहेतुका या संज्ञा तस्यां गम्यमानायां कन् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । वक्षकः । वेणुकः ॥

2042. The affix kan (क) comes when the short thing is a Name.

Thus वक्षकः, वेणुकः ॥ This debars क ॥

२०४३ । कुटीरामीशुण्डाक्षयो रः । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटीर । शमीरः । शुण्डारः ॥

2043. The affix र comes after the words kuṭī, śamī and śuṇḍā, when shortness of length is meant

The word ह्रस्वा is understood here, but not संज्ञा ॥ This debars क V. 3. 70. S. 2025. Thus ह्रस्वा कुटीर = कुटीरः, शमीरः and शुण्डारः ॥

Note :—The derivatives are masculine names, though the primitives are feminine.

२०४४ । कुत्वादुपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

ह्रस्वा कुतः कुतुपः । कुतः कृत्ते. ज्ञेयार्थं ह्रस्वा सा कुतुपः पुमान् ॥

2044. The affix ḍupach (उपच्) comes, in expressing diminution, after the word kutī ' a jar '.

This debars क ॥ Thus कुतुपः, from कुतः the long ऊ being elided owing to ह ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil. This word is neuter also. ३३, कुतुपम् ॥ See Amarakosha II, 9, 33.

२०४५ । कासूगोणीभ्यां ष्टरच् । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

आयुधविशेषः कासू । इत्या सा कासूतरी । गोणीतरी ॥

2045. The affix *ṣṭarach* (*ष्टर* with feminine ई IV. 1. 40. S. 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words *kāsū* and *gonī*.

Thus इत्या कासू = कासूतरी 'a small lance'; गोणीतरी 'a small sack'.

२०४६ । वत्सोक्शाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वे । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

वत्सतरः । द्वितीय वत्स. प्राप्त । वत्सतर । अश्वतरः । अश्वतरः । प्रवृत्तिर्नात्ततनुत्वं एवाश्वम् ॥

2056. The affix *ṣṭarach* expresses slenderness, after the words *vatsa*, *ukshan*, *aśva*, and *piśhava*.

The anuvṛtiti of इत्थ्व ceases. Thus वत्सतरः 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age, अश्वतरः 'a slender bull'; being the third age of a वत्स ॥ अश्वतरः 'a mule' (तस्य तनुत्वमप्यधिकृता), अश्वतरः 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'.

२०४७ । कियत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य उत्तरच् । ५ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयो. कतरो वैष्णवः । यतरः । ततरः । महाविभाषया क । यः । तः ॥

2047. After the words *kim*, *yat* and *tat*, in determining of the one out of two, comes the affix *ḍatarach* (*अतर* with the elision of the final इम् and अद्) ॥

Note :—This affix comes in the svārtha sense. The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्धारण or specification.

Thus अनयो कतरो वैष्णवः 'amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'.

Similarly यतरः 'of the two the one who', ततरः 'of that two—the one'.

The taddhita affixes being optional by the Great option of sūtra IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word क., य. or त. also. As, को भवतो देवदत्त. त आगच्छतु 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'.

२०४८ । वा बहूनां जातिपरिग्रहे उत्तमच् । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

बहूनां मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे उत्तमच् वा स्यात् । जातिपरिग्रह इति प्रत्याख्यातमाकरो. कलमो भवतां कव । यतम । ततमः वामहयमकर्मणम् । यक. । तकः । महाविभाषया यः सः ॥ किमोऽस्मिन्निषये उत्तरापि * ॥ कतरः ॥

2048. The affix *ḍatamach* (*अतम* with the elision of the last syllable) comes after *kim*, *yat* and *tat*, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many, the question being that of *jāti*.

The phrase ' the question being that of caste ' is redundant.

The words कियत्तद and निर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sūtra. Thus कतमो भवतां कठ ' which of you, Sirs, is a Kāṭha Brāhmaṇa ? ' यतमो भवतां कठः ततम आगच्छतु ' that one of you, Sirs, who is a Kāṭha, let him come '. The word वा ' optionally ' indicates that the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) also comes, as यको भवतां कठः, सकः, आगच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः यः and सः also, owing to the महाविभाषा (1V. 1. 82. S. 1072) : as, को भवतां कठ योः, यवतां कठः, स आगच्छतु ॥

Vārt :—The affix इतर has also this force, after the word किम्, as, कतरं भवतां कठः ' which of you, Sirs, is a Kāṭha Brāhmaṇa ? ' As may be inferred from the sūtra. कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे (II. 1. 63. S. 742).

२०४६ एकाञ्च प्राचाम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

इतरच् इतमच्च स्यात् । अन्ययोरेकतरो मेघः । एषामेकतमः ॥

2049 After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes datarach and datamach in the above senses.

The च draws in इतरच् ॥ That is इतरच् comes when one out of two is to be specified ; and इतमच् when one out of many is to be specified. The word जातिपरिग्रह does not govern this sūtra. It being a general rule. Thus अन्ययोरेकतरो मेघः । एषामेकतमः ॥

The word प्राचाम् is for pujārtha ; because the word वा is already understood in the sūtra.

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वितः । येनेतरः कुत्स्यते तविहोराकरणम् । स्वतः कुत्सिते तु कुत्सित इत्यस्य ॥

2050. The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing.

Thus व्याकरणकः ' Grammar ' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride. As व्याकरणकेन नाम स्व गर्वितः thou art proud, because thou hast read *grammar* only'. Here the word व्याकरण is used in a mocking sense. When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3. 14. S. 2029 : as देवदत्तकः &c.

So far the governing power of क V. 3. 70 S. 2025.

अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TADRĀJA AFFIXES.

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । ९६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । अश्व इव प्रतिकृति अश्वकः । प्रतिकृतौ किम् । गौरिव गवयः ॥

2051. The affix कन् means also 'like this'; when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed.

The word कन् is understood here. Thus अश्व इवायमश्व प्रतिकृति = अश्वकः 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c. Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe गौरिव गवयः "The gayal cow".

२०५२ । संज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । ९७ ॥

इदार्थे कन् स्यात्सदृश्यादेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । अप्रतिकृत्यर्थमारम्भ । अश्वसदृशस्य संज्ञा अश्वकः । उष्ट्रकः ॥

2052. The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name.

This applies when imitation is not meant. Thus अश्वसदृशस्य संज्ञा = अश्वकः 'a thing reminding a horse'. उष्ट्रकः ॥

२०५३ । लुप्पन्मुष्ये । ५ । ३ । ९८ ॥

संज्ञायां विहितस्य कनो लुप्पन्मुष्ये वाच्ये । चञ्च्वा लृणमयः पुमान् । चञ्च्वेव मनुष्यमञ्च्वा । वधिका ॥

2053. When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup; the word retaining its number and gender.

Thus चञ्च्वा (चञ्च्वेवमनुष्यः) 'straw-man' i. e. an effigy in straw. So also बाधका &c. For accent see VI. 1, 204. S. 3692.

Note:—Why do we say 'a man'? Observe अश्वकः, उष्ट्रकः &c. This sūtra may be considered to be an enlargement of V. B. 100, S. 2055.

२०५४ । जीविकार्थे चापत्ये । ५ । ३ । ९९ ॥

जीविकार्थं यदविक्रीयमाणं तस्मिन्वाच्ये कनो लुप्पन्वात् । वासुदेवः । शिवः । स्कन्धः । देवलकानां जीविकार्थास्तु इवप्रतिकृतिस्त्रिवम् । अपत्ये किम् इत्तिकान्विक्रीयीति ॥

2054. A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby.

That which is bought and sold is called वण्य, that which is not so dealt with is अपण्यः ॥ The rule applies to the *images* of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmanas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. Thus वासुदेवः 'the idol of Vasudeva', शिवः 'the idol of Śiva', स्कन्ध. &c.

Why do we say अपण्ये? Observe, हस्तिकान् विक्रीणीति 'he sells the images of elephants', अश्वकान्, रथकान् ॥

Note :—This rule is also an amplification of V. 3. 100. S. 2055.

२०५५ । देवपथादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०० ॥

कनो लुप्यन्तः । देवपथः । हंसपथः । आकृतिगणोऽवम् ॥

Note.—अर्थास्तु पूजनार्थास्तु विश्वकर्मध्वजेषु च ।

इव प्रतिकृतौ लोपः कनो देवपथादिषु ॥

2055. After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix kan, (V. 3. 96 S. 2051 and 97 S. 2052) expressing an image or a Name.

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथः, हंसपथः ॥

1 देवपथः, 2 हंसपथः, 3 वारिपथः, 4 रथपथः, 5 स्थलपथः*, 6 करिपथः*, 7 अश्वपथः*, 8 राजपथः, 9 शतपथः 10 शङ्खपथः, 11 सिन्धुपथ (सिन्धपथ), 12 सिङ्गाति (सिंहगति), 13 उष्ट्रीपथ (उष्ट्रीगति), 14 वायस्वपथ (वायस्वपथ), 15 हस्तः, 16 इन्द्रः, 17 वरुणः, 18 पुष्पः 19 मत्स्यः, 20 जलपथः, 21 रज्जुः, It is आकृतिगणः ॥

Note :—The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag. As शिवः, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुनः 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कपिः 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुडः the eagle-flag.

२०५६ । वस्तेर्दङ् । ५ । ३ । १०१ ॥

इवेत्यनुवर्ततएव । प्रतिकृताविति निवृत्तम् । वस्तिरिव वास्तेयम् । वास्तेयी ॥

2056. The affix dhañ पथ comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'.

The word इव is understood here. The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images Thus वास्तिरिव = वास्तेयः fem. वास्तेयी 'like the abdomen'.

२०५७ । शिलाया दः । ५ । ३ । १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति शैलविभागादुत्पत्त्येके । शिलेव शिलेयम् । शैलेयम् ॥

2057. The affix *ḍha* (ष्य) comes after *śilā*, in the sense of 'like this'.

Thus *शिलेव* = *शिलेयं वधि* curd, hard as stone. According to some the affix *ḍh* also comes after *शिला*, by dividing this sūtra into two - namely (1) *शिलावाः* "the affix *ḍhan* comes after *śilā*". (2) *ह*. "So also the affix *ḍha*". as *शिलेवम* ॥

२०५८ । शाखादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । ३ । १०३ ॥

शाखेव शाखय । धृष्य । जघनमिव जघन्ध । जघधः । शरण्य ॥

2058. The affix *yat* comes, in the sense of 'like this', after *śākhā* &c.

Thus *शाखेव* = *शाख्यः*, *धृष्यः* (VI. 1. 218 S. 3701) *जघन्धः*, *जघन्धः*, *शरण्यः* ॥

1 शाखा 2 धृष्य, 3 जघन, 4 धृष्य, 5 मेघ, 6 जघन, 7 शरण, 8 स्कन्ध, 9 स्कन्ध 10 डरत्, 11 शिरस्, 12 भग्न, 13 शरण्य ॥

२०५९ । द्रव्यं च भव्ये । ५ । ३ । १०४ ॥

द्रव्यमय ब्राह्मण ॥

2059. The word *dravya* is anomalous, meaning beautiful.

The word *द्रव्य* is formed by adding *यत्* to the word *द्रु* ॥ The word *भव्य* means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit, having or containing in himself all the desired requisites'. As *द्रव्योय ब्राह्मणः* 'how nice is this Brāhmaṇa'.

२०६० । कुशाग्रच्छः । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

कुशाग्रमिव कुशाग्रीया बुद्धिः ॥

2060. The affix *chha* (ईय) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word *kuśāgra*.

Thus *कुशाग्रीया* (*कुशाग्रमिव सुक्ष्मत्वात्*) *बुद्धिः* "Intellect sharp as the point of the *kuśa* grass" *कुशाग्रीयं वस्त्रम्* ॥

२०६१ । समासाच्च तद्विषयात् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

इषार्थविषयसमासाच्छः स्यात् । काकतारिणो देवदत्तस्य वधः । इह काकतलसमागमसदृशभौ-
रसमागम इति समासार्थः । तत्पुस्तक काकमरणसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थः । अजाकृपाणीयः । अतर्कितोपनत
इति फलितोऽर्थः ॥

2061. The affix *ohha* (ईय) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note :—The word *तद्* refers to *इष*, and *तद्विषय* means *इषार्थविषय* ॥ A compound which is formed with the force of *इष*, takes the affix *छ*, when a second *इष* is to be

indicated. In the chapter on Compounds, no samāsa is taught with the force of हव; this sūtra, therefore, indicates by implication that such a samāsa of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of हव ॥ Such a samāsa will come under the head of सुप् सुधा समासः (II. 1. 4 S 649).

Thus काकतालीयम्, अजाकृपाणीयम्, अन्धकवर्त्तकीयम् ॥

The word काकतालीयम् means 'like the crow and the palm-fruit, the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm-fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree; and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence'. Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray, Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीयसमाधनः, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the ताल fruit. The first case of समागमः will form the compound, the second case of वधः will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीया देवदत्तस्य वधः. (the compound काकताल meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशश्चौर समागमः and the derivative word काकतालीयः meaning काकमरणसदृशः.)

Similarly अजाकृपाणीयम् means "like the death of a goat (ajā) by the accidental falling of a sword (kṛpāṇa) as the goat was passing" Similarly अन्धकवर्त्तकीयम् means "like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakā) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it". All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikaraṇa) coincidences. In short, these words mean 'accidentally', 'unexpectedly'.

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो ऽण् । ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेव शर्करम् ॥

2062. The affix an (अ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śarkarā &c.

Thus शर्करेव = शर्करम्

1 शर्करा, 2 कपालिका, 3 कपादिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका (कविष्ठिका : विष्ठिका, कनिष्ठिक), 5 गुण्डरीक, 6 शतपथ, 7 गोलोमन, 8 लोमन*, 9 गोपुच्छ, 10 नराची (नरालि), 11 नकुल (नकुला), 12 शिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीव अङ्गुलिकः । भरुजैव भारुजिकः ॥

2063. The affix thak (इक् or क्) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words aṅgulī &c.

Thus अङ्गुलिकः (= अङ्गुलीव) भारुजिकः ॥

1 अङ्गुलि (अङ्गुली), 2 भरुज, 3 वधु 4 वल्गु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 शङ्कुली (शङ्कुल) 8 हरि*, 9 कवि, 10 मुनि*, 11 रुह*, 12 खल*, 13 उदञ्चित, 14 गोपी, 15 वरह, 16 कुलिश, 17 शिला ॥

२०६४ । एकशालायाद्युज्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

एकशालायाद्विविधार्थे ढङ्वा पक्षे ढक् । एकशालेव एकशालिकः । ऐकशालिकः ॥

2064. The affix *thach* (ईक) also comes optionally after the word *ekaśālā*, with the force of 'like this',

Thus ऐकशालिकः by *thach* or ऐकशालिकः by ढक् ॥

२०६५ । कर्कलोहितादीकक् । ५ । ३ । ११० ॥

कर्कं शुक्लोऽथ स इव कार्कीकः । लौहितीकः स्फटिकः ॥

2065. The affix ईक comes in the sense of 'like this' after *karka* and *lohita*.

Thus कार्कीकः 'like कर्क or white horse'. लौहितीकः स्फटिकः 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'.

२०६६ । पूमाञ् ज्योऽग्रामणीपूर्वात् । ५ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इवार्थो निवृत्तः । नामाजालीया भनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूमास्तदावकास्वार्थे ज्य स्यात् । लौहित्वञ्ज्यः ॥

2066. The affix *nya* (य) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The *anuvṛtti* of इव ceases. The word *pūma* means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c. Thus लौहित्वञ्ज्यः 'the red bannered horde'. *dual* लौहित्वञ्ज्यौ, pl. लौहित्वञ्ज्याः ॥ Similarly, शैब्यः, शैब्यौ, शिब्यः, चातक्यः, चातक्यौ, चातकाः ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II. 4. 62. S. 1193.

Note :—Why do we say *ग्रामणीपूर्वात्* ? Observe *देवदत्तका* (V. 2 78, S. 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta'. From this sūtra, commence the *सङ्घाज* affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof'. The affix ज्य, therefore, has this meaning also viz, 'the leader of the horde'. Here we repeat V. 8, 113, S. 1100 owing to the context.

२०६६ । क ॥ व्रातच्छोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्राते । कापोतपाक्यः । च्छम् । कौञ्जायन्यः । ब्राह्मयन्यः ॥

2066. A. The affix *nya* comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in *chphañ* (आयनै IV. 1. 98. S. 1049) without change of sense ; but not in the feminine.

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called *vrat* or 'wild band'. Thus कापोतपाक्यः

'a wild band living on pigeons', d. कपोतपाक्यौ and pl. कपोतपाकाः ॥ So with words ending in क्तम्, as कौञ्जावन्यः, d. कौञ्जावन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जावनाः, ब्राध्मावन्यः d. ब्राध्मावन्यौ pl. ब्राध्मावनाः ॥

Note.—Why do we say "not in the Feminine? Observe कपोतपाकी, प्रीहिमती, कौञ्जावनी, ब्राध्मावनी ॥

२०६७। आयुधजीविसङ्घाभ्यङ्गाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । ५ । ३ । ११४ ॥

बाहीकेषु च आयुधजीविसङ्घस्तद्वाचिनः स्वार्थे ङ्यङ् । सौव्रक्य । मालव्य । दिव्यान्डीप् । सौव्रकी । आयुधेति किम् । सङ्घाः । सङ्घेति किम् । सम्राट् । बाहीकेषु किम् । शबरः । ब्राह्मणेति किम् । गोपालकाः । शालङ्कायनाः । ब्राह्मणे तद्विशेषमहणम् । राजन्ये स्वरूपमहणम् ॥

2067. To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix *ñyat* (य with the fem. in ई), when it is the name among the Vâhikas; but not when it is the name of a Brâhmaṇa, nor when the word is Rājanya.

The anuvṛtiti of अस्त्रिवाच does not govern this sūtra. Thus कौण्डीवृक्ष, कौण्डीवृक्षो pl. कौण्डीवृक्षाः, fem. कौण्डीवृक्षी, सौव्रक्य, सौव्रक्यो, pl. सुव्रकाः fem. सौव्रकी, मालव्यः, मालव्यौ pl. मालवाः fem. मालवी ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? Observe सङ्घाः ॥ Why do we say 'a multitude'? Observe सम्राट् ॥ Why do we say 'amongst the Vâhikas'? Observe शबरः ॥ Why do we say "not a Brâhmaṇa or the word-form Rājanya"? Observe गोपालका ब्राह्मणा, the Brâhmaṇa cow-herds. शालङ्कायना राजन्याः ॥ In the case of a Brâhmaṇa the rule applies to a word that is *qualified* by the word Brâhmaṇa; while in the case of राजन्य, the sūtra teaches that the very word-form *rājanya* should be taken.

२०६८। वृकाद्वेय्यत् । ५ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचकास्वार्थे । वाक्येयः । आयुधेति किम् । जातशब्दान्ता भूत् ॥

2068. The affix *tenyan* (एय्य) with the fem. in ई, comes after the word Vrika, a class of persons living by trade of arms.

Thus वाक्येयः (वाक्येयै, pl. वृका, fem. वाक्येयी) ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? The affix will not come when वृक means 'a wolf'. As कामक्रोधौ मनुष्याणां खादितारौ वृकाविव ॥

२०६९। वामन्यादिभिर्गतपञ्चाक्षरम् । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वामन्यादिभिर्गतपञ्चभ्यायुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्यः स्वार्थे छः स्यात् । भिगर्तः । पञ्चो वगो येषां ते भिगर्तपञ्चाः ॥

आहुभिर्गतपञ्चास्तु कौण्डोपरधवाण्डकी ॥

कोहुकिर्जालमानिष ब्रह्मयुतोऽथ जालकि ॥ १ ॥

वामनीय । वामनीयौ । वामन्यः । ओसपि । जौलपीय । भिगर्तः । कौण्डोपरधीयः । शयडकीयः ॥

2069 The affix *chha* (ईय) comes without changing the sense, after *dâmini* &c, and after the six warrior-stocks called *Traigarta shashtha*.

The following are the six warrior races, of *Trigarta*—कौण्डोपरय, वाण्डकि, कौण्डकि, आलमनि, ब्रह्मरुत and आलकिः ॥

Thus दामनीयः, दामनीयौ, pl. दामनयः । आलपीयः, आलपीयौ, pl. उलपयः । कौण्डोपधीयः pl. कौण्डोपरयाः । वाण्डकीयः pl. वाण्डकयः ।

1 दामनि, 2 औलपि, 3 वैजयपि*, 4 औषकी (औलकि औतकि) 5 औदकि*, 6 अच्युतान्ति, (अच्युतान्ति), 7 आच्युतवन्ति* (आच्युतवन्ति), 8 वाकुन्तकि*, 9 आकिदन्ति, 10 औडवि*, 11 काक-
वन्तकि (काकवन्ति), 12 वाचुतपि, 13 सार्धसेनि, 14 बिन्दु, 15 वैन्दवि*, 16 तुलभ, 17 मोऊजायन,
18 काकन्दि, 19 सावित्रीपुत्र, 20 काकरन्ति 21 वैववावि 22 अपच्युतको, 23 कर्क, 24 विण्ड ॥

२०७० । पर्व्यादि यौधेयादिभ्योऽण्यौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्य एभ्यः क्रमादयमौ स्तः स्वार्थे । पार्श्व । पार्श्वौ । पर्वयः । यौधेयः । यौधेयौ । यौधेयः ॥

2070 The affix *ap* (अ) comes after *parśu* &c, and the affix *añ* (अ) comes after *yaudheya* &c, without changing the sense : when these words denote warrior classes.

Thus पार्श्व, d. पार्श्वौ pl. पर्वयः । यौधेयः d. यौधेयौ pl. यौधेयः ॥

1 पर्व, 2 अक्षर, 3 रक्ष, 4 बाहीक (बाहीक), 5 दयस्, 6 वय, 7 मरुत्, 8 सत्यत्, 9 वैशाख 10 विशाख, 11 अक्षानि 12 कार्पापण ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 औशेय, 3 औजेय, 4 औजेय, 5 धार्तेय, 6 धार्तेय 7 ज्यावापेय (ज्यावापेय), 8 विगत, 9 भरत, 10 उशीनर 11 औशेय, 12 धार्तेय ॥ See IV. 1. 178.

२०७१ । अभिजिद्विदभूच्छालावच्छिन्नावच्छमीवदुर्णावच्छकुमदणी यञ् ।

५ । ३ । ११८ ॥

अभिजिद्विदभ्योऽणन्तेभ्यः स्वार्थे यञ्स्यात् । अभिजितोऽपत्यमाभिजित्यः । वैदधृतः । शाखावत्यः । शैखावत्यः । सामीवत्यः । और्णावत्यः । औमत्यः ॥

2071. The affix *yañ* (अ) comes without changing the sense, after the words *abhijit*, *bidabhr̥it*, *śālāvat*, *śikhāvat*, *śamīvat*, *ūrnāvat*, and *śrumat*, when those words end in the Patronymic affix *अण्* ॥

The *anuvṛtti* of *आयुधजीवसन्नाम्* ceases. Thus अभिजितोऽपत्यम् = अभिजित, add यञ् to this, अभिजित्यः, pl. अभिजिता, वैदधृत्यः, pl. वैदधृताः, शाखावत्यः, pl. शाखावताः, शैखावत्यः, pl. शैखावताः, सामीवत्यः, pl. सामीवताः, और्णावत्यः, और्णावताः, औमत्यः and औमताः ॥

Note :—The *अण्* here is Patronymic. Otherwise अभिजितो दुहर्त्तः and अभिजितः स्यात्प्राजाः, the affix here is अण् of मन्त्रवेद्यदुहर्त्तः. कालः IV. 2. 3 S. 1204 and of साश्चरेवता IV. 2. 24 S. 1226 respectively.

२०७२ । ज्यादयस्तद्राजा । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

पूनाम्भ्य इत्याभ्य उक्ता एतत्सज्ञाः स्यु । तेनास्त्रियां बहुषु लुक् । लोहितध्वज । कपोत-
पाकाः । कौञ्जायनाः । ब्रध्नायना इत्यादि ॥

2072. The affixes ñya &c, (V. 3. 112 &c 2066) are called tadrāja.

The illustrations of Tadrāja affixes have been given above. The word तद्राजा occurs in Sūtra II 4 62 S 1193.

Being tadrāja, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words. As लोहितध्वजा (S. 2066), कपोतपाका (S. 2066 A), कौञ्जायनाः (S 2066- A), ब्रध्नायनाः (S. 2066 A) &c.

२०७३ । पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्तायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपवचनमनेमिक्तिकस्वार्थम् । अतो न स्थानिवत् । पादः पद् । तद्धितार्थ इति समासे कृते
प्रत्यय । दुर्लभं स्त्रियामेव । द्वौ द्वौ पादौ दधाति द्विविक्राम ॥ द्विशतिकाम ॥
पादशतमहणमनर्थकमन्यत्रापि दर्शनात् * ॥ द्विभेदिकाम ॥

2073. The affix vūn (अक) comes after the words pāda and śata when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation ; and the final of the stem is elided.

Prātīpadikas preceded by a numeral and ending in the words पाद or शत take the affix वुन् when a distributive sense (वीप्ता) is to be expressed : and by the addition of this, the final is elided.

By VI. 4. 148 the final अ of pāda and śata would have been elided before the taddhita affix vūn ; even if such elision was not taught in this rule. The repetition of the word लोप in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one *caused* by the affix. For if the elision had been *caused* by the affix, then by I. 1. 57, such लोपदेश or " substitute " would be equivalent to the principal (sthānivat) ; and would thus debar the application of the rule VI 4. 130 by which पाद् pād (and *not* Pāda) is changed into पद् ॥ In other words, the lopa taught by यद्येति च is परिनिमित्तक or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a taddhita affix or by इ or ई affix ; therefore, this lopa would be sthāni-vat for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it (I. 1. 57 S. 50). Therefore, pād becomes sthāni-vat to pād. Therefore, the anga or base ending with ' pāda ' will be called अ, and not the base ending with ' pād ', and therefore VI. 4. 130 which applies to अ bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of पद् for पाद्, as there is not in the form पादाय ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of words " the final of the stem is elided ",

Thus द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिकां ददाति (द्विपाद् + दुन् = द्विपाद् + दुन् = द्विपत् + दुन् VI 4 130 = द्विपादिका VII 3. 44 S. 463 by which अ of अक् is changed into इ). Similarly द्वे द्वे शते ददाति = द्विशतिका ददाति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitārtha Tatpurusha compounds, viz. compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule II 1. 51 S. 728. After the compound is formed, then the affix दुन् is added. Thus first we have द्विपाद् and द्विशत compounded by II 1 51 S. 728 then the affix is added. The words पाद् and शत when not so compounded, take दुन् affix only in the feminine.

Note—Why do we say "of the words पाद् and शत"? Observe द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति, no affixing. Why do we say "preceded by a numeral"? Observe पाद् पाद् ददाति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense"? Observe द्वौपादौ ददाति "He gives two quarters;" द्वे शते ददाति ॥

Vat—The enumeration of पाद् and शत is useless, as the affix is found after other words also. As, द्विसौशकिकां ददाति "he gives two cakes to each", द्विसौशकिका ददाति ॥

२०७४ । दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च । ५ । ४ । २ ।

दुन् स्यात् । अशीप्तार्थमिवम् । द्वौपादौ दण्डितः द्विपादिकाम्, द्विशतिकाम्, व्यवसृजति ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

2074 Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation.

The word दण्ड means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation". The prātipadikas पाद् and शत preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix दुन्, and the final अ is elided. This sūtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here. Thus द्वौ पादौ दण्डितः = द्विपादिकाम् दण्डितः "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)". द्वौ पादौ व्यवसृजति = द्विपादिकां व्यवसृजति "he makes a gift of two Padas". Similarly द्विशतिकां दण्डितः "punished with a fine of two hundreds". द्विशतिकां व्यवसृजति &c.

२०७५ । स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन् । ५ । ४ । ३ ॥

जातीयराऽपवाद । स्थूलक । अणुकः ॥ चञ्चद्वृद्धतेऽपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चञ्चस्कः । वृद्धकः ॥ सुराया अद्वौ * ॥ सुरावर्णोऽहिः सुरकः ॥

2075. The affix कन् क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthūla &c.

This debarb the affix जातीयर (V 3. 69 S. 2024). Thus स्थूलप्रकारः = स्थूलकः "bulky". So also अणुकः, माषकः ॥

Vat—The words चञ्चत् and वृद्धत् should be included in the list of sthūladi words, As, चञ्चस्कः, वृद्धकः ॥ According to one version the words are

यथा and वृहा and not चयन् and वृहन् ॥ So the derivatives will be वृहकः and ययकः the words that end in long vowels वा, ई or ऊ, shorten their vowels before this affix, by VII. 4. 13 S. 834.

Gana-sūtra—The word कृष्ण takes कन् when tila is meant; as कृष्णप्रकार-स्तिला = कृष्णका ॥

Gana-sūtra —यय takes कन् when meaning व्रीहि, as ययकाः ॥

Gana-sūtra —इक्षु, तिल, पाय, काल, and अववात take this affix when wine is meant, a पायिका, कालिका, अववातिका “a kind of wine”.

Gana-sūtra.—गोमूत्र takes this affix when meaning a covering, as गोमूत्रकः ‘a covering of the colour of cow's urine, or go-mūtra may mean a certain arrangement of colours such as white and black’.

Gana-sūtra.—सुरा takes कन् when meaning a snake, as सुरकः (VII. 4. 13 S. 834) “a kind of snake of the color of wine”.

Note:—As सुरा + कन् = सुरक. “snake-like”.

Gana sūtra:—जीर्ण takes the affix कन् when meaning sâli grain, as जीर्णकाः = जीर्णकरपा शालयः ॥ The following is a list of Sthulâdi words

1 स्थूल, 2 अक्षु, 3 माष 4 इक्षु, 5 कृष्ण तिलेषु 6 यन व्रीहिषु, 7 इक्षुतिजपायकालाववाताः सुरायाव, 8 गोमूत्र आच्छादने, 9 सुरा अहौ, 10 जीर्ण शालेषु, 11 पञ्चबुले समस्तव्यस्ते, 12 कुमारीपुत्र, 13 कुमारीश्वशुर (कुमार, श्वशुर), 14 नणि. ॥

२०७६ । अनत्यन्तगतौ कान् । ५ । ४ । ४ ॥

छिन्नकम् । भिन्नकम् । अभिन्नकम् ॥

2076. After a participle ending in kta, comes the affix kan, when the meaning is something not yet wholly completed.

The word अनत्यन्तगति means “an act which has been fully accomplished”; अनत्यन्तगति therefore, means, “an act which has not been fully accomplished”. Thus भिन्न + कन् = भिन्नकम् “not yet wholly divided” So also छिन्नकम् &c.

Note.—Why do we say “something not wholly completed”? Observe भिन्नम् “totally divided”, छिन्नम् “totally cut”.

३०७७ । न सामिवचने । ५ । ४ । ५ ॥

सामिवर्थादे उपपदे क्तान्तात् कन् । सामिकृतम् । अर्धकृतम् । अनत्यन्तगतेरिह प्रकृतैवाभिधाना-
पूर्वेण कन् न प्राप्तम् । इदमेव निषेधस्तत्रत्यन्तस्वार्थिकमपि कनं ज्ञापयति । बहुतरकम् ॥

2077. Not so, when a word in the sense of “half”, precedes such participle.

When the word सामि or any other word having this sense, is compound-
ed, with a participle in क्त. the affix कन् is not added to denote the sense of incompleteness. Thus सामिकृतम्, सामिभुक्तम् &c (II. 1. 27 S. 689). The word वचन shows that the synonyms of सामि are also to be taken. Thus अर्धकृतम् ।

*Note —Objection .—*It is redundant to have prohibited कन् after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed

*Note —Answer :—*The prohibition contained in this sūtra does not refer to the कन् of the last sūtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness". It refers to that कन् which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वायेकन्) ॥ Thus the words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of भिन्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete. These words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम also take the affix कन् without change of sense. As भिन्नतरक and भिन्नतमक and बहुतरक &c as used by Pāṇjali himself in the following sentences :—एव हि सूत्रमभिन्नतरकं भवति एतेर्हि बहुतरकं ज्ञाप्यते ॥ This is also prohibited in the case of compounds with सति ॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sūtra teaches by implication (Jñāpaka) that कन् comes also in the sense of svārtha. As बहुतरकम् ॥

२०७८ । बृहत्या आच्छादने । ५ । ४ । ६ ॥

स्यात् । द्वौ प्रावारोत्तरसङ्गौ समौ बृहत्तिका तथा ॥ आच्छादने किम् । बृहती छन्दः ॥

2078. The affix kan comes after the word brihati when it means "an article of dress".

The word कन् is to be read into this sūtra and not its prohibition. The force of this कन् is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कन् ॥ Thus बृहति + कन् = बृहत्तिका (प्रावार) (VII. 4. 13 S. 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle", see Amarakosha II. 9. 117.

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe बृहती छन्दः "the metre called Brihati".

२०७९ । अषडक्षशितङ्गवलङ्कर्मोत्पुरुषाध्युत्तरपदाः । ५ । ४ । ७ ॥

स्वार्थे । अषडक्षीणो मन्त्रः । द्वाभ्यामेव कृत इत्यर्थः । आशिता नावोऽस्मिन्नित्याशितङ्गवर्तिनरप्यम् । निपातनात्पूर्वस्य पुम् । अलं कर्मणो बालकर्मिणः । अनेपुरुषीण । ईश्वराधीनः । नित्योऽयं खः । वृत्तः (सूत्रे विभाषाग्रहणान् ॥ अन्येऽपि केचिस्वार्थिकाः प्रत्यया नित्यमिष्यन्ते । तमबाहवः प्राक्कनः । म्हादमः प्राग्भुवः । शानाहवः प्राङ्मघवः । बृहती जाल्यन्ताः समः सान्तामेति ॥

2079. The affix kha (ईम) comes after the words ashadkṣha, āsitaṅgu, alaṅkarma, alampurusha, and after a stem ending with adhi.

The force of ख is स्वार्थे i. e. it does not change the sense of the word.

*Note :—*The word अषडक्ष means "that which has not six eyes". षडक्ष is compounded from षट् + क्षिण by adding षच् V. 4. 113 S. 852 "having six eyes" The affix ख is to be added to this word already ending in the affix ṣhach.

Thus अषडक्षीणा मन्त्र "a secret not having six eyes", i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third ". Similarly आशितगवीने अरण्यम् = आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नरण्ये = प्रसूतयवसं " a forest where formerly cattle had grazed ". The augment वृम् is added to आशित् by nipātana, or irregularly So also बलकर्मिणः = बलं समर्थः कर्मणे पर्याप्तः = competent to do any act, clever. So अलं पुरुषीणः = अलं समर्थं पुरुषाश्च = प्रतिमहत्तादिः = fit for a man.

A word ending with अधि, will be a Tatpuruṣa compound, by II. 1. 40, as the word अधि belongs to Śaundādi class. As ईश्वराधीनः ॥

The affix kha in the case of these words is invariable (nitya); because the word विभाषा occurs in the next sūtra, (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is nitya).

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally.

There are other affixes also which are *Svārthika* and *nitye*.

Such as सम् &c up to the affix कम् (V. 3. 55 to 95)

उय् &c upto वुन्, (V. 3. 112 to V. 4. 1.)

आय् &c upto मयद्, (V. 4. 11 to 21).

And affixes taught from V. 4. 6 i. e. कन् to V. 4. 9, (ख). ending in अति ॥

And all Samasanta affixes.

२०८० । विभाषाब्जेरादिक् स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । ८ ॥

अदिकुलीवृत्तेरुच्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकास्तः स्थाप्या स्वार्थे । प्राक्, प्राचीनम् । प्रत्यक्, प्रतीचीनम् । अवाक्, अवाचीनम् । निकृष्टप्रातिपदिकृष्टाङ्गैरेकयाध्याधमाधमाः । अर्धन्तमञ्जतीति अर्वाक्, अर्वाचीनम् । अदिकुस्त्रियां किम् । प्राची दिक् । पश्ची दिक् । दिग्ग्रहणं किम् । प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी । स्त्रीग्रहणं किम् । प्राचीनं श्रमादाप्ताः ॥

2080. The affix kha (ईन्) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in añch (अञ्च्), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the minine gender.

Thus प्राक् or प्राचीनम् "old", प्रत्यक् or प्रतीचीनम्, अर्वाक्, or अवाचीनम् "new".

Why do we say "when not denoting a direction in the feminine?" Observe प्राची दिक् "eastern region", प्रतीची दिक् "western region". Why do we say "a point of the compass"? Other words in the feminine will take this affix As प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or दिक् used in any other gender will take this affix.

२०८१ । जात्यन्ताचञ्च वन्द्युनि । ५ । ४ । ९ ॥

ब्राह्मजातीयः । वन्धुनि किम् । ब्राह्मणाजातिः शोभना । जोसर्व्यम्जक द्रव्य वन्धु ॥

2081. The affix *chha* (इय) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word जाति, when it means appropriateness.

*Note:—*The word वन्धु means the substance or substratum in which jāti or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, (वच्यते नियमयते स्वतन्त्री क्रियते) ॥

Thus ब्राह्मणाजातीयः "appropriate to a Brāhmaṇa", क्षत्रियाजातीयः वैश्यजातीयः &c.

Why do we say "when meaning appropriateness", Observe ब्राह्मणाजातिः शोभना, "the Brāhmaṇa caste is beautiful",

वन्धु means that substance by which the genus Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya &c is distinguished.

२०८२ स्थानान्ताद्विभाषा अस्थानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अस्थानेन तुल्येन चेत् स्थानान्तमर्थवदित्यर्थः । पितृस्थानीयः । पितृस्थानः । अस्थानेन किन् ओ. स्थानम् ॥

2082. The affix *chha* (इय) is optionally added to a stem ending in स्थान, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place.

The word स्थान means समान स्थानमस्य 'whose place is the same' or or equal. Thus पित्रा तुल्यः—पितृस्थानीयः or पितृस्थानः (पितुरिय-स्थानमस्य whose place is that of a father),

Why do we say "when it means equal to", Observe ओस्यामव "cowshed",

*Note:—*The word इति in अस्थानेनेति is for the sake of distinctness. The word अस्थान as a Bahuvrīhi compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a Tatpuruṣa compound like समानं च तदु स्थानं च ॥ The word चेत् "when" is a conjunction : and joins the two meanings.

The rule S. 2081 occurring between this rule and S. 2080 both of which are optional must be a nitya rule, as explained above इयोर्द्विजा-क्योर्नित्याविभक् ॥

२०८३ अनुगादिनष्ठक् । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अनुगादीत्यनुगादी । स एव अनुगादिकः ॥

2083. The affix *thak* comes after the word *anugādin*, without changing its sense.

Thus आनुगाहिक "repeater or who echoes back".

२०८४ । विसारिणो मत्स्ये । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अण् स्वात् । विसारिण्य । गत्येति क्तिष् । विसारी देवदत्तः ॥

2084. The affix *an* is added to the word विसारिन् when a word expressing "fish" is to be made.

Thus विसारिण "a fish". Why do we say "when it means a fish"? Observe विसारी देवदत्तः "Devadatta who is gliding out".

२०८५ । संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । ५ । ४ । १७ ॥

अभ्यावृत्तिर्जन्म । क्रियाजन्मगणनवृत्तेः संख्याशब्दास्वार्ये कृत्वसुच् स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्यो भुङ्क्ते । संख्याया क्तिष् । मृदिवारः इत्ते ॥

2085. The affix *kritvasuch* (कृत्वस्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted.

This is also a *svārtha* affix. The word अभ्यावृत्तिः means "again and again or repetition". The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called कृताभ्यावृत्तिः

॥ Thus पचवारः भुङ्क्ते = पचकृत्वोभुङ्क्ते "he eats five times".

Why do we say "after a Numeral"? Observe मृदीः वारः भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times"

२०८६ । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । ५ । ४ । १८ ॥

सुखमुचोऽपवादः । भुङ्क्ते । पि । रात्सस्व । चतु ॥

2086. The affix "such" (स्) is added to the numeral *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*, in the same sense of counting the repetition of an action.

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ Thus दि—द्विस्, त्रि—त्रिस् चतुर्—चतुस् in द्विर्मुडक्ते,

"The स् in the last example is elided by VIII 2, 24 S. 280

Note.—But चतुर् meaning "four", and चतुस् "four-times", are differently accented, the च् of सुच् indicating that the accent *udāta* falls on the last syllable. Thus चतुर् (चतेरुस् Un V. 58, being formed with the affix 'uran' added to चत्), and (with सुच्) ॥

२०८७ । एकस्य सकृच्च । ५ । ४ । १९ ॥

सर्गादिमादेशः स्याच्चात्सुच् । सकृद्धुङ्क्ते । सयोगात्तस्येति सञ्चो लोपः । न तु इच्छयापत्तिः । स्त्रीद्वित्वेन सिच इव सञ्चोऽपि तदयोगात् ॥

2087. The word *sakṛt* is substituted for एक before the affix *such*, when an action is to be counted.

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ The 'repetition' being impossible, the action

alone is counted so the anuvṛtti of क्रिया only runs into this sūtra and not of अभ्यावृत्तिः ॥ Thus सकृदुक्ते "he eats once" सकृदधीते ॥ The स् of सृप् is elided by VIII 2 23 S. 54 and not by VI 1, 68 S 252; because the स् of that sūtra refers to the स् of लृप् and not to the स् of सृप्, as the सि of that sūtra refers to सिप् and not to सिष् as in अभिस्तीत् (See page 128). But not here in एकः पाकः as being against usage.

२०८८ । विभाषा बहुधाऽविप्रकृष्टकाले । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अविप्रकृष्ट आसन्नः । बहुधा दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते । आसन्नकाले क्रिप् । बहुकृषो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते ॥

2088. The affix धा is optionally added to the numeral बहु to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time.

This debars कृष्यसृच which comes in the alternative The word अविप्रकृष्ट "not remote", qualifies क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिः; i.e. when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृष्टकाल ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकृष्व दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day". But when a remote time is denoted then धा does not apply. Thus बहुकृष्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily, owing to poverty &c'

२०८९ । तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट् । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुतं प्रकृतं तस्य वचनं प्रतिपादनम् । भावेऽधिकरणे वा स्युट् । आद्ये प्रकृतं मन्त्रमन्नमयम् । अपूपमयम् । यवागूमयी । द्वितीये भक्षणयो यज्ञः । अपूपमयं पर्व ॥

2089. The affix mayat (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly').

Note.—The translation of the sūtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kāśikā —तत् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV. 1, 82) the word प्रकृतम् means "happening to be in abundance". So that according to this interpretation the sūtra should be translated, as done by Dr. Ballantyne. 'The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant,' Thus

—भक्षमयम् "abundance of food", अपूपमयम् "abundance of oake", According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयट् is added, is denoted by the whole word. Thus अन्नं प्र तमस्मिन्—अन्नमयो यज्ञः "a feast in which there is abundance of food", अपूपमयं पर्वं वटकमयोऽयान् ॥

Both senses are possible, as the sūtra is constructed.

The word prakṛita is made up of pra and kṛita, pra has the force of abund-

antly and *kṛita* means made. *Prakṛita* therefore means "made in abundance". That which expresses (*vaahana*) this is called *prakṛita vaahana*.

The word वचन in the sūtra has two senses. It being made by the affix ण्येद् conveys the force both of the *nature* (III 3. 114) and the *sita*. In the former case, (taking तत् प्रकृतवचनो mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have अन्नमयम् "abundance of grain". अपूपमयम्, अवागूमजा ॥ But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant"), we have अन्नमयो यज्ञ "a sacrifice at which food is abundant" so also. अपूपमयः पर्व ॥

२०६० । समूहवच्च बहुष । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

साधूहिक्ता प्रयथा भवति विद्यन्ते चान्मथद् । मोदका प्र ता मोदकिकम् । मोदकमजम् ।
आम्युक्तिक्म । वाक्कुलीमयम् । द्वितीयेऽर्थे । मोदकिको यज्ञः । मोदकमयः ॥

2090. When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing great quantity (IV. 2. 37 &c S. 1243) may also be employed to denote 'made thereof, subsisting therein'.

The य shows that मयद् also comes in the same sense. Thus मोदकाः प्रकृताः प्राप्नुयेय प्रकृताः = मोदकिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256) or मोदकमयम्; so also शाक्युल्लिकम् or शाक्युलीमयम् ॥ In the second sense we have, मोदका प्रकृता अस्मिन् = मोदकिको or मोदकमयो यज्ञः; वाक्कुलिकः or वाक्कुलीमयः ॥

२०६१ । अनन्तावसथेतिह भेषजम् कथ्यः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अनन्त एवानन्त्यम् । आवसथ एवावसथ्यम् । इतिहेति निपातसमुदायः,
मैयड्यत् ॥

2091. The affix *nya* (य) comes, without changing the sense, after the words *ananta*, *āvasatha*, *itiha* and *bheshaja*.

Thus आनन्त्यम् = अनन्त, आवसथ्यम् = आवसथः 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire'. ऐतिह्यम् = इति ह 'traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a *prātipadika*. The word इति ह means tradition, as इति ह द्यावापृथिव्या कथयन्ति ॥ भेषज्यम् = भेषजम् ॥

Note—It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all *taddhita* affixes. See IV. 1 82 S. 1072.

२०६२ । देवसान्तात्तादर्थ्ये यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

सदर्थ एव तादर्थ्यम् । स्वार्थे स्वम् । अग्निदेवतायै इदम् अग्निदेवत्यम् । विदुदेवत्यम् ॥

2092. After a stem ending in the word *देवता* being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix *अत्*, in the

sense of "appointed for it".

The word तादृश्यम् has the same meaning as तदर्थं "for the sake of that" (II. 1 36. S. 698), Thus अमिश्रताये इवम् = अमिश्रित्य "offering &c, sacred to Agni" So also पितृवैवस्यम् ॥

२०९३ । पादार्थस्य च । ५ । ४ । २५ ॥

पादार्थस्य च पाद्यम् । अर्घ्यम् ॥ नवस्य नृप्रदेशे वृत्तनप्लवा प्रत्यया वक्तव्याः * ॥ नृत्तम् । वृत्तनम् । नवीनम् । नक्ष पुराणे प्रात् * ॥ पुराणार्थं वर्तमानाप्रशब्दाजो वक्तव्यः । चात्पूर्वोक्तः । प्रणम् । प्रम् । प्रत्तनम् । प्रीणम् । भागरूपनामभ्यो धेय ॥ भागधेयम् । रूपधेयम् । नामधेयम् ॥ आग्नीध्रसाधारण्यम् * ॥ आग्नीध्रम् । साधारण्यम् । स्त्रियां ङीप् । आग्नीध्री । साधारणी ॥

2093. The affix यत् comes after the words पाद and च, being in the fourth case in construction, when the meaning is 'for the purpose of that'.

The word तादृच्य is understood here also. Thus पादार्थस्य च = पाद्यम् "water meant for washing the feet". So also अर्घ्यम् ॥ The accent of these words is governed by VI. 1. 213, S. 370 the udātta being on the first syllable.

Note 1.—The च in the sūtra implies the inclusion of words other than पाद and चर्च, not mentioned here. The affix यत् applies to other words also, as एव वै सप्तवशाक्षरं पञ्चदशः प्रजापतिः । So also वम्, अयस्, लोक, कवि, क्षेम, उदक, वर्चस्, निष्कवल, उक्थ, अन, पूर्व, नव, सूर, मर्त्य, यविष्ठ ॥ Those words take यत् in the Vedas. Thus वसवः, अयस्यः, ओक्थः, कव्यः, क्षेम्, उदक्यः, वर्चस्यः, निष्कवस्यम्, उक्थ्यः, अन्य पूर्व, नव्य, अय्यः, मर्त्यः and यविष्ठ्यः in अमिश्रित्येवस्यस्य । अयस्यो वसानाः (द्वितीयाबहुवचनस्यालुक् भयो वसाना इत्यर्थः) स्वभोक्त्रे । कव्योसि । क्षेम्स्य वस्यति । वायुर्वर्चस्य ॥ निष्कवस्य वसति । उक्थ्यं वसति । अन्यतामिः । पूर्व्या विना । स्तोमैर्जनयामि नव्यम् । सूर्यः । मर्त्यः । यविष्ठ्यः ॥ So also the words आदृच्ययत् and आमप्यपुत्रिका ॥

Vart :—नृ is the substitute of नव, and the affixes वृत्, तनृ and एव are added to it, as, यत्तनृ, वृत्तनम्, नवीनम् ॥

Vart :—To the word प्र meaning 'old', the affix न is added as well as the affixes च, तनृ and एव e. g. प्रणम्, and प्रत्तनम्, प्रतनम् and प्रीणम् ॥

Vart :—The affix धेय is added to the words भाग, रूप and नाम e. g. भागधेयम्, रूपधेयम्, नामधेयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix अङ् comes after आग्नीध्रा and साधारण, as, आग्नीध्रम्, साधारणम् ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीप् as आग्नीध्री, साधारणी ॥

Note 1.—All these are illustrations of the option allowed by IV. 1, 82, 8, 1072 so that sometimes these affixes do not apply as आग्नीध्रा शाक्ता साधारणा भूः ॥

२०९४ । अतिथेऽर्थः । ५ । ४ । २६ ॥

तादृच्ये इत्येव । अतिथये इदमातिथ्यम् ॥

2094. The affi ण्या () comes after अतिथि in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of “for the purpose of that”.

The word तावर्च is understood here also. Thus अतिथये इवम् = अति ॥

२०९५ । देवास्तस्य ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

एव वेदता ॥

2095 The affix तल् comes after देव, without change of sense.

The anuvritti of तावर्च does not apply here and ceases. Thus देवता = देवः ॥

Note — This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a svāthika affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive.

२०९६ । अयेः कः । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अविरेवविक्रः ॥

2096. The affix क comes after अवि, without change of sense.

Thus अविक्रः = अविः ॥

२०९७ । यावादिश्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

एव यावकः । मजिकः ॥

2097. The affix कन् comes after the words याव &c, without changing their sense.

Thus आयकः = याव, मजिक = मजि. ॥

1 याव 2 मजि, 3 अस्थि, 4 तालु*, 5 आनु*, 6 लान्*, 7 पीत, 8 स्तम्भ (पीतस्तम्भ पोत, स्तम्भ), 9 कृतबुष्णशीते, 10 पशौ लूनविपाते (वियाते), 11 अणु निपुणे, 12 पुत्र कुचिमे, 13 ज्ञात वेदसमाप्तौ, 14 शून्य रिक्तं, 15 दान कुत्सिते, 16 तनु सूत्रं, 17 ईयस्य (धेयस्क), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञात* 20 कुमारीक्रीडनकानि च 21 चण्ड ॥

G. S. The affix कन् is added to उष्ण and शीत when denoting a season : as, उष्णक ऋतुः । शीतक ऋतुः ॥ Otherwise उष्णोऽग्निः, शीतमुदक ॥ G. S. लून and वियात take कन् when denoting an animal, as लूनकः or वियातकः पशुः, otherwise लूनार्भा, वियातो नीचः, ॥ G. S. अणु takes कन् when meaning ‘clever’, as अणुक सूक्ष्महृक् otherwise अणु only. G. S. पुत्र takes कन् when meaning ‘artificial’, as, पुत्रको लोहविनिर्मितः ॥ G. S. ज्ञात takes कन् when denoting a student who has completed his study of the Vedas, as ज्ञातकः ॥ G. S. शून्य takes कन् when meaning empty, as उक्ताविना रिक्तोऽयं शून्यकः, otherwise शून्यः प्रत्ययः । ७. बाह्यार्यं रहितः ॥ G. S. दान takes कन् when contempt is meant, as कुत्सितं दानं = दान य ॥ G. S. तनु takes कन् when meaning thread, as तनुकस्य सूत्रमन्तुः, otherwise तनुः शरीरम् ॥ G. S. The word ending in ईयस्य takes कन्, as धेयस्क ॥ G. S. The words denoting play things of girls take कन्, as कण्डकम् ॥

२०९८ । लोहितान्मणौ । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिर्लोहितकः ॥

2098. The affix कन् comes, without changing the sense, after the word लोहित, when it means a precious stone.

Thus लोहितकः = लोहित "Ruby".

Note:—Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, लोहितः red.

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितकः कोपेन ॥ लोहितविक्षिब्धबाधनं वा * ॥ लोहितिका लोहितिका कोपेन ॥

2099. The affix कन् comes after लोहित, when it means color which is not permanent.

Thus लोहितकः कोपेन "red with anger". लोहितकः पीडनेन ॥

Note:—Why do we say "not permanent," Observe लोहितो गौः "a red cow", लोहितं रुधिरम् "the red blood".

Vart:—The derivative of लोहित may not take the gender of the primitive, as लोहितिका or लोहितिका कोपेन ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाक्षादिना रक्ते यो लोहितवाद्यस्तस्मात्कम्प्यात् । लिङ्गबाधनं वेत्येव । लोहितिका लोहितिका शादी ॥

2100. The affix कन् comes after the word लोहित meaning a substance dyed red.

As लोहितकः कम्बलः or पटः "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c". The vartika of the preceding sūtra applies here also. Similarly लोहितिका or लोहितिका शादी ॥

२१०१ । कालाब्धे । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति ह्यमनुवर्तते । कालकं मुखं वैलक्ष्येण । कालकः पटः । कालिका शादी ॥

2101. The affix कन् is added to the word काल, when it means a passing color, or dyed with color.

The word वर्णे चानित्ये and रक्ते are both understood here. Thus कालकं मुखं वैलक्ष्येण "the face black with shame or confusion". कालकः पटः 'a cloth dyed blue-black'. कालिका शादी ॥

२१०२ । विनयादिभ्यष्टक् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैलक्षिकः । सामयिकः ॥ उपायो हृदयश्च * ॥ औपयिकः ॥

2102. The affix टक् (कँ or इकँ) comes without changing the sense after the word विनय and the rest.

Thus वैतयिकः = विनयः, सानयिकः ॥

Gana sūtra :—The आ of उपाय is shortened, as, औपयिके ॥ The word अकस्मात् should be read as अकस्माद् in order to apply इक् and not क. as आकस्मिक ॥ The टि is elided, because it is an Apyaya. See VI. 4, 149, S. 499 The affix is optional by IV. 1, 82, S. 1072.

1 विनय, 2 समय, 3 उपायो (उपायाद्) ह्रस्वत्वं च (औपयिक), 4 संप्रति*, 5 सप्तति, 6 कथं-
चित्, 7 अकस्मात्, 8 समाचार, 9 उपचार, 10 समवाचार, 11 व्यवहार, 12 संप्रदान, 13 संक्षेपकत्वे,
14 समूह, 15 विशेष, 16 अत्यय, 17 अस्थि, 18 कण्डू ॥

२१०३ वाचोव्याहृतार्थायाम् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

संविधार्थायां वाचि विद्यमानाद्वाक्यशब्दास्त्वर्थे ठक् स्यात् । संदेशवाग् वाचिक स्यात् ॥

2103. The affix ठक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another.

Note :—The word व्याहृत means 'declared, expressed'. That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party as a 'tidings' or 'news', is called व्याहृतार्थ ॥ Thus वाचिकं कथयति 'he relates the verbal message'. वाचिक आधे ॥ Some say it applies to written message also.

Thus वाचिकम् = संदेशवाक् ॥ See Amarakosha I. 6, 17.

Note :—Why do we say "when it means a verbal message?" Observe मधुरं वाक् देवदत्तस्य 'the speech of Devadatta is sweet'.

२१०४ । तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण् । ५ । ४ । ३५ ॥

कर्मैव कर्मणम् । वाचिकं श्रुत्वा क्रियमाणं कर्मैवार्थः ॥

2104. The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मैन् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i. e. when it is the result of an oral message or commission).

Thus कर्मणम् = कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)', i. e. when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission.

२१०५ । औषधेरजातौ । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्वार्थेऽण् । औषधं विवति । अजातौ किम् । औषधयोः क्षेत्रे कृताः ॥

2105. The affix अण् comes after औषधि when it does not mean a species.

Thus औषधं विवति "he drinks medicine". Why do we say "when not meaning a जाति or species". Observe, औषधयः क्षेत्रे कृता भवन्ति "the herbs are growing in the field".

२१०६ । प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३८ ॥

प्रज्ञ एव प्राज्ञः । प्राज्ञी स्त्री । देवत । बान्धवः ॥

2106. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **प्रज्ञ** &c. (the words retaining their sense).

Thus **प्राज्ञ** = **प्रज्ञः** "a wise person", feminine **प्राज्ञी** so also **वैवत्तः**, **बान्धवः** ॥

Note.—While **प्राज्ञः** "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine **प्राज्ञा** comes from **प्रज्ञा** "wisdom" by the affix **ण्** having the sense of **मनुष्य** ("being possessed of"), taught in V. 2, 101, S, 1908. The **प्रज्ञ** of this sūtra comes from the root **प्रजानाते** = **प्रज्ञः** "he who knows fully".

The word **विदन्** occurs in the list of **प्रज्ञादि** words. It is formed by the addition of the affix **शतृ** (III. 2, 124 S 3100) to the root, as, **विद्** + **शतृ** = **विदन्** nom. s **विदन्** ॥ The very fact that we have such a form **विदन्** shows that the substitution of **वसु** for **शतृ** after the word **विद्** taught in VII. 1, 36 S, 3105 (by which we get **विद्वान्**) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from Sātra VII. 1, 35, S. 2197.

The word **श्रोत्र** takes **अण्** when meaning 'body', as **श्रोत्रम्**; otherwise **श्रोत्रम्** 'the sense of hearing', **जुह्वन्** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as **जौह्वन्**. ॥ The word **कृष्ण** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as, **कार्ण्ण**. ॥

1 **प्रज्ञ**, 2 **वणिज्**, 3 **उशिज्**, 4 **उडिज्** (उडिक् उडिगद्), 5 **प्रत्यक्ष**, 6 **विद्वस्**, 7 **विदन्**, 8 **षोडन्**, 9 **विद्या**, 10 **मनस्**, 11 **श्रोत्र** शरीरे, 12 **जुह्वन्**, 13 **कृष्ण** वृगे, 14 **चिकीर्षन्**, 15 **चोर**, 16 **शत्रु** (शक्), 17 **योध**, 18 **चक्षुस्** (चक्षन्), 19 **वसु** (वस्), 20 **एनस्** (एत्), 21 **मरुत्**, 22 **कुञ्च** (कुङ्), 23 **सत्त्वन्तु** (सत्त्वत्, सत्त्वन्त), 24 **वशाहं**, 25 **वयस्**, 26 **व्याकृत**, 37 **वासुर** (आतुर), 28 **रक्षस्**, 29 **मिशान्व**, 30 **अशनि**, 31 **कर्षापण** (का), 32 **वैवत्ता**, 33 **बन्धु**, 34 **षोडश**, 35 **धूर्त**, 36 **राजा** ॥

२१०७ । मृदस्तिकन् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

मृदेव मृत्तिका ॥

2107. The affix **तिकन्** comes after **मृद्** (the word retaining its sense).

Thus **मृत्तिका** = **मृद्** 'mud'.

Note.—Of course, this is also an optional affix not a nitya affix like many of the svārthika affixes enumerated in V. 4, 7 S. 2079.

२१०८ । सस्नी प्रशंसायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४० ॥

रूपयोऽववादः । प्रशस्ता मृत् मृत्ता । मृत्ता । उत्तरसूत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामद्वयान्नित्योऽयम् ॥

2108. The affix **स** and **ज** comes after **मृद्** when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix **रूप** V. 3, 66, S. 2021. Thus **प्रशस्ता मृद्** = **मृत्ता** or **मृत्ता** ॥ These two affixes are nitya or invariable, i. e. whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes. The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word **अन्यतरस्याम्** 'optionally' follows it in V. 4, 42, S. 2109, so that this affix is not optional. cf. V. 4, 7, 10, &c.

२१०६ । बहुल्यार्थच्छस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहूनि वदति बहुशः । अल्पानि अल्पशः ॥ बहुल्यार्थान्मङ्गलामङ्गलवत्त्वनम् * ॥ नेह बहूनि ददात्यनिष्टेषु । अल्पं ददात्याभ्युदयिकेषु ॥

2109. After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix शस् optionally, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as a kāraka).

No especial कारक being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken. Thus बहूनि ददाति = बहुशो ददाति, बहुभिर्ददाति = बहुशो ददाति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुषा आगच्छति &c. Similarly अल्पशो ददाति = अल्प or अल्पेन &c.

Why do we say "signifying much or little"? Observe नां ददाति, अर्धं ददाति ॥

Why do we say "when it is a kāraka"? Observe बहूनां स्वामी "lord of many". Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a कारक or case, dependent or related to a verb: and so the affix is not applied here.

Vart:—By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included. Thus सूरिशो ददाति, स्तोकशो ददाति ॥

Vart:—This affix is to be applied to bahu and alpa only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively. Thus बहुशो ददाति = अभ्युदयिकेषुकर्मसु । अल्पशो ददाति = अतिष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशो देहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c". अल्पशो देहि "give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c". But not here बहूनि ददाति (अनिष्टेषु), or अल्पं ददाति (आभ्युदयिकेषु)

२११० । संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ ददाति द्विशः । माष माष माषशः । मस्यशः । परिमाणशब्दा वृत्तावेकार्था एव । संख्यैकवचनात्किम् । घट घट ददाति । वीप्सायां किम् । द्वौ ददाति । कारकादित्येव । द्वयोर्द्वयोः खासी ॥

2110. The affix शस् comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a kāraka).

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदकौ ददाति = द्विशो मोदकौ ददाति "He gives two sweet-meats to each". So also त्रिषा ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number as कार्षापणशो ददाति "he gives a Karshāpāṇa coin to each". So also माषशः, पादशः मस्यशः ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called eka-vachana. The words kārshāpāṇa &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i. e. one to each, though in fact many are given

Why do we say "after Numerals and units of coin"? Observe घटं घटं ददाति "he gives a pot to each". Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe द्वौ ददाति "He gives two". कार्षापणम् ददाति "he gives a kârshâpaṇa".

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz. when it is a kâraka, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun. As द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी "Lord of two each". कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी "Possessor of a kârshapaṇas each". In fact the work "kârakât" of the last sūtra is understood here also. This sūtra is exception to VIII. 1. 4.

२१११ । प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसिः । ५ । ४ । ४४ ॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रवचनीयेन योगे वा पञ्चमी विहिता तदन्तास्तसिः स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति ॥ आद्यादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ आदौ आदितः मध्यतः । पृष्ठतः । पार्श्वतः । प्राकृतिगणोऽथ । स्वरेण स्वरतः । वर्णतः ॥

2111. The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chaniya word प्रति ॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sūtra II. 3. 11. S. 600. Thus प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति ॥ The anuvṛtti of वा "optionally" runs here also: thus it is an optional rule; we have the regular forms कृष्णात् &c, also

Vart —The affix तसि comes after the word आदि &c. as, आदितः, मध्यतः, अन्ततः पार्श्वतः, पृष्ठतः &c. This is an akṛitigana, no complete list being given; so we have स्वरतः or स्वरेण; वर्णतः &c.

२११२ । अपादाने आऽहीयरुहोः । ५ । ४ । ४५ ॥

अपादाने वा पञ्चमी तदन्तास्तसिः स्यात् । आमाशागच्छति । आमतः । अहीयरुहोः क्तिन् । स्वर्गा स्त्रीयन्त । पर्वतादवरोहति ॥

2112. The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apâdâna Kâraka, except when this apâdâna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs हीय (passive of हा) and रुह ॥

Thus आमत आगच्छति or आमात् ॥ See Sūtra I 4. 24. 25, and 26 &c, Why do we say "excepting hiya and ruha"? Not so when the verbs हीय and रुह govern the ablative: as स्वर्गाद् हीयते पर्वताद् अवरोहति ॥

Note.—The form हीय is given in the sūtra to indicate that the verb हा whose present is जहाति is to be taken, and not जिहीति ॥ Thus we have भूमित उज्जिहीते or भूमेरुज्जिहीते ॥ How do you explain the use of "tasi" in the following well-known verse: "मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the Instrumental case i. e. स्वरेण वर्णेन वा हीनः ॥

२११३ । अतिग्रहाऽव्ययनक्षेपेऽकर्तरि तृतीयायाः । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसिः स्यात् । अतिक्रम्य ग्रहोऽतिग्रहः । अरिजेणातिगृह्यते । अरिजतोऽतिगृह्यते । अरिजेणान्यानतिक्रम्य वृत्तं इत्यर्थः । अव्ययनमचलनम् । वृत्तेन न व्ययते । वृत्ततो न व्ययते । वृत्तेन न चलतीत्यर्थः । क्षेपो वृत्तेन क्षिप्तः । वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः । वृत्तेन निक्षिप्त इत्यर्थः । अकर्तरीति किम् । देववृत्तेन क्षिप्तः ॥

2113. The affix *tasi* comes after that Instrumental case which does not denote an agent, and is governed by a verb having the sense of “to excel”, “not to give way”, and “to blame”,

Thus अरिजेण or अरिजतोऽतिगृह्यते ॥ This means when a person of good conduct surpasses others through his conduct he is said “to have excelled through his conduct and character”. So also वृत्तेन or वृत्ततो न व्ययते ; similarly अरिजेन or अरिजतो &c, the sense being he does not succumb or is not moved owing to his strength of conduct or character. Similarly वृत्तेन or वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः, अरिजेण or अरिजतः क्षिप्तः “blamed owing to his bad conduct”,

Why do we say “when not denoting an agent”? Observe देववृत्तेन क्षिप्तः “blamed by Devadatta”.

२११४ । हीयमानपापयोगाच्च । ५ । ४ । ४७ ॥

हीयमानपापयुक्तादकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसिः । वृत्तेन हीयते । वृत्तेन पाप । वृत्ततः । क्षेपस्याविवक्षायामिदम् । क्षेपे तु पूर्वेषु सिद्धम् । अकर्तरि किम् । देववृत्तेन हीयते ॥

2114. And the affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the third case-affix, when such word is joined to the verb “*hiya*”, or the noun “*pāpa*”; not denoting an agent.

The words अकर्तरि and तृतीयायाः are understood in this aphorism. Thus वृत्तेन हीयते or वृत्ततो हीयते ॥ अरिजेण हीयते or अरिजतो हीयते ॥ So also in construction with the word पाप, as, वृत्तेन पापः or वृत्ततः पापः ॥ अरिजेण पापः or अरिजतः पापः ॥ This use of the affix is in places other than those where censure is meant. In other words, it comes where no censure is implied, but a simple fact is mentioned. Where censure is implied, the affix *tasi* would come by force of the preceding aphorism V. 4. 46. S. 2113.

The word अकर्तरि being understood here also, the affix does not come when the 3rd case-affix has the force of an agent : as देववृत्तेन हीयते ॥

२११५ । षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये । ५ । ४ । ४८ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तसिः स्यान्नानापक्षसमाश्रये । देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवन् । आश्रित्या कर्णतोऽभवन् । अर्जुनस्य पक्षे इत्यर्थः । व्याश्रये किम् वृक्षस्य शाखा ॥

2115. The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction.

Taking sides with one faction or another is called *ग्राम्य*; ॥ Thus *देवाभर्जुनस्य पक्षोऽभवन्* = *देवा भर्जुनतोऽभवन्* ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites'. So also *आदित्या कर्णतोऽभवन्* "The Adityas became Karṇaites".

Why do we say "when it denotes a Party-name?" Observe *वृक्षस्य शाखा* "the branch of the tree"

२११६ । रोगाश्चापनयने । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

रोगवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तसिभिकीसायाच् । प्रवाहिकातः कुरु । प्रतीकारमस्याः कुर्वित्यर्थः । अपनयने किम् । प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनं कराति ॥

2116 The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted.

The words *रोग* means 'disease', and *अपनयन* means 'healing', 'curing'. Thus *प्रवाहिकायाः प्रतीकारं कुरु* = *प्रवाहिकातः कुरु* ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant?' Observe *प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनकुरु* ॥

२११७ । कृञ्चस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः । ५ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभूततद्भाव इति धत्तव्यम् * ॥ विकारात्मनां प्राप्नुवत्यां प्रकृतौ वर्तमानाद्विकारणाध्यास्यां च्विर्वा स्यात्करोत्यादिभिर्योगे ॥

2117. The affix *chvi* comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs *kri* 'to make', *bhū* 'to be', and *as* 'to be' are conjoined with it.

Vārṭika.—When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix *chvi* is added. When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be *abhūtatadbhāva*—'the state of that what it was not'. The agent of the action of attaining is called *sanpadya kartā*.

२११८ । अस्य च्वौ । ७ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अवर्णस्य ईत्यस्यात् च्वौ । वेलोप । च्व्यन्तत्वं च्व्ययश्चम् । अकृष्णः कृष्णः सपद्यते तं करोति कृष्णीकरोति । ब्रह्मीभवति । गङ्गीस्यात् । अव्ययस्य चाधीत्वं नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ देवाभूतमह । दिवाभूता रात्रिः । एतच्चाव्ययीभावश्चेति सूत्रे भाष्येऽक्तम् ॥

2118. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix चिब

The बि being aprikta is elided. The chvi ending word is an Indeclinable. Thus भकृष्णः कृष्ण सपद्यते त करोति = कृष्णीकरोति 'He blackens', when some one who is not black becomes black i. e. some one makes him so. Similarly गङ्गी भवति । गङ्गी स्यात् ॥

Vart —The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before chvi. Thus दोषाभूतमहं विद्याभूता राजि ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on l. 1. 41. S 451,

२११६ । क्यच्चयोश्च । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

इति परस्यापत्यकारस्व लोपः स्यात् क्ये चो अ परतः । गार्गीभवति ॥

2119. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix चिब ॥

Thus गार्गीभवति = गार्गीयति or गार्गीयते ॥

२१२० । चो च । ७ । ४ । २४ ॥

चो षे पूर्वस्य दीर्घं स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पट् स्यात् । अव्ययस्य दीर्घत्वं नेति केचित्तन्निर्मुलम् । स्वस्ति स्वादिति तु महाविभाषया अत्रभाषस्तिङ्गम् । स्वस्ती स्यादित्यपि पक्षे स्यादिति चेत्तु । यदि भवति तर्ह्यनभिधानात् चिबेव नोत्पद्यते इत्यस्तु । रीदृशः । माचीकरोति ॥

2120. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Abverbial affix चिब (V. 4. 50. S 2117).

As शुची भवति, पट् स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened. This is without authority. The non-lengthening in स्वस्ति स्यात् can be explained by the non application of chvi under the great option of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. and as there is no चिब added, so there is no lengthening.

Obj. As the great option IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of चिब, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get स्वस्ती स्यात् ॥ Ans. Let it be so ; where is the harm ?

Obj. But this is not desired for we never find it in usage.

Ans. Then let us say that chvi never comes after svasti, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no chvi is ever added to svasti

By VII. 4. 27 S. 1234 the final क् is changed to री before chvi Thus माची करोति ॥

२१२१ । अरुर्मेनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोजसां लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । ५१ ॥

एषां लोपः स्यात् चिब्व । अरु करोति । उन्मनी स्यात् । उचक्ष करोति । विचेती करोति । विरही करोति । विरजी करोति ॥

2121. The affix *chvi* comes after the words *arus*, *manas*, *chakshus*, *chetas*, *rahas*, and *rajas*, and there is elision of their final consonant

The affix चिब्व would have come after these words by force of the sūtra V. 4. 50. S. 2117. which is of universal application: the present sūtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant. Thus अनह्रस्वम्पद्यते, तं करोति = अरु करोति, अरु भवति अरु स्यात् ॥ So also उन्मनी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also उचक्ष, विचेती, विरही, and विरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात् ॥ The short *व* of अरु and चक्षु is lengthened by VII. 4. 26, S. 2120 and the *अ* of the other words is changed into ई by VII. 4. 32. S. 2118.

२१२२ । विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये । ५ । ४ । ५२ ॥

चिब्वविषये सातिर्वा स्यात्साकल्ये ॥

2122 The affix *sāti* may be employed optionally in the sense of *chvi*, when something is changed in all its parts into something else.

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* are in conjunction", is understood here.

२१२३ । सात्पदाद्योः । ८ । ३ । १११ ॥

सस्य षत्त्वं न स्यात् । वधिसिञ्चति । कृष्ण शस्त्रमग्निः संपद्यतेऽग्निसात्पदति । अग्निभवति । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । कार्त्स्न्ये किम् । एकदेशेन शुक्लीभवति पदः ॥

2123. The *ष्* substitution does not take place in the affix *सात्* and for that *स* which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus *सात्* here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52. S. 2122 and it would have been changed to *ष* by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. The present sūtra prevents that. The *Padādi स* refers to those verbs which in the *Dhātupāṭha* are taught with a *स*, and for which a *स* is substituted. This also is exception to VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. Thus अग्निसात् । वधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with *Padādi स* as वधिसिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

The affix *साति* is employed when the original is changed in its totality (*कृष्ण*). Thus अग्निसाद् भवति शस्त्रम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire". We may also say अग्नी भवति शस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदेशेन पदः शुक्ली भवति "the cloth whitens in part".

The word "optionally" shows that the affix *chvi* also comes in the same sense. While the optional affixing of these terminations *chvi*, *sâti* &c is governed by the *Mahâ vibhâshâ* of *sûtra* IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. (see V 3. 1).

२१२४ । अभि विधौ संपदा च । ५ । ४ । ५३ ॥

संपदा कृत्वस्तिभिश्च योगे सातिर्वा स्याद्व्याप्तौ । पक्षे कृत्वस्तिर्योगे चिवः । संपदा तु वाक्यमेव ।
अग्निसात्संपद्यते अग्निसाद्भवति वाय्वम् । अग्नीभवति । जलसात्संपद्यते जलीभवति लवणम् । एकस्या व्यक्तेः
सर्ववयवावच्छेदेनान्यथाभावः कार्त्स्न्यम् । बहूनां व्यक्तीनां किञ्चिदवयवावच्छेदेनान्यथात्वं त्वभिविधौ ॥

2124. The affix *sâti* comes after a word in the sense of *chvi*, when it is in construction with the verb *sam-pad*, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into something else, though partially.

The word *अभिविधिः* means 'pervasion'. The force of the word *च* in the *sûtra* is that the same is expressed when the verbs कृ, भू and अस् are in construction as well. By drawing the *anuvṛtti* of the word *vibhâshâ* into this *sûtra*, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix चि in the same sense of *abhividhi*; but then it must be followed by the verbs कृ, भू and अस् only and not by the verb संपद ॥

Thus अग्निसात् संपद्यते or अग्निसात् भवति; उदकसात् संपद्यते or भवति &c Or
उदकी भवति or अग्नी भवति ॥

What is the difference between the words *abhividhi* and *kârtsnya* of these two *sûtras*? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called *abhividhivikâra*. As, अस्त्रां सेनायाम् उद्गृपतेन सर्वम्
वाय्वम् अग्निसात् संपद्यते or वाय्वं सर्वम् लवणम् उदकसात् संपद्यते ॥ Here सर्व has the force of प्रकार कालः namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality. While the word *kârtsnya* means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing. In short, the difference between these two words is this 'when one object is changed in all its parts, it is *kârtsnya* change when many objects are changed in some of their parts, it is *abhividhi* change.

२१२५ । तदधीनवचने । ५ । ४ । ५४ ॥

सातिः स्यात्कृत्वस्तिभिः संपदा च योगे । राजमात्करोति । राजसात्संपद्यते । राजाधीनमित्यर्थः ॥

2125. The affix *sâti* comes after a word expressing 'a master or lord', in the sense of 'dependent upon this',

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti*, and *sam-pad*.

The anuvṛtṭi of *सदधीन* ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix. The anuvṛtṭi of the four verbs *Kṛi* &c, however, runs into the sūtra. The word *सदधीन* means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that'. The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word *tadadhīna*. Thus *राजाधीन करोति* = *राजसात् करोति* "he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion". Similarly *राजसात् स्यात्* or *भवति* or *संपद्यते* ॥ So also *ब्राह्मणसाद् भवति करोति, स्यात्* or *संपद्यते* ॥

२१२६ । देये त्रा च । ५ । ४ । ५५ ॥

सदधीने देये वा स्यात्सात्तिश्च कृत्वाधियोगे । विप्राधीनं देयं करोति विप्रपाकरोति । विप्रपासंपद्यते । पक्षे विप्रसात्करोति । देये किम् । राजसाद्भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126. The affix *trā* comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix *sāti*, in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti* and *sam-pad*.

The phrase "dependent upon that" is understood here also. The word *देय* qualifies the above phrase. When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the Brahmanas, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix *trā* is employed. Thus *ब्राह्मणाधीनं देयं करोति* = *ब्राह्मणसात् करोति* ॥ "He gives it to the Brahmana, as it is an object which ought to be given to them". *ब्राह्मणसाद्भवति* "it becomes given to the Brahmana". So also with *स्यात्* and *संपद्यते* ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is that of to be given" Observe *राजसात् भवति राष्ट्रम्* ॥

२१२७ । देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुषार्थेभ्यो त्रितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । ५ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च ना स्यात् । देवभा वन्दे रणे वा । बहुलोक्तेरन्यथापि । बहुली जीवतो मन ॥

2127. After the words *deva*, *manushya*, *purusha*, *puru* and *martya* ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix *trā* is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case.

The anuvṛtṭi of *sāti* ceases, that of *trā* continues. The verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* also have no scope here. This is a general sūtra. Thus *देवाम् गच्छति* = *देवभा गच्छति*, *देवेषु वसति* = *देवभा वसति* ॥ So also *मनुष्यभा*, *पुरुषभा* *पुरुषा*, *मर्त्येभा* ॥ *देवभा वन्दे रणे वा* ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also ; as *बहुला जीवतो मन* ॥

२१२८ । अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादनितौ डाच् । ५ । ४ । ५७ ॥

डाच् भवरं न्यूनं न तु ततो न्यूनम् अनंकाजिति यावत् । तादृशमर्थं यस्य तस्याडाच् स्यात्कृभस्ति-
भिर्योगे ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते हे बहुलम् * ॥ नित्यमाभिहिते डाचीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ डाच्परं यवभिहितं
तस्मिन्परं पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णयोः पररूप स्यात् । इति तकारपकारयोः पकारः । पटपटाकरोति । अव्यक्तानुकर-
णात्किम् । ईषत्ककरोति । द्व्यजवरार्धात्किम् । अत्करोति । भवरोति किम् । खरटखरटाकरोति । अपटपटा-
करोति । अनेकाच्च इत्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । एव हि डाचीति परस्मैभ्येव द्वित्वे सुवच्येत्यवधेयम् । अनितौ
किम् । पठिति करोति ॥

2128. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'.

The sound in which the letters *अ* &c are not distinctly expressed is called *avyakta* 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate'. The imitation of such a sound is called *avyaktā-anukarṇa*. That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called *dvyajavarārdha*, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved. The phrase "when joined with *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti*" is understood here. The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (*ardha*) is at least (*avara*) of two syllables (*dvyach*).

Vārtika:—When the affix *डाच्* is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word. That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added. The force of the locative in *डाचि* is that of *विषयस्तप्ती* and not *परस्तप्ती* ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of *petitio principii*. By adding *ḍach* and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables. If it is, then *ḍach* is to be added. Thus *पटत्* is a sound imitation word. By reduplication it becomes *पटत् पटत्* ॥

Now applies the following *Vārtika*.—

Vārtika:—Of such a doubled sound imitation word, to which the affix *आ* is added which causes the elision of the final *अत्*, for the final *त्* of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus *पटत् पटत्* = *पटप् पटत्* = *पट पटत्*, with *डाच्* = *पटपटा* ॥

The final *त्* of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter *प*, and then for two *प*'s one is substituted by this *vārtika*. Thus *पटपटत्* करोति = *पटपटा करोति* "he makes a sound like *patat patat*". So also with *भवति* and *स्यात्* ॥ So also *वमसा करोति*, *भवति* or *स्यात्* ॥ The final *अत्* of *पटपटत्* is elided by VI. 4 143 S. 316 before the affix *डाच्* having an *indicatory* इ the real affix being *आ* ॥

Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe **हवत् करोति**, 'it makes or turns to stone'. Why do we say "after that half which consists of at least two vowels"? Observe **अत् करोति** 'he utters the exclamation *srat*'. Why do we say "at least"? Observe **खटखट करोति** where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies. But had the sūtra been "**द्व्यजार्धात्** half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables. So also **वपवदा करोति** ॥

The sūtra ought to have used the word **अनेकाच्**: "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of **द्व्यजवारार्धात्**. Thus before the affix **डाच्** the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (**डाचि** in the *vārtika*) this doubling being caused by something which follows. Why do we say "when इति does not follow"? Observe **पदिति करोति** (VI. 1. 98. S 81). The **च्** of **डाच्** is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (*swarita*) accent. Thus, **पदपदौ + षेति** ॥ Here first the **अ** of **असि** which was *udatta*, becomes *anudatta* by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935 Then by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658 **आ** of **दा** and **अ** of **असि** coalesce into an *udatta* **दा**, as **पदपदौसि** ॥ But then comes in rule VIII. 2. 6 S 3659 which would make this **दा** optionally *svarita*, the indicator **च्** prevents it. Some read **द्व्यजवारार्धात्**, the **य** however does not change the sense.

२१२६ । कृजो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कुषौ । ५ । ४ । ५८ ॥

द्वितीयादिभ्यो डाच् स्यात्कुष एव योगे कर्षणेऽर्थे । बहुलोक्तेरव्यक्तानुकरणावयवस्य डाचि न द्वित्वम् । द्वितीयं तृतीयं कर्षणं करोति द्वितीयाकरोति । तृतीयाकरोति । शम्बदाब्ब, प्रतिलोमे । अनुलोमं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिलोमं कर्षति शम्बाकरोति । बीजेन सह कर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129. The affix **dāch** comes after the words *dvitīya*, *trītiya*, *śamba*, and *bīja* when connected with the verb *kṛi*, and meaning "to plough in such a way".

By force of the word *diversely* in the *vārtika* under the last sūtra, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else.

The repetition of the word **कृ** in this sūtra indicates that the **सू** and **अस्ति** are not to be taken. Thus **द्वितीया करोति** = **द्वितीयं कर्ष** (= **विक्षेपनं**) करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field'. So also **तृतीया करोति**, **शम्बा करोति** 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before' = **अनुलोमं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिलोमं कर्षति** ॥ So also **बीजा करोति** = **सहबीजेन विक्षेपनं करोति** ॥

Note.—Why do we say when meaning "to plough"? Observe **द्वितीय करोति पदम्** ॥

२१३० । संख्यायाश्च गुणान्तायाः । ५ । ४ । ५९ ॥

कृजो योगे कृषौ डाच् स्यात् । द्विगुणाकरोति क्षेत्रम् । क्षेत्रकर्मण द्विगुणं कर्षणं करोतीत्यर्थः ॥

2130. The affix *dâch* comes after a Numeral followed by the word *guṇa*, the sense being to plough so many times'.

The word कृ is understood here. Thus द्विगुणा or त्रिगुणा करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = द्विगुणं विस्तेजनं करोति क्षेत्रस्य ॥

Why do we say "when meaning to plough"? Observe द्विगुणा करोति रज्जुम् "he doubles the rope".

२१३१ । समयाच्च यापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृषाविति निवृत्तम् । कृजो योगे डाच् स्यात् । समयाकरोति । कालं थापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *samaya* when कृ follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'.

The word कृ is understood here also. The *anuvṛtti* of कृष ceases. The getting of leisure from the duties is called *samaya* or 'time'; the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word *yaṇa* ॥ Thus *samaya* करोति = कालक्षेपं करोति (आद्यं मे पारवश्यं, श्वः परश्वो वास्य समय इत्येव यो बहुषु दिवसेषु अतिवर्तते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'.

Note :—Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe *samaya* करोति "he makes time"

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति घृणम् । सपुङ्खशरप्रवेशनेन सपत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पत्राकरोति । सपुङ्खस्य शरस्याऽपरपार्श्वेन निर्गमनान्निष्पत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । अतिव्यथने किम् । सपत्रं निष्पत्रं वा करोति भूतलम् ॥

2132. The affix *dâch* comes after the words *sapatra*, and *nishpatra* followed by the verb *kṛi*, when the sense is that of causing intense pain.

The word कृ is understood here also. The word *ati-vyathana* means "violent pain" Thus *sapatra* करोति घृणं व्याध = सपत्रं शरमस्य शरीरे प्रवेशयति "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body". So also *nishpatra* करोति = शरीराच्च छरन्परपार्श्वे निष्क्रामयति "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers" Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe *sapatra* or *nishpatra* करोति भूतलम् ॥

२१३३ । निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति वाडिमम् । निर्गतं कुलमन्तरवयवानां समूहो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहौडाच् ॥

2133. The affix *dâch* comes after the words *nishkula* followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is 'to disembowel'.

The verb कृ should be read into the sūtra. The word निष्कोषण means to bring the inner organs out or to eviscerate. निष्कुला करोति शङ्खिन् "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranite"

Note Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel"? Observe निष्कुलान् करोति शङ्खून् "he makes the enemies family-less".

२१३४ । सुखप्रियादानुलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सुखाकरोति । प्रियाकरोति गुरुम् । अनुकुलाचरणेनानुव्यतीत्यर्थः ॥

2134. The affix dāch comes after the words sukha and priya, followed by kri, when the meaning is ('to concede ' 'gratify ') 'to go with the grain '.

The word अनुलोभ्य means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration'. Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति गुरुम् = स्वाम्यादेश्चिन्तनापधयति "tries to please the heart of the master &c".

Note :—This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act. Otherwise observe सुख करोति or प्रियं करोति औषधपानम् "the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c".

२१३५ । दुःखात्प्रतिलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६४ ॥

दुःखाकरोति । स्वामिनम् पीडयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2135. The affix dāch comes after the word duḥkha followed by kri, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene".

The verb कृ is understood and prātilomya means 'to oppose' or "to act against another's wishes", "to pain the heart of one's master &c". As दुःखा करोति शूत्य स्वामिनम् "the servant pains the master".

Note :—Why do we say "when meaning to go against the grain"? Observe दुःख करोति कदम्बम् ॥

२१३६ । शूलात्पाके । ५ । ४ । ६५ ॥

शूलकरोति मांसम् । शूलेन पचतीत्यर्थः ॥

2136. The affix dāch comes after the word śula followed by kri, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus शूले पचति = शूला करोति मांसम् "he roasts the meat on a spit".

Note :—Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe शूलं करोति करजम् "the bad food causes colic".

२१३७ । सत्यादशपथे । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

सत्याकरोति भाण्डं वणिक् । क्रैतव्यमिति तथ्यं करोतीत्यर्थः । शपथे तु सत्य करोति विप्रः ।

2137. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *satya*, followed by *kṛi*, when not meaning to swear.

The word *सत्य* means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood'. Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन सापद्येद् विप्रम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited. Thus *सत्या कृताति षणिक् भाण्डम्* "the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods i. e. he settles that he will purchase these wares". Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe *सत्यं करोति विप्रः* "the Brahmana swears".

२१३८ । मद्रापरिवापणे । ५ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मद्रशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः । परिवापणं शृण्वन् । मद्राकरोति माङ्गल्यशृण्वन्नेन संस्करोतीत्यर्थः । मद्राबोत्पद्यते * ॥ मद्राकरोति । अर्थः प्राग्वत् । परिवापणं कृत् ॥ मद्रं करोति । मद्रं करोति ॥

2138. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *madra* followed by *kṛi*, in the sense of 'to shave'.

The word *परिवापण* means 'to shave' 'to raze'. The word *मद्र* means 'auspicious'. Thus *मङ्गलं शृण्वन् करोति = मद्रा करोति* ॥

Part.—So also after the word *मद्र*, as *मद्रा करोति नापितः कुमारः* "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion".

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave'. Observe *मद्रं* or *मद्रं करोति* ॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XL.

ON REITERATION.

२१३६ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥
इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

2139. From here upto VIII. 1. 15. S. 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

*Note :—*This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto *पदस्य* (VIII. 1. 16 S. 401) exclusive, there the phrase *सर्वस्य द्वे* should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4 S. 2140 teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'" Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e., "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one *पचति* becomes two, as, *पचति पचति* 'he always cooks'. Similarly *ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः* 'every village is beautiful'.

The *sūtra* '*sarvasya dvo*', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, S. 82 and VI. 1. 100 S. 2128 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings. (1) the totality of things (*द्रव्यः*) as *सर्वस्वरदाति* (2) the totality of modes (*प्रकारः*) *सर्वान्नीलोभिष्टु* = *सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति*, (3) the totality of members (*अवयवः*), as *सर्वं पदेदग्धः* ॥ In the present *sūtra*, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all the members of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted*. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthāna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like *पदि* &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the *sūtra* is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the *sūtra*, however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not *ādesā*, but *prayoga*. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, *पचति* &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word *sarvasya* is employed in the *sūtra* for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise one may double only the last letter of a word by the rule of *अन्तोऽन्तस्य*, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhita, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टपदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vipsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपरिका इदति, here also the sense is that of vipsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम्, the sentence ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII, 1, 16 S 401.

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling, for सप्तपर्ण means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि वारयः', so that the sense of vipsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vipsā is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsā can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपचति प्रचति, for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोढा ॥ Here दृच् is added to the root दृह्, and ह is optionally changed to घ by VIII, 2 77, S 354 and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As घ and ढ are both asiddha (VIII 2, 1, S. 12) the doubling would take place without making this घ or ढ substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहता द्रोहता) then optional घ or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोग्धा द्रोढा, द्रोढा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोढा द्रोढा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vātika पूर्वचासिद्धीयमद्विचने (See VIII, 2, 3 S. 489 last vātika)

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of कर्शशाअच् meaning सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति तद्विद् सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled, so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

२१४० । नित्यवीप्सयोः । ८ । १ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्ये वीप्सायां न दोले पदस्य द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं तिङन्तेष्वव्ययसंज्ञककृन्तेषु च । पचतिपचति । भुङ्क्ताभुङ्क्ता । वीप्सायाम्, वृक्षं वृक्षं तिङ्चति । ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ॥

2140. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by kṛit affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 23. S. 3343) Thus पचति पचति, he cooks continually'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or भोज भोज व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away'. See III. 4. 22. S. 3343. लुनीहीलेवायं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2 S. 2825).

Note :—The words formed by affixes *ktvā* and *ṇamul* and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix वृद्ध् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते । And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of *nitya*, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable kṛit words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोज ॥

Note :—Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप्र formed words) As finite verbs (सिङ्) express *nitya*, so reflected nouns (सुप्र) express *vīpsā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vīpsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyāptum icchihā) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vīpsā*. Thus वृक्षं वृक्षं सिञ्चति "He waters every tree". ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जलपयो जनपदो रमणीयः, पुष्प पुष्पो निधनस्रपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of *nityatā*; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतिराय ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vīpsā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आद्यतन्माद्यतन्मानय ॥

२१४१। परेर्वर्जने । प । १ । ५ ॥

परिपरि वृक्षेभ्यो वृष्टो वेवः । वृक्षान्परिहृत्यैतयः ॥ परेर्वर्जने वा वचनम् ॥ * ॥ परिर्वर्जने ॥

2141. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि वृक्षेभ्यो वृष्टो वेवः (I. 4. 88. and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Banga'

Note :—Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe मोक्षं परिधिञ्चति ।

Vart.—Optionally परि meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound as परि परि वृक्षे = परि वृक्षेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिधिगर्भं वृष्टो वेवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

Note :—The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4, 88 S 596) and governs the fifth case by II. 3, 11. In परिविड्वति the word is an upasarga.

२१४२ । उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् । ग्रामस्योपरिष्ठास्समीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥ अथ्यधि सुखम् । सुखस्योपरिष्ठास्समीप-
काले दुःखमित्यर्थः । अधोऽधो लोकम् । लोकस्याधस्तास्समीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥

2142. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness.

The word sāmipya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village".. अथ्यधिग्रामम्, अधोऽधो लोकम् "a place near a loka". Similarly अथ्यधिसुखम् "anything immediately following after pleasure" i. e. pain. Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमा ॥ Why the word is not repeated here 'उपरि विरसो घट धारयति ॥' The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वे एव वदन्ति ।

अधोऽधो वर्धने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsa'

२१४३ । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्याऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु ८ । १ । ८ ॥

असूयायाम्, सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् । समतौ, देवदेव वन्द्योऽसि । कोपे, दुर्विनीतदुर्वि-
नीत इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि । कुत्सने, धानुष्कधानुष्क वृथा ते धनुः । भर्त्सने, चोरचोर घातयिष्यामि त्वाम् ॥

2143. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy —सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् "O beauty! O beauty! in vain is thy beauty!" (2) praise —देव देव वन्द्योऽसि "O Deva! O Deva! adorable art thou!" (3) anger —दुर्विनीत दुर्विनीत इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame —धानुष्क धानुष्क वृथा ते धनुः "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow". (5) Threat—चौरचौर ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा "O thief O thief I shall kill thee" The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the Amreḍita becomes pluta by VIII 2 95. S. 3614. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभता खल्वसि माणवका ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe उशरिरेववसः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe तेषवत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लम् ॥

In some books, the vākya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पक्षसूत्रे वाक्य) ॥

२१४४ । एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । ९ ॥

इतिरुक्त एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन सुब्लोपपुंशब्दावौ । एकैकमक्षरम् । इह इयोऽपि सुपोऽलुकि कृते बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वावादेव प्रातिपदिकत्वात्समुदायास्तुप् । एकैकयाहुत्या । इह पूर्वभागे पुंशब्दावा-
द्व्यमह विशेष । न बहुव्रीहवित्यत्र पुनर्बहुव्रीहिमहण मुख्यबहुव्रीहिलाभार्यम् । तेनातिविष्टबहुव्रीहौ सर्वनामतास्येवेति प्राञ्चम् । वस्तुतस्तु भाष्यमते प्रत्याख्यातमेतत् । सूत्रमतस्यैव बहुव्रीह्यर्थेऽलौकिके विमहे निषेधक न तु बहुव्रीहवित्तीहातिवैशगङ्गैव नास्ति । एकैकस्मै वेहि ॥

2144. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षर पठति (not एकमेकम्) Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrīhi they become a prātipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case-affix एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकैकैकया). Here the first member has become masculine. The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case affix is elided by II. 4 71. and masculinising by VI. 3. 34.

Note —According to the Kāsikā this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्मै वेहि ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuvrīhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति, सुसुजगति ॥ This double-word is treated like a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves: —1st, VII 223 S. 3734 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI. 2. 172 S. 3906 already mentioned 4th VIII. 1. 3 S. 3670 by which the second member becomes anudātta. The rule VI. 2. 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samāsānta affixing. Thus ऋक् ऋक् पूःपूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10 S. 2145) do not get the samāsānta affix अ by V. 4 74.

"In the sūtra न बहुव्रीहौ (I. 1. 29 S. 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi, when its anuvṛtti was current from the preceding sūtra I. 1. 28.

S 292, is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrīhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrīhi like that of this sūtra VIII, 1. 9. S. 2144). Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo-Bahuvrīhis or analogical-Bahuvrīhis, the prohibition of S. 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanāman, and is declined as such." This is the opinion of the ancients. But as a matter of fact, this whole sūtra I. 1. 29 has been overruled by the opinion of the Bhāshya-author Patanjali. Even in the opinion of the sūtra-author Pāṇini, the prohibition of I. 1. 29 S. 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrīhi compound and not to the Bahuvrīhi compound as such. That is to say, a sarvanaman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrīhi compound. So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun. *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vārtika under I. 1. 29. S. 222. So there can be no question of that sūtra applying to an analogical Bahuvrīhi, for such a Bahuvrīhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrīhis. Therefore, we have एकैकस्मै षेहि and not एकैकाय षेहि ॥

२१४५। आवाधेन । ८ । १ । १० ॥

पीडायां चोत्थायां हे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवच्च । गतगतः । विरहात्पीड्यमानस्येयमुक्तिः । बहुव्रीहिवद्वा-
वास्तुल्लुक् । गतगता । इह पुंवद्भावः ॥

2145. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrīhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गतगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्टः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine. Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrīhi, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine, here the first term becomes masculine and (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism) The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735.

२१४६। कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु । ८ । १ । ११ ॥

इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यम् । प्रयोजनं सुस्तेष्वपुंवद्भावान्तोवाचस्त्वानि ॥

2146. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71 S. 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42 S. 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI. 2. 23. S. 3757, or S. 3734.

Note.—The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the extra being an adbhūta one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

२१४७ । प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य । ८ । १ । १२ ॥

सादृश्ये चात्ये गुणवचनस्य द्वे स्तस्तच्च कर्मधारयवत् । कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेष्वित्यधिकारात् । तेन पूर्वं भागस्य पुंवङ्गावः । समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तश्च च । पदुपद्भी । पदुपदुः । पदुसदृशः । ईषन्पदुरिति यावत् । गुणोपसर्जनद्रव्यवाचिनः केवलगुणवाचिनश्चेह गृह्यन्ते । शुक्लशुक्ल रूपम् । शुक्लशुक्लः पदः ॥

भानुपूर्व्ये द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मूलमूलं स्थूलम् ॥

सम्भवेण प्रवृत्तौ यथदृष्टमेकधा प्रयोगो न्यायसिद्धः * ॥ सर्वः सर्वः बुध्यस्व २ । सर्वः ३ बुध्यस्व ४ ॥ क्रियासमभिव्यक्तिश्च * ॥ लुनीदिलुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति । नित्यवीप्सयोरिति सिद्धं भूषार्थे द्विवचनं मिदम् । पौनः पुन्येऽपि लोटा सह समुच्चित्य द्योतकतां लब्धुं वा ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनामो द्वे वाच्ये समासवच्च बहुलम् * ॥ बहुलप्रदणान्यपरयोर्न समासवत् । इतरशब्दस्य तु नित्यम् ॥

असमासवद्भावे पूर्वपदस्य सुप. पुर्वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्यो यं विप्रा नमन्ति । वा योन्यौ । अन्योन्याम् । अन्योन्येन कृतम् । अन्योन्यस्मै वक्तमित्यादि । अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशान्त इति माधः । एव परस्परम् । अत्र कस्कादित्वाद्धिसर्गस्य स । इतरेतरम् इतरेतेरेणत्यादि ॥

स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्याया विभक्तेराम्भाधौ वा वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्योन्याम् । अन्योन्यम् । परस्पराम् । परस्परम् । इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरं वा इमे ब्राह्मण्यौकुले वा भोजयत । अत्र केचित् भामावेशो द्वितीयाया एव । भाष्यादौ तथैवोदाहृतत्वात् । तेन स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरपि तृतीयाविषु पुर्ववच्च रूपमित्याहुः । अन्येतृता हरणस्य विट्मात्रस्वात्सर्वविभक्तीनामामावेशमाहुः ॥

दलद्वये दावभावः क्लीबे अद्विष्टिरह स्वमो ॥

समासे सौरलुक्चेति सिद्धं बाहुलकाश्रयम् ॥ १ ॥

तथाहि । अन्योन्य परस्परमित्यत्र दलद्वयेऽपि दाप् प्राप्तः । नच सर्वनामो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवङ्गावः । अन्यपरयोरसमासवद्भावात् । नच द्विवचनमेव वृत्तिः । या यां पिय मैक्षत कातराक्षी सतिस्त्वात्वावतिप्रसङ्गात् । अन्योन्यमितरेतरमित्यत्र अवङ्ङितराविभ्य इत्यङ् प्राप्तः । अन्योन्यससक्तमहस्त्रियामम् । अन्योन्याश्रयः । परस्परातिसादृश्यम् । अद्वष्टपरस्परित्यादौ सौरलुक्च प्राप्तः । सर्वं बाहुलकेन समाधेयम् । प्रकृतवार्तिकभाव्योदाहरणं स्त्रियामिति सूत्रे अन्योन्यसश्रयस्थैतदिति भाष्यं चात्र प्रमाणमिति ॥

2147. An attribute is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhāraya.

Thus पदुपदुः, पदुपदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix, पदुपद्भी, पदुपद्भी where the first member is a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालककालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42), पदुपदुः, पदुपद्भी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223, S. 3734 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3. but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223.

The word being treated as a Karmadhāraya there is masculinisation of the first member and the final takes the acute under VI. 1. 223, S. 3734.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus षडुषडु, 'tolerably sharp', षडुषडु "she who is tolerably sharp" सुदुषडु: "pretty soft". पण्डितपण्डितः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix जातीय (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus षडुजातीयः, सुदुजातीयः ॥

The doubling takes place both where the adjective is a secondary member qualifying a substance, and where it is an attribute pure and simple, in the abstract, without any particular substance. As शुक्रशुक्रः पटः "tolerably white or whitish cloth." शुक्र शुक्र "whitish".

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting some what like it"? Observe षडुर्वैवस्वतः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्माणिक्यः, 'a fiery boy', गौ बहिः 'a cow-like Bāhika'. Here 'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vart.—An adjective is repeated, when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूल "it is thick in all its roots one after another" अमे अमे तृक्ष्णाः, वधे वधे प्रवेशाय ॥

Note.—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षापणादिद्वयं माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha, out of this kārshāpana to you two i. e. give only *two* masha one to each'. A kārshāpana contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vīpsā). The word माष माषं देहि = द्वौदेहि, the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say 'when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह द्वयं माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देहि, त्रीन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit but the qualifying words एक, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह द्वयं माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vart.—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice or as many times as one likes, so long as the meaning is not manifest to the person addressed. The word संभ्रमण in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind. As सर्प सर्प बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware, beware" It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As सर्प सर्प सर्प बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

Vart.—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice as, लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवाय लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2 Though the doubling would have taken place under VIII. 1. 4. S. 2140. also yet the present *vārtika* ordains doubling in the sense of intensity, Or it ordains doubling of the imperative, giving to it the additional meaning of frequency.

Note —In re-iteration the word is doubled as, भुक्का भुक्का व्रजति, भोजं भोजं व्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Note.—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as पटपट करोति पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58.) Because of this restriction, some read the *vārtika* as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

If the rule meant that the half word must be of at least two syllables before doubling, and then दाच् should be added, then it would not apply to words like पटन् &c Therefore the "half-not-less-than two-syllables" refers to the *doubled* word, the doubling being caused by दाच् The above difficulty arises if the locative in डाचि has the force of परतन्तरी ॥ But if we take the locative as विषयतन्तरी then the difficulty is obviated.

Note.—The words पूर्ण and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted, as पूर्ण पूर्ण पुण्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पश्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुण्यन्ति, प्रथमतर पश्यन्ते ॥

Note.—The words ending in the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम comparative and superlative, are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाक्यो, कतरा कतरा अनयोराज्यना "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness" सर्व इमे भाक्याः, कतमा कतमा एवमाज्यना ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as; उभाविमावाक्यो, किदृशीकिदृशी अनयोराज्यना ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition (as भाक्यना) is not in the feminine as, उभाविमावाक्यो, कतरा क रोऽनयोर्विभवा "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

Vart.—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled, and diversely it is treated like a compound. Because the word 'diversely' is used in the *vārtika*, the pronominals *anya*, and *para* are never treated like a compound; while the word *itara* is *invariably* treated as such and never optionally. II. 2. 27 S. 846

Vart.—And when it is not treated like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative singular. See I. 3. 14. III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127.

Thus. अन्यनन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति "these Brāhmanas feed one another." अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा नमन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. So also अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान् अन्योऽन्येनकृत, अन्योऽन्यस्मैवक्त, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैराशृयन्ते Māgha So also परस्पर where the visarga is changed to स because it belongs to Kaskādī class. So also इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरेण &c.

Vart.—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मण्यौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्य भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥ Here some say. The आम् substitution takes the place of the affixes of the accusative only: because the examples given in the Mahābhāṣya &c are of accusative only. Therefore, the feminine and neuter words do not assume the masculine form in the Instrumental and other cases. This is one opinion. Others say, the examples given in the Bhāṣya are merely illustrative, and therefore, the affixes of all cases, are replaced by आम् ॥

Verse.

1. The absence of टाप् in the both members of the doubled word.
2. The replacing of सु and अम् by अद्ङ् in the Neuter.
3. The non-elision of सु in compounds.

These three operations take place by force of the word bahulaka 'diversely' in the vārtika.

1. Thus in अन्योन्य and परस्परम् there would have come the Feminine affix टाप् ॥ The form ought to have been अन्या+अन्या=अन्यान्या ॥ But it is अन्य. + अन्यः=अन्योऽन्य ॥ This is prevented by the vārtika. Nor will vārtika under II. I. 51. S. 728 apply and cause masculinisation.

Note.—That vārtika states the Pronouns become masculine whenever they occur as functions—vṛtti—of a compound or a taddhita.

Because अन्य and पर in the above are treated as not parts of a compound. Nor is re-iteration a vṛtti or function of a taddhita. For if re-iteration be considered a vṛtti as understood in II. 1, 51. S. 728 vārtika, then it would apply to the following also, यां यां प्रियः प्रैक्षतः कातराक्षी सा सा &c.

Note.—Patanjali also uses it in this way: thus,

अकारकं व्यकथितत्वात् कारकं चेत् तु नाकथा ।

कारकं चेद् विजानीयाद् यां यां मन्येत सा भवेत् ॥ Mahābhāṣya, I. 4. 51.

2. The replacing of सु and अम् (Nom. and acc Sg) by add अद्ङ् ॥ Thus अन्योन्यम् । इतरेतरम् ॥ Here by VII. 1. 25 S. 315 the affix अद्ङ् would have come and the form would have been अन्यवन्त्यम् and इतरदेतरम् ॥ The present vārtika prevents that.

3 The non-elision of सु in compounds,

Thus in अन्योन्यसंसक्त महस्त्रियाम् । अन्योन्याश्रयः । परस्परशिक्षादृश्यम् । अदृष्टपत्स्यैः ॥

In all the above examples the सु would have been elided by the above vartika. The word 'diversely' of the vārtika prevents it.

The illustration of this vārtika, as given by the Mahābhāṣya, is to be found in the sentence अन्योन्यसंश्रयं स्वैतद् भवति, as used by Patanjali in his gloss on IV. 1. 3. (स्त्रियाम्). So the Great Commentary is also an authority here.

२१४८ । अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । १ । १३ ॥

प्रियप्रियेण ददाति । प्रियेण वा । सुखसुखेन ददाति । सुखेन वा । द्विर्वचने कर्मधारयवद्भावा-
स्तुल्लुकि पुनस्तदेव वचनम् । अतिप्रियमपि दस्त्वनायासेन ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

2148 The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated optionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The words कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि दस्त्वनायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. In reiteration the word is treated as a Karmadhāraya and so there is elision of the case-affix as already mentioned above.

Note.—Why do we say "when meaning easily" Observe प्रिय पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी रथः ॥

२१४९ । यथास्वे यथायथम् । ८ । १ । १४ ॥

यथास्वमिति वीप्सायामव्ययीभावः । योऽयमात्मा यथास्मीयं तदयथास्वम् । तस्मिन् यथाशब्दस्य द्वे
क्रीवस्त्वं च निपात्यते । यथायथं ज्ञाता यथास्वभावमित्यर्थः । यथास्मीयमिति वा ॥

2149 The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of "respectively, fitly, properly".

The word yathāsvam is an Avyayībhāva with the force of vīpsā. Whatever is this self and whatever belongs to this self all that is denoted by yathāsvam.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावं "all objects have been known according to their respective nature", सर्वेषां तु यथायथम् = यथास्मीयं ॥

२१५० । ह्रन्दं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमण्यक्षपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु । ८ ।

१ । १५ ॥

द्विशब्दस्य द्विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याभावोऽस्व चोत्तरपदस्य नपुंसकत्वञ्च निपात्यते एवमर्थेषु । तच्च
रहस्यं ह्रन्नुद्देशस्य वाच्यम् । हन्तरे विषयभूता । ह्रन्नु मन्त्रयते । रहस्यमित्यर्थः । मर्यादा स्थित्यनतिक्रमः ।

आचतुरं द्वीमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते । माता पुत्रेण मिथुन गच्छति । पौत्रेण प्रपौत्रेणापीत्यर्थः ।
व्युत्क्रमण पृथगवस्थानम् । द्वन्द्वं व्युत्क्रान्ताः । द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिता । यन्त्र यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति
संकर्यमाणसुवेदी । अभिव्यक्तौ सादृश्येणेत्यर्थः । योगविभागादयत्रापि द्वन्द्वमिष्यते ॥

2150. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word द्वन्द्व is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first द्वि into अक्ष, and the second द्वि into अक्ष and making it a Neuter. The word द्वन्द्व itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus द्वन्द्वं मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or मर्यादावचनम्, as, आचतुरं द्वीमे पशवो द्वन्द्वं मिथुनायन्ते "upto the fourth degree, these cattle copulate with each other." माता पुत्रेण मिथुन गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. 1. 7 3 Sākh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—द्वन्द्वव्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana mea is bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—द्वन्द्वं यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्तिवीरः (See I. 3. 64). अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation; as—द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतो, द्वन्द्वं संकर्यमाणं वासुदेवो = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ सादृश्येण ॥

The word द्वन्द्व is found employed in connection with other senses also as, द्वन्द्वं युद्धं वर्ज्यते, द्वन्द्वानि सहतेधीराः, अर्थे द्वन्द्वः &c.

Here ends the chapter on Reiteration,

HERE ENDS THE VOLUME ONE OF THE SIDDHANTA KAUMUDI

BY BHATTOJI DIKSHITA.

